



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



H68.83

Bd. Dec. 1896



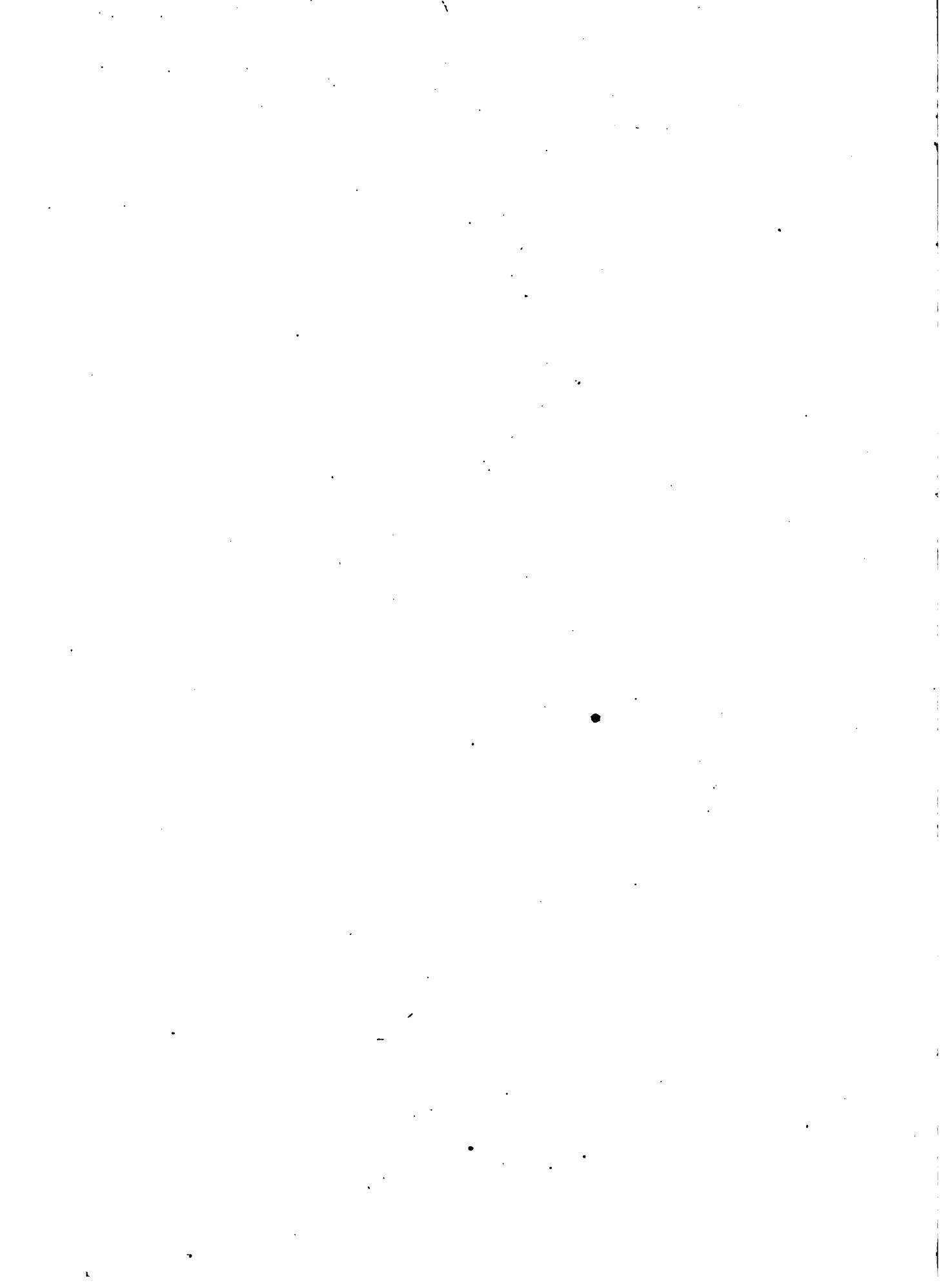
Harvard College Library.

FROM

S. W. George

20 Apr. 1892





J. A. D.

H I S T O R I E S
OF
E N G L A N D, F R A N C E, G E R M A N Y,
A N D H O L L A N D.

From the Encyclopædia Britannica.

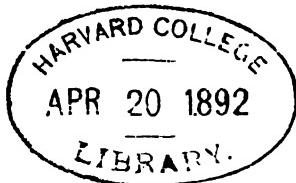
1 X 1 2 3 4
—
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

1 8 8 3.

H68.83

F4064

74²
28



bib
Prof. F. W. Taussig,
of
Cambridge.



**ENGLAND
& WALES**

1878.

Scale of English Miles

Page 2 of 2



PART II.—HISTORY. *by Samuel Ranson Finsler.*

Meaning
of the
name
Eng-
land.

ENGLAND, the land of the Angles or English, is, according to its etymology, the distinctive name of that part of Britain in which, by reason of the Teutonic conquests in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Teutonic race and speech became dominant. The name is in itself equally applicable to the older home of the Angles in Germany; but, though cognate forms, as *Angeln*, are to be found there, the exact forms *Anglia* or *England* do not seem to have been in use. As applied to later settlements of Englishmen, settlements made by men starting from Britain, it is used with direct and conscious reference to the elder England. New England implies Old England. The name is thus etymologically applicable to English settlements anywhere; historically it belongs to the great English settlement in Britain. And, in its use for many ages past, it has not taken in the whole of that part of Britain which is historically English. Part of northern England was at an early time detached from the English kingdom to form part of Scotland. And again, from the part of England so detached, the English tongue, and much of English blood, has further spread over part of the proper Scotland. In modern usage then England means somewhat less than the land which is marked out by its strict etymology. It does not mean the whole of the Teutonic part of Britain, but only that part of it which has formed the kingdom of England since the present line between England and Scotland was drawn. But in any case it should be remembered that the name is a purely political name. Britain is a certain part of the earth's surface, with unchangeable physical boundaries. England, Scotland, Wales, are political names of parts of Britain, which have had different meanings at different times, according as the part of Britain to which they have been applied has been larger or smaller. It is also to be remembered that these political names are comparatively modern. England, for instance, is not heard of by that name till late in the tenth century. In fact it hardly could have been a formal title, used in the country itself, till the many English settlements in Britain had become one kingdom. It is not, as we shall see, the oldest name for the Teutonic part of Britain. But as the various English kingdoms were fused into one, England became and remained the name of that one. England then is that part of Britain which came and remained under the direct rule of the king of the English. It thus excludes Scotland, meaning by Scotland, as by England, a greater and a smaller space at different times. It also in strictness excludes Wales. Legal phraseology is not quite consistent on this head; but the more accurate description of South Britain is "England and Wales," rather than "England" only. Wales, first under its own princes, then under the English kings, was long a dependency of England rather than a part of England; and its complete political incorporation with England has not altogether destroyed its separate character.

England then is the name which certain historical events caused to be applied to a part of the isle of Britain. The history of England therefore strictly begins with the beginning of those events which caused part of Britain to become England. The history of England has no concern with the earlier history of Britain, except so far as is needed to make the working of those causes intelligible. Nor need it dwell on the earlier history of the English before they came into Britain further than is needed for the same end. The history of England begins when the English first settled in Britain. But, in order to understand this settlement, some account must be given of the earlier condition both of the settlers themselves and of the land in which they settled.

Britain in the fifth century, the time of the settlement which gave to so large a part of the island the name of *England*, was in a state unlike any other part of the world. The greater part of the island, all that is now called England and Wales, with a considerable part of what is now called Scotland, had formed a Roman province, but had been cut off from the empire by the act of the imperial power itself. As the Roman legions had been a hundred and thirty years earlier withdrawn from Dacia by Aurelian, so they were in the early years of the fifth century withdrawn from Britain by Honorius. The Teutonic invaders therefore found in Britain, what they did not find in Gaul or Spain, an independent people, who doubtless kept many memories and fruits of their long subjection to Rome, but who had ceased to be actual Roman subjects. The people whom the English found in the possession of this restored and somewhat precarious independence were the Celtic *The people of the Britons.* It is not here needful to determine certain curious points of controversy, how far the purely Celtic character of the inhabitants of Britain had been modified by intermixture, either with races earlier than their own settlement or with Teutonic or other settlers during the time of Roman dominion. All the probabilities of the case would certainly go against the belief that the Celts found the isle of Britain wholly uninhabited. That they were the first Aryan settlers there can be no reasonable doubt; but, even in the absence of any kind of evidence, we should expect that the first Aryan settlers would, in Britain as elsewhere, find earlier non-Aryan settlers in possession of the land. One set of inquirers have made it highly probable that the cromlechs and other primæval remains, which used to be vaguely called Druidical, are really the works of a race of inhabitants earlier than the Celts. Another set of inquirers have, from the physiological point of view, brought plausible arguments to show, not only that such an earlier non-Aryan population existed, but that it actually forms a perceptible element in the present population of South Britain. It has been argued that a large part of the population of the border shires of England and Wales is in truth neither English nor British, but comes of a non-Aryan stock akin to the Basques of Gaul and Spain. So, on the other hand, it has been argued that a part of the eastern coast of Britain had received Teutonic inhabitants earlier than the conquest of Britain by the Romans. It has been argued too, and in this case argued with undoubted certainty, that, under the Roman occupation, soldiers and other subjects and allies of the empire of various races, the Teutonic race among others, settled in the Roman province of Britain, and helped to form a part of its inhabitants. But, if all these doctrines are admitted in their fullest extent, they in no way affect the political history of England. They simply prove that the British people whom the English found in possession of the isle of Britain had, like all other nations in all other times and places, had the purity of their blood more or less affected by foreign intermixture. They in nowise affect the fact that the English invaders found in this island a people who, for all practical and historical purposes, must be looked upon as Celtic, a people in whom the dominant blood, and the dominant national being, was undoubtedly Celtic. In the eye of general history they must be looked on, as they were in the eyes of their English conquerors themselves, as Britons. They were Britons, modified no doubt in every respect by their long subjection to Rome, but still essentially a British, that is, a Celtic people. And it is further clear

Survival of the Welsh language. that they were a people who had been less modified by Roman influences than the inhabitants of the other provinces of the empire. This is shown by the fact that the ancient British language survived the Roman Conquest, and still remains the language of a not inconsiderable part of the isle of Britain. The mere fact of the existence of the Welsh language shows that Roman influences could not have been so strong in Britain as they were in Gaul and Spain. The military conquest and the political occupation were no doubt as complete in Britain as in any other province of the Roman empire; but the moral and social influence of Rome must have been less than it was elsewhere. In Gaul and Spain the inhabitants adopted the name, the feelings, and the speech of Rome, and handed on their Roman speech to their Teutonic conquerors. The difference between the phenomena of Britain and the phenomena of the continental provinces is plain at a glance. The speech of Gaul and Spain at this day is Latin; the exceptions are only where the earlier languages survive in obscure corners. In the lands which formed the Roman province of Britain a Latin speech is now nowhere spoken, nor is there any sign that a Latin speech has ever been spoken as the popular language at any time since the withdrawal of the Roman legions. The dominant tongue is that of the Teutonic conquerors; but part of the island, a part somewhat more than a mere corner, keeps its ancient British speech. The Roman tongue, dominant and more than dominant in Gaul and Spain, has in Britain no place at all.

Insular position of Britain. Britain then, even if the Roman legions had not been deliberately withdrawn from it, was, at the beginning of the fifth century, in quite another case from the other provinces of the empire. Mere conquest had been as thorough as in any other frontier province; for it must not be forgotten that Britain was pre-eminently a frontier province. As the whole of Britain was never subdued, the part which was subdued always remained, like the lands on the Rhine and the Danube, exposed to the attacks of the still independent inhabitants of the island. But the usual results of Roman conquest, social and national assimilation, had been much less thorough than elsewhere even in the frontier provinces. One main cause of this difference doubtless was the geographical position of the country. A large island, an island large enough to have a separate being of its own, is far harder to incorporate or assimilate than a land which is geographically continuous with the ruling country. The history of the greater Mediterranean islands proves this, and it is still more true of great oceanic islands like our own. The British islands seem designed to form one political whole; yet it has been found impossible to unite Ireland with Great Britain in the same way in which the different parts of Great Britain have been united with one another. Britain, the most distant and geographically the most distinct of the provinces of Rome, was felt to be, and was constantly spoken of as, another world. In all ages and among all changes of inhabitants, the insular character of Britain has been one of the ruling facts of its history. Its people, of whatever race or speech, whatever their political condition at home or their political relation to other countries, have been before all things pre-eminently islanders. This must be borne in mind through the whole of British history. We are not dealing with Celts, Romans, Teutons, simply as such, but with Celts, Romans, Teutons, modified by the fact that they dwelled in a great island, which was cut off in many ways from the rest of the world, and which acted in many things as a separate world of itself.

The result of this insular position of Britain was shown in many things during the time of the Roman dominion. It was remarked that no province of the empire was so

fertile in tyrants. That is to say, no part of the empire produced so many of those military chiefs who, by the favour of their armies, sometimes it would seem with the good will of the inhabitants of the provinces, set themselves up as opposition emperors, in revolt against the acknowledged prince who reigned in the Old or the New Rome, at Milan or at Ravenna. The position of these tyrants must not be misunderstood, as if they at all consciously aimed at the foundation of national kingdoms. Their object was not to lop off a province from the empire, and to form it into an independent state. Their object was the empire itself, the whole if they could get it; if not, as large a share of it as their forces would allow them to hold. An emperor who ruled in Britain was anxious, if he could, to rule also in Gaul, to rule also in Italy. But the geographical necessities of the case stepped in, and often confined the emperors who arose in Britain to a purely insular dominion. That dominion was more easily won, and more easily kept as a practically distinct power, than the dominion of any of the continental provinces. It was again doubtless due to the geographical position of Britain that it was the one given up by the Romans. province of the West from which the legions were deliberately withdrawn. They were withdrawn from one world to another. The Roman world, it seemed, might exist without the dominion of the British world. The deliberate surrender of Gaul or Spain or Africa would have been quite another matter. Those lands had become in every sense members of the Roman world, and the voluntary lopping off of any one of those members would have been an act of suicide which no one would have dreamed of. With the great island it was otherwise. While the other provinces were cut off from the empire by open or disguised foreign invasion, Britain was voluntarily given up. It was doubtless given up through fear of foreign invasion, through a feeling of inability to withstand foreign invasion; but not as the direct result of foreign invasion itself. We may believe that successive Teutonic inroads had so weakened the Roman power in Britain that it was felt hopeless to attempt to keep the province any longer. But the actual Teutonic conquerors of the island found the Roman legions already gone. Britain was won by the English, not from Roman legions or from Roman provincials, but from men who had been Roman provincials, but who, on the withdrawal of the Roman legions, had changed into an independent British people. It is however to be borne in mind that the independence in possession of which the Britons were found by their English conquerors was an independence which had been thrust upon them. No province of the empire separated itself from the empire of its own free will. Britain would have had, on every geographical and national ground, more temptation so to do than any other province of the West. But Britain did not, any more than any other province of the West, seek for independence of Rome. The forsaken people, left to themselves, cried to their masters to come back to be their helpers; but the groans of the Britons fell in vain on the ears of Aetius. He could deliver Gaul from the Hun; he felt no call to deliver Britain from the Pict or the Saxon. The inhabitants of the Roman province of Britain were left to defend Britain themselves how they could, against the incursions alike of their neighbours in those parts of their island which Rome had never subdued, and of the more dangerous Teutonic invaders from beyond the sea. Thus forsaken by Rome, they seem to have tried to keep up some shadow of a Roman dominion among themselves. Their chiefs bore Roman titles; a tradition of imperial succession was kept up among the reputed descendants of the tyrant Maximus. So the first British prince whom history or legend brings into personal contact with the Teutonic invaders appears in the earliest versions of the tale, not as a British king,

but as a Roman duke. Such is the title which Vortigern bears in that one meagre yet authentic narrative of English conquest which we have from the hand of British Gildas. But, however they might cling to Roman shadows, the people whom the English found in this island were undoubtedly in every practical sense a British nation, a revived British nation. And the fact that the invaders had to deal with a nation, and not with mere provincials, had, beyond all doubt, a most important effect on the progress and the nature of their conquest.

Contrast with other provinces of the empire. The land then in which the English conquerors settled, and the people whom they found in possession of that land, were thus in a wholly different condition from the lands in which the other Teutonic conquerors settled, and from the people whom they found in those lands. Here was one cause which gave the English conquest of Britain a wholly different character from the Teutonic conquest of any other of the western provinces of the empire. The difference may in truth be summed up in a word ; it was not a conquest of one of the provinces of the empire, but a conquest of a land which had once been a province of the empire. And if the condition of the land and people that were to be conquered was thus unlike that of any land and people elsewhere, the condition of those who were to be its conquerors was at least as widely different from the condition of those who were the conquerors of any of the continental provinces. A large part of the difference lies in the difference between a continental and an insular land. When an island is conquered by new settlers, it can only be by settlers from beyond sea, and a settlement from beyond sea is likely to be in many things different from a settlement which is made by land. This is part of the difference, but it is far from all. Had the invaders of Britain been exactly the same kind of people as the invaders of Gaul or Spain, had the people of Britain been in exactly the same position as the people of Gaul or Spain, the mere fact that it was made by sea would doubtless have given the conquest of Britain a special character of its own. But the main difference lies deeper. As the people of Britain were in a widely different position from the people of Gaul and Spain, so the Teutonic conquerors of Britain were in a position at least as different from the Teutonic conquerors of Gaul or Spain.

**North-
ern Bri-
tain ne-
ver con-
quered
by Rome.** The enemies by whom the inhabitants of the forsaken province were first attacked were indeed neither men of another race nor invaders from beyond sea. The immediate danger was from the Celtic inhabitants of those parts of the island which the Romans had never subdued. The boundary of the Roman province had often fluctuated, and the defence of the frontier had needed all the efforts of the legions and the further protection of artificial bulwarks. A line of forts, a massive dyke, a wall of stone strengthened by towers, had been raised at different times at two different points. The line of Hadrian marked the southern limit from Solway to the mouth of the Tyne. The line of Antoninus took in a larger territory as far as the firths of Clyde and Forth. Severus fell back to the line of Hadrian. Under Valentinian the victories of the elder Theodosius carried the recovered Roman land of Valentia beyond the line of Antoninus. In the last moments of Roman dominion the boundary again fell back; the defences of Hadrian and Severus were again strengthened, and took the form of that mighty wall on the ruins of which we still gaze with wonder. But amid all these changes there remained to the north of the Roman province an independent territory, of greater or less extent, which the Roman confessed by his very defences that he was unable to subdue. That its inhabitants, like the inhabitants of the conquered part of the island, belonged to the Celtic race there can be no reasonable doubt ; but as to the

exact degree of their kindred with the people of southern Britain many questions have been raised. On the whole it seems most likely that they belonged to the same branch of the Celtic race as the southern Britons, and that they differed from them chiefly as the unsubdued part of any race naturally differs from the part which is brought into subjection. In the later days of the Roman power in Britain, these northern tribes, under the name of ^{The Picts} Picts, appear as dangerous invaders of the Roman pro- and ^{Scots} vince, invaders whose inroads were sometimes pushed even into its southern regions. Along with them we hear of the Scots, a name which as yet means only the people of Ireland. But about this time the Scottish name was carried into Britain by a settlement of Irish Scots on the north-western coast of the island, in the land known as Argyle. The Picts of Britain, the Scots of Ireland, appear as the first enemies whose attacks had to be endured by the forsaken inhabitants of the former Roman province. But it was not the Picts or the Scots by whom the conquest of southern Britain was to be made. A conquest at their hands could have had no other effect than bringing the island back more or less thoroughly into that of the state in which it had been before the Roman Conquest. Another fate was in store for the greatest of European islands. The conquest of southern Britain was to be made, but it was not to be made by any of the inhabitants of Britain. That great event, one of the greatest in the history of Europe and of the world, was to be the work of Teutonic settlers from beyond the sea.

The Teutonic settlement in Britain must, in the general history of Europe, be looked on as part of the great movement which drove so many of the Teutonic nations westward and southward. It was part, in short, of the general ^{Tentonic} wandering of the nations. But it had in many respects a character of its own, which distinguishes it in a marked em- way from the other western and southern settlements of the pire.

Teutonic conquerors. We have already seen that the condition of Britain and its inhabitants in the fifth century was widely different from the condition of Gaul or Spain. The land had never been so thoroughly Romanized, and the Roman legions had been withdrawn by a voluntary act of the Roman government. Here we have one point of difference ; we have also seen that there is another point of difference in the mere fact that the invaders came by sea. But the difference in the position and character of the invaders themselves was more important still. The great mass of the Teutonic settlers who entered the empire by land had already acquired some tinge of Roman cultivation. They already knew something of the arts, the laws, and the religion of Rome ; they served in the Roman armies ; they received grants of land within the Roman dominions as the reward of their services. Their princes were proud to bear Roman titles of honour, military or civil. The conquest was in many cases veiled under some form of decent submission to the Roman power. The Teutonic chief, in truth a foreign invader, did not scorn to give his occupation a show of legality by accepting some kind of commission from the emperor. In short, in most of their continental conquests, the Teutons were to the Romans, if conquerors, yet also disciples. In most cases they had embraced Christianity before their final settlement on Roman ground. Where this was not the case, their conversion speedily followed on their settlement.¹ Where they came as Christians, but as Arian Christians, they gradually conformed to the Roman standard of orthodoxy. Sooner or

¹ The Vandals and the East-Goths came to an end at a comparatively early stage of their settlement, before they had assimilated with the Romans. The more permanent settlers, the West-Goths in Spain and the Lombards in Italy, gradually became Catholic.

later they exchanged their own speech for the speech of Rome, and were gradually lost among the mass of the Roman inhabitants. These processes were quicker or slower according to circumstances. They were quicker where the Goths in Spain or the Burgundians in Gaul were altogether isolated and cut off from their old homes. They were slower where, as in the case of the Franks, the settlements of the conquerors on Roman ground were continuous with their former possessions in the unconquered Teutonic land. But sooner or later, more or less completely, the same causes led to the same results. Wherever the Teutons settled within the empire, they neither exterminated nor assimilated the Roman inhabitants. They were in the end assimilated by them, though, of course, in the process of such assimilation, the Roman inhabitants themselves underwent a certain degree of modification, greater or less, according to circumstances. Thus both France and Italy are Roman lands, with a certain infused Teutonic element. But for the same reasons which made assimilation in Gaul slower than in Italy, the infused Teutonic element is much greater in France than it is in Italy.

Different character of the Teutonic conquest of Britain.
The case of the Teutonic tribes which settled in Britain was altogether different. They came from lands which had been altogether untouched by the Roman power, and where the arts, the language, and the religion of Rome were altogether unknown. They had never been Roman subjects, Roman soldiers, or even Roman allies. They had received no grants from Roman princes, nor had their chiefs been honoured with Roman titles. They were, in short, altogether free from Roman influences. They had no share in that reverence for Rome and all that belonged to her that had so deep an effect on all who came within the range of her magic power. They came not, like, the conquerors of the continental provinces, as disciples of a civilization which they revered, but simply as destroyers of a civilization of which they knew nothing. The conquerors of the continental provinces, themselves already half Romanized, settled in lands which were still thoroughly Roman. The conquerors of Britain, themselves untouched by the slightest Roman influence, settled in a land where Roman influences had already begun to die out. From this wide difference in the circumstances both of conquerors and the conquered, as compared with the circumstances of conqueror and conquered in other countries, it followed that the English conquest of Britain had a character altogether different from the Teutonic conquest of any other Roman province. A people wholly ignorant of Roman culture, coming by sea, and therefore utterly cut off from their own homes, were of themselves disposed to act as destroyers in a way in which the Teutonic invaders elsewhere were not. They were also, as it were, compelled to act as destroyers by the circumstances of the land into which they entered. They met with an amount of resistance, of steady national resistance, such as Goths, Franks, and Burgundians nowhere met with. They had to win the land bit by bit by hard fighting; their advance was often checked by victories on the part of the Britons, or delayed by periods of mere exhaustion and inaction. Their conquest thus took a character of extermination, of complete displacement of one people by another, which was not taken by the Teutonic conquests elsewhere. The English could not, like their fellows on the continent, sit quietly down as the ruling order among a people who for the most part easily submitted, and who therefore kept their lives, their laws, their religion, and a share of their property. The determined resistance of the Britons made it a struggle for life and death on both sides. On the one hand, it made death or personal slavery the only alternatives for the conquered within the conquered territory. On the other hand, the gradual nature of the conquest gave the conquered in one district every opportunity of

escaping into the districts which were still unconquered. There can be no reasonable doubt that the English conquest, in those parts of Britain which were conquered while the English still remained heathens, came as near to a conquest of extermination, to a general killing or driving out of the earlier inhabitants, as was possible in the nature of the case. A complete physical extermination, the killing or driving out of every individual of a whole people, is a thing which cannot take place, except in the case of some utterly helpless tribe attacked by a people immeasurably superior to them in physical resources. Even in such cases it commonly happens that the savage is not, strictly speaking, exterminated by the civilized man; he rather dies out before him. Still less could complete physical extinction take place with a people in the condition of the Britons at the English landing. In the course of the English conquest we may be sure that the alternative of death or flight was the ordinary rule; but we may be equally sure that the rule had its exceptions. The women could be largely spared; even men would sometimes be allowed to escape death at the price of slavery. It might even happen that here and there some of the conquered might make terms with the conquerors, and might be admitted to their fellowship. In all these ways it follows that, physically and genealogically, there is a British element in the English nation, even in the most strictly Teutonic parts of England. No nation is of perfectly pure blood, and the English nation is no exception to the rule. The point is that the British infusion was not large enough to have any perceptible effect on the national being of England. The smaller Celtic infusion was assimilated into the greater Teutonic mass. In the sense of the physiologist or the genealogist, the English nation is not purely Teutonic; but then in their sense no nation is purely anything. The point is that the English people are as strictly Teutonic as the High-Germans are Teutonic, or as the Britons themselves were Celtic. This The Englishman may conceivably have had British fore-fathers, as this or that High-German may conceivably have had Slavonic forefathers, as this or that Briton may conceivably have had Basque forefathers; but to speak of the Britons as the forefathers of the English nation as a nation is as misleading as it would be to speak of the Slaves as the forefathers of the German nation, or of the Basques as the forefathers of the British nation. One nation displaced another; the English displaced the Britons. One system of law, language, and religion gave way to another system of law, language, and religion. The English swept away all that was Roman or British from the soil of the land which they made English, as thoroughly as the Saracens swept away all that was Roman from the soil of Africa. Yet we may be quite certain that in both cases some slaves and renegades here and there conformed to the new state of things. The only point is that they were not in such numbers as to be of the slightest historical importance, not in such numbers as to work any practical modification of the general mass in which they lost themselves.

A new people thus settled in the land, a people who displaced, as far as their complete conquest reached, its earlier inhabitants. From each successive district that was subdued all traces of the old state of things passed away, except a few of the gigantic works of Roman engineering skill. The old language passed away; English displaced Welsh as the language of every district which the English occupied. And the language of the conquerors, in thus displacing the language of the conquered, was hardly at all modified by it; a few Welsh and a very few Latin words were all that crept into English at this stage. The old local nomenclature passed away, except in the case of a few great cities and a few great natural objects. London on the Thames and Gloucester

on the Severn keep their British names; but the names of the vast mass of the towns and villages of England are purely English. The only exceptions are in the districts which were won from the Briton at a later stage of conquest, and in those districts which, through the working of later events, came largely to exchange their English nomenclature for a Danish one. But the English and the Danish nomenclature mark two successive waves of Teutonic conquest; they make one whole as opposed to anything Roman or British. The change of nomenclature shows how complete the change of occupants was; the land was settled and divided afresh, and each place received a new name in the language of the new settlers. The settlers brought with them their own territorial and tribal divisions, their own laws or customs, their own religion. No feature of primitive English law or custom can be shown with the slightest probability to be derived from a Roman or British source. And nowhere, at this stage, within the conquered districts did conquerors and conquered live on side by side, each making use of its own law, as so largely happened in the Teutonic conquests on the continent. That English territorial divisions often represent the earlier divisions of the conquered people is far more likely. The territory won by a particular battle would naturally answer to the territory of the tribe which was overthrown in that battle. And where earlier divisions were made convenient by anything in the physical conformation of the country, the same reason which had already fixed the boundary would lead the new settlers to fix it again at the same points as before. But everything else passed away. Kent alone, of the great divisions of south-eastern Britain, kept its name through all conquests. But it passed on its name to a new race of Kentishmen, *Cantuaris*, alien in blood, speech, law, and faith to the British *Cantii* whom they displaced. That the new comers were alien in faith is perhaps after all the greatest and most important point of difference between the English conquest and the other Teutonic conquests. Of all the Teutonic conquerors of lands which were or had been Roman, the English alone entered the land as heathens and abode in it as heathens. The religious history of Roman Britain is a most mysterious subject; but there can be no doubt that there was an organized Christian church in the island at the time of the English invasion. And, as far as we can see, it would seem that, at least within the former Roman province, the profession of Christianity was universal; there is no sign that aught of old British or Roman idolatry still lived on. On this Christian land and this Christian people came the destroying scourge of a heathen conquest. Our one record of the time, the lament of Gildas, brings out this feature in the strongest light. As afterwards, when the Christian English came under the scourge of the heathen Dane, so now, when the Christian Briton came under the scourge of the heathen English, the churches and clergy were the foremost objects of the destroying fury of the invaders. During the first hundred and fifty years of English settlement in Britain, English conquest meant heathen conquest; English rule meant heathen rule. Christianity, its ministers, its professors, its temples, were thoroughly swept away before the inroad of Teutonic heathendom.

Com-
parison
with the
Rhenish
and Dan-
ubian
lands.

In all these ways then the English conquest of Britain stands apart by itself, as something differing in all its main features from the common race of the Teutonic conquests elsewhere. There are only two parts of Western Europe which present phenomena which are at all like those of our own island. These are those parts of Germany which lie on the left bank of the Rhine and on the right bank of the Danube. There, as in Britain, a land that was Roman ceased to be Roman. The speech, the laws, and the manners of Germany displaced those of Rome. Thus far the case of these lands resembles the case of Britain, and

is unlike the case of Italy, Spain, and the rest of Gaul. But their case differed in this, that the Rhenish and Danubian lands lay adjoining to the unconquered Teutonic lands; they were the lands which were specially exposed to Teutonic inroads. The earliest inroads of the invaders would naturally be of a more devastating kind than those which followed. It would largely be in the course of their earliest inroads that they picked up that amount of Roman culture which made the second stage of their inroads less devastating. And after all, the amount of havoc could not have been equal to the amount of havoc which was done in Britain, as most of the Roman cities lived through the storm and kept their Roman names. And in the lands west of the Rhine, in those German lands which formed part of the Roman province of Gaul, the Teutonic invaders were but winning back an old Teutonic land. It is possible that some traces of Teutonic speech and feeling may have still lingered on to make the progress of the invaders more easy. And in these lands, above all, the Roman inhabitants had the fullest means of withdrawing into the unsubdued part of the province. As long as the Teuton was a mere destroyer, they would naturally seek shelter in the lands which were still untouched. As soon as he became only a conqueror, and not a mere destroyer, they would find it more to their interest to submit. In Britain it was not till a much later stage, not till the greater part of his conquests were made, that the Teutonic conqueror began to carry on his conquests in such a fashion as to make it the interest of the conquered to submit rather than to flee.

Such then was the general nature of the Teutonic conquest of the greater part of Britain, the conquest which changed so great a part of Britain into England. It was a destroying conquest which swept away the former inhabitants and their whole political system. It was specially a heathen conquest, which utterly rooted up Christianity from a land where it must have already taken deep root. It was a gradual conquest, spread over several centuries, a conquest in which the conquerors had to win each step by hard fighting against the earlier inhabitants. Lastly, it was a conquest which never was completed, which never spread over the whole island. Leaving for the present purely political questions about homage and supremacy, it is plain that there is a large part of Britain which remained untouched by the English occupation, and where the ancient inhabitants, their language, laws, and manners still lived on. And it may be added that, in some districts to which English occupation did extend, in those conquests namely which were the latest in date, the character of the conquest greatly changed from what it had been in its earlier stages.

It seemed well fully to set forth the nature of the con- The Low-
quest before giving any detailed account of the former con- Dutch
dition of the conquerors, or any direct narrative of their tribes
conquest. Having cleared the ground from misconceptions, and their
language.

The Teutonic conquerors of Britain then were the Low-Dutch¹ tribes from the border-lands of Germany and Scandinavia, the lands from the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. Their dialects form a branch of the Teutonic speech distinct from the High-Dutch dialects spoken to the south of them. Their own speech must not be looked on as in any sense a corruption of the High-Dutch, but as a perfectly independent and coequal branch of the great Teutonic family, as old

¹ Dutch is the English form of *Theotisius*, the truer Latin name of the German nation, of which *Deutsch* in its various spellings is the native form. This wider use of the word has hardly ceased in America, and in England the name, with its two divisions of *High Dutch* and *Low-Dutch*, was in familiar use down to the beginning of the last century.

as the High-Dutch, perhaps older. These dialects, which in their system of letter-changes agree with the ancient Gothic and the Scandinavian rather than with the High-Dutch, form the natural speech of the whole coast region stretching from Picardy to Denmark, and they have been carried by conquest far to the east, along the Slavonic, Prussian, and Finnish coasts of the Baltic. But their area has been encroached on in different parts by French, by Danish, and by High-Dutch, so that that form of the Low-Dutch which is spoken in the kingdom of the Netherlands, and which we now know specially as *Dutch*, is the only continental dialect of the whole group which is commonly acknowledged as a national and literary language.

Among the tribes of this region, three stand out conspicuously in the history of that conquest, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes.¹ Each had its special and marked share in the work. The Jutes, in all likelihood, formed the first permanent Teutonic settlement in Britain. The Saxons and the Angles settled later; but each of them occupied a far larger part of the island than the Jutes. And each of these last gave a name to the Teutonic settlements as a whole. As soon as the Teutonic settlers were so far united as to bear a common name, the received name on their own lips was *English*; on the lips of their Celtic neighbours and enemies the received name was *Saxon*.

The reason for this difference in nomenclature is plain. The Angles occupied a greater share of the land than the Saxons; they therefore gave the national name to the united people.² But the Saxons were the first among the invaders with whom the Celtic or Roman inhabitants of Britain had to deal; they therefore gave the Saxon name to the invaders in general. This last fact at once brings us to the actual history of the English conquest. If we cannot say that the English conquest itself began, we may at least say that the first steps towards it were taken, as soon as any Low-Dutch invaders from beyond sea first attempted a settlement by arms in Roman, or once Roman, Britain. This process, it must be marked, stands wholly apart from questions either as to the possible Teutonic origin of any of the tribes whom the Romans found in Britain, or as to possible Teutonic settlements in the province made with the sanction of the Roman authorities. This last process undoubtedly happened in the case of soldiers of Teutonic race serving in the Roman armies. But Teutonic settlements, either before the Roman occupation or under the Roman occupation, are something wholly distinct from the Teutonic conquest either of a Roman province or of a land forsaken by Rome. Such settlements might make the Teutonic conquest more easy when it did come, but that is all that they could do. Settlers of either of those classes became Roman subjects, Roman provincials. The events which led to the Conquest began when men of Teutonic race first settled or

First attempt at settlement. tried to settle in the island, not as Roman soldiers or Roman subjects, but as foreign invaders of the Roman land. This work, which was not the English conquest, but which was the first step towards it, the conquest which was merely attempted and not carried out, seems to have begun in the second half of the fourth century. Claudian bears witness to the naval victories of the elder Theodosius, the father of the renowned emperor of that name, who (367 A.D.) beat

back a Saxon invasion by sea. That is to say, an attempt at Teutonic settlement was then made; but there was still strength in the Roman power to hinder it. Had it been otherwise, the history of English conquest in Britain would have begun in the fourth century instead of in the fifth. Incursions undoubtedly went on; the south-eastern coast of Britain, the part specially exposed to Saxon invasion, got the name of the *Saxon Shore*,³ and a Roman officer with the title of Count had that shore under his special keeping. But things took quite a new turn after the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain. The land now lay open to settlement in a way in which it had not done before. It is now therefore that actual conquests, as distinguished from mere incursions and attempted settlements, begin.

Our materials for the history of this great event, an event which is nothing short of the beginning of our national history, at first sight seem scanty. Our only absolutely contemporary notice is to be found in two meagre entries in the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, which however assert the main fact that Britain was brought under the power of the Saxons about the middle of the fifth century.⁴ The native writer who is most nearly contemporary, the Briton Gildas, belongs to the next century, and was a witness of some stages, though not of the earliest, of the work of conquest. He is the earliest writer who gives us anything that can be called a narrative, a narrative meagre enough, but which helps us to some particular events and personal names. About the same time Procopius, without any direct notice of the conquest, speaks of Britain as a land inhabited by Angles and Frisians as well as Britons. The series of English writers begins with Bæda, and goes on with the English Chronicles, to which we may fairly add the fragments of ancient English songs which lurk in the Latin of Henry of Huntingdon. Of these Bæda himself did not write till more than two hundred years after the beginning of the Conquest, and the materials for his short narrative of the Conquest itself seems to come at least as much from British as from English sources. Our only details are those which are preserved in the Chronicles and in Henry of Huntingdon. The Chronicles in their present form do not date from an earlier time than the reign of *Ælfred* in the ninth century; but any one who studies them carefully will see that this part of the record contains far older materials. The narrative is remarkably free from anything which has a legendary sound. That its chronology may be largely arbitrary is possible; but that it is so is of itself an arbitrary conjecture. The English at the time of their landing were not wholly illiterate. They had their runic alphabet, and it is perfectly possible that the entries in the Chronicles may come from an absolutely contemporary record. Such a record, even if it marked the sequence of years according to some reckoning of its own, must of course have been adapted to the Christian reckoning by the compilers of the Chronicles, and in such a process some errors of detail may well have crept in. But there seems no reason to suspect invention, falsification, or even accidental error, on any great scale. The narrative will bear testing; the entries fit in with all that can be made out from an examination of the country. They fit in with the notices of the Welsh writers, and with all such

¹ The Angles and the Saxons are plain enough; there is a certain degree of mystery about the Jutes, their name, and their origin. But it is enough for our purpose that they were a third Teutonic people, distinguishable from the Angles and Saxons.

² *Engle*, *Anglcyn*, *Angli*, are the usual names of the united nation. *Angli-Saxones*, *Angul-Sezze*, are sometimes found, especially in the royal style of the tenth century. Those forms are equivalent to *Angli et Saxones*, the nation formed by the union of the Angles and Saxons. It is therefore the more correct description of the two; but its employment in England is always formal; it clearly never passed into general use. In foreign writers it is somewhat more common.

³ The *Limes Saxonicus* or *Litus Saxonum* was first truly explained by Dr Guest. It means, not a shore occupied by Saxons, but a boundary against Saxons. It answers to the Danish, Slavonic, and Spanish marches of the later empire, except that in the one case the enemy was to be dreaded by land, and in the other case by sea.

⁴ Prosper has two entries. The former says that "Hac tempestate (the time of Constantine the Tyrant, 407-411) præ valitudine Rom-anorum, vires funditus attenuate Britannia." The other says that, some time before the death of *Aëtius* in 454, "Britannia, usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque lacerata, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur."

incidental sources of knowledge as we have. In this way a narrative in considerable detail has been recovered by the care and skill of Dr Guest. As for the notices in Henry of Huntingdon, which evidently contain fragments of lost poems, we must remember that a contemporary poem may be just as good an authority as a prose writing. Several poems are inserted in the Chronicles themselves in undoubtedly historical times, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Other poems of those ages, sometimes, like the song of Maldon, preserved in the original, sometimes, like the song of Stamfordbridge and the song of Waltheof at York, preserved only in Latin fragments, are among our best materials for military events. They go far more into detail than the prose writers do. There seems then no good ground for doubting the general trustworthiness of the narrative which is preserved to us in the Chronicles, and which we are occasionally able to enlarge from other sources. It is, of course, only the earlier stages of the Conquest that can be made the subject of any controversy at all. From the beginning of the conversion of the English to Christianity, we begin to have contemporary materials of one kind or another, till, in the time of *Ælfred*, the Chronicle itself becomes contemporary. It is only for about a hundred and fifty years that we are left almost wholly to judge of our materials by their internal evidence. And surely a narrative like that of the Chronicles, no tissue of wild and impossible legends, but a steady business-like series of entries, may very well have been handed down for that length of time by means of runes, helped here and there by a contemporary song.

Our narrative then, put together from these various sources, represents the Britons, after the departure of the Roman legions, as left without defence against the attacks of their northern neighbours the Picts and Scots. They apply for help to *Aëtius*; but the Roman general, busy in the struggle with *Attila*, has no leisure to do anything for them. Their prince, who bears a name of which the most familiar form is *Vortigern*, invites the help of the Saxons, an unwise step enough, but one which has plenty of parallels in history. The British prince, in the most authentic record, is not a king but a duke. The Teutonic leaders whom he invites are also *caldormen* or *heretogans*, not kings. They are the two brothers *Hengest* and *Horsa*. Their landing is fixed by the Chronicle to the year 449; and, without insisting on this exact date, it is plain that the Conquest must have begun about the middle of the fifth century. A warfare of nearly forty years, in which many battles are entered, established the first Teutonic kingdom in Britain, that of Kent, the one land which never lost its British name. Of the two brother leaders, *Horsa* is killed in a battle with *Vortigern* in 455, after which *Hengest* and his son *Æsc* assume the kingly title. In all this there is nothing like romance; it is a matter-of-fact kind of history, which might be preserved by a runic chronicle, which might almost be preserved by tradition. Once only we have a touch which seems to come from a song, as when in a battle in the year 473 the Welsh are said to have "fled from the English like fire." The geography of the story has been minutely examined, and it shows that the tale is a sound and credible military narrative. Later writers, English and British, have tricked out the story with endless mythical details, and have carried the arms of *Hengest* far beyond the narrow limits of Kent, to which the Chronicle confines them. Modern critics have found materials for cavil in the names of the two brothers, and in the number of the thirty-nine years of the reign of *Hengest*. Both points might easily be given up. The main fact is the gradual conquest of a small corner of Britain after much hard fighting with its British possessors. But there really seems no reason why *Hengest* and *Horsa* might not be

names of real men as much as *Wulf*, *Beorn*, and *Leo*. And the years of *Hengest's* reign are, after all, one short of the mystical forty.

In the British narrative, in the single Roman entry, of Use of these events, the Teutonic invaders are called *Saxons*. In the Chronicles they appear as *Angelycyn*, *Angle*, *Engle*, *Saxon* and *Eng*-Angles or English. They are so called, not merely in the historical summary of the ninth century editor, but in the names entry (473) which has the earliest ring of all about it. But when *Bæda*, and after him the Chronicler, gives a short ethnological account of the invaders, they describe the Teutonic conquerors of Kent neither as *Saxons* nor as *Angles*, but as *Jutes*. As the *Jutes* then, in the very record of their conquest, are spoken of, on the one hand as *Saxons*, on the other hand as *English*, it seems to follow that, from the very beginning, the Celtic inhabitants of Britain called all Teutonic invaders *Saxons*, while the invaders themselves from the very beginning used *Angle* or *English* as their common name. The general use of the *Saxon* name by the Celts is only what we should have looked for; the wide use of the *English* name among the *Teutons* themselves is a fact to be noticed. It is at least certain that, while the *English* name is often applied to *Saxons* and *Jutes*, it would be hard to find any case where an *Angle* calls himself, or is called in his own tongue, a *Saxon*. We need not infer that the *English* name had become the common name of all the three tribes before they left Germany; it certainly became so within no long time after they settled in Britain.

We also see that, from the beginning, the Teutonic conquerors spoke of their British enemies as *Welsh* or *Welsh* strangers. The name is familiar in that sense both in Britain and on the mainland, but it seems never to be applied to any strangers but those who were either of Roman or of Celtic speech. And it would seem to be applied only to those Celts who had come under the Roman dominion. Our forefathers spoke of the *Bretwealas* in Britain, of the *Galwealas* in Gaul, of the *Runwealas* in Italy; but the name seems never to be applied to the Scots either in Ireland or in Britain. Like the word *Slave*, it sank, in the language of the conquerors, to express bondage. The masculine *wealh* sometimes, the feminine *wylne* much more commonly, mean a slave in the secondary meaning of that word. This difference of usage is again remarkable. It falls in with the belief, natural in itself, that in the process of conquest the few Britons who were spared were mainly women. Again, *Bæda* and the Chronicler, as we have seen, speak of the Teutonic conquerors of Britain as sprung from three tribes only, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*. It was plainly only those three tribes, that is, chiefs of those tribes, who founded kingdoms in Britain. But in all great migrations various kindred tribes are sure to take a part, and it would be rash to rule that no Low-Dutch people but those of other three took a part in the enterprise. Procopius, for instance, speaks, not of *Angles* and *Saxons*, but of *Angles* and *Frisians*. We may well believe that *Frisians*, and other tribes too, helped in the work. Possibly no one settlement consisted wholly of men of any one tribe. It is enough that all the royal races of the several kingdoms belonged to the three stocks, *Saxon*, *Anglian*, and *Jutish*. It was then by *Saxon*, *Anglian*, and *Jutish* settlers, or at all events by settlers under *Saxon*, *Anglian*, and *Jutish* leaders, that the greater part of Britain was changed into England. But the work was a slow one, and the way in which it was carried out seems not to have been exactly the same in all parts. In the end seven or eight chief kingdoms were founded. The old dream of a regular *Heptarchy* has long been exploded; but it is certain that, among a crowd of smaller states, seven or eight stand out as conspicuous king-among the rest, and as having something like a continuous doma-

Settle-
ment of
the Jutes
in Kent.

The Jutish settlements.

The Saxon settlements.

South-Saxons.

West-Saxons.

East-Saxons.

The Anglian settlements.

history. The Jutes, the first to settle, occupied the smallest part of the country. Their dominions took in only Kent with perhaps for a while Surrey, and Wight with a small part of the neighbouring mainland of Hampshire. They were hemmed in on all sides by the Saxon settlements, all of which bore the Saxon name. *Suthaexe*, *Westsexe*, *Eastsexe*, have been softened in modern speech into Sussex, Wessex, and Essex; but the names are strictly not territorial, but tribal. *Westsexe* and the rest are all of them names, not of a land, but of a people. The whole of the Saxon settlements were made on the southern and south-eastern coasts; and it was the West-Saxons only who at any time carried their conquests to any distance inland. The South-Saxon settlement came next after the Jutish settlement in Kent. The date given to it is 477. The most remarkable event in the process of conquest was the storming of Anderida, now Pevensey, in 491. The forsaken walls of the Roman city still bear witness to the day when *Ælle* and *Cissa* slew all that were within, and when not a Bret was left behind. But the South-Saxons found a natural frontier to the north in the great wood of Anderida. Their kingdom always remained little more than a long strip of coast, cut off to a great extent from the other kingdoms of Britain, and playing but a small part in their general history. It still keeps its name and boundary as the modern county of Sussex. The kingdom of the Gewissas or West-Saxons, founded to the west of the South-Saxons, was destined to hold quite another place in English and British history. Two Saxon *ealdormen*, Cerdic and Cynric, founded in 495 a settlement on the coast of what is now Hampshire. That settlement grew into the kingdom of England. Twenty-four years after their first landing, the two Saxon *ealdormen* deemed their position strong enough, and their conquests wide enough, for them to assume the kingly title. Thus began the royal line of the West-Saxons, which became the royal line of England. The third Saxon settlement, that of the East-Saxons, has no such definite date given to its foundation; but it certainly began not later than the first half of the sixth century. Like Sussex, it never extended itself far inland; but it derived some importance from its containing two of the great cities of Roman Britain. One was Camulodunum or Colchester; the other was London. But London, with its district of the Middle-Saxons, grew, by virtue of its admirable position, to a greatness which gave it a separate being. The city of ships, on its broad river, remained as a great prize to be striven for by every conqueror, rather than as a lasting and integral possession of any one of the English kingdoms.

The settlements of the Angles, who in course of time occupied a much larger part of the land to which they gave their name than was occupied by the Saxons, have quite another history from the kingdoms of which we have just spoken. In Kent, in Sussex, in Wessex, the chief who leads the settlement is himself the founder of the kingdom. In the case of Kent and Sussex, the kingdom never permanently outgrew the bounds of the earliest conquests. The boundaries of Wessex advanced and fell back and advanced again; but they advanced by the process of bringing fresh conquests, newly won from the Briton, under the rule of the already existing kingly house of Wessex. The Anglian kingdoms grew in another way. We know, in some cases at least, the names of their first kings; but those first kings do not appear as the first leaders of settlers from beyond sea. It would rather seem as if a crowd of small settlements, of the date and circumstances of whose foundation we can say nothing, each doubtless ruled by its own *ealdorman* or petty king, were gradually grouped together into several considerable kingdoms. It is perfectly possible, though there is no evidence for the belief, that some of

these original settlements may have actually been of earlier date than the landing of Cerdic, of *Ælle*, or of Hengest. What is certain is that these Anglian states do not appear as organized kingdoms till a later time than Kent, Sussex, and Wessex. The chief Anglian powers were four. The East-Angles occupied the land to the north of the East-Saxons, a land which the vast fen region to the west of it made in those times, if not insular, at least peninsular. North of the Humber arose two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira, whose union at a later time formed the mighty realm of Northumberland, stretching from the Humber to the Forth. Ida, who in 547 gathered together a number of scattered Anglian settlements into the kingdom of Bernicia, is the one Anglian prince during the first stage of conquest who stands out with a personal being like that of the Saxon and Jutish founders. From his fortress on the basaltic rock of Bamburgh, overhanging the German Ocean, he ruled the eastern seaboard from Tees to Forth. Of the founder of the kingdom of Deira to the south of Bernicia we have no such clear mention, nor do we know when or by what means that kingdom won the possession which gave it its chief importance. This was the former capital of Roman Britain, *Eboracum*, *Eoforwic*, or York. Of the process of conquest in central England we know even less. We know absolutely nothing of the circumstances under which the land was won from the Briton. A crowd of Anglian tribes, which kept more or less of separate existence till a very late time, were gradually brought under the dominion of a single Anglian power. This power, as growing up on the British frontier, took the name of *Merce*, the men of the mark or border, and the name of *Mercia* gradually spread over all central England. The date of the beginning of the Mercian kingdom is fixed as late as 584. But this of course does not mean a fresh settlement from beyond sea, but simply the gathering together of several small settlements so as to form one considerable power. The boundaries of the true Mercian kingdom may be traced by the boundaries of the old diocese of Lichfield; but it could not have reached to anything like this extent so early as 584.

Here then we have, among a crowd of smaller states, a few kingdoms, seven or eight in number, which stand out prominently, and fill a place in the history of Britain. Among these again, a smaller number stand out at different times as aspiring, with more or less of success, to the general supremacy of the country. In all cases where a number of kindred but independent states lie near together, a supremacy of one kind or another is sure to come, either by force or by consent, to some one among the number, in which the rest are, more or less quickly, more or less thoroughly, merged. Thus, in modern Europe, France grew into Gaul, and Castile grew into Spain; thus in our own day Piedmont has grown into Italy, and Prussia has gone far towards growing into Germany. So in the end Wessex grew into England; but it was not till after many struggles, many ups and downs, many changes of frontier, that the house of Cerdic became the royal house over the whole land. Three, or at most four, of the greater Teutonic kingdoms in Britain became serious competitors for the general supremacy over all the settlements of the race. Kent, small in geographical extent, had the start in order of time, and was in many ways favoured by position. But any effective supremacy on the part of Kent belongs only to an early stage of English occupation; the powers among which the supremacy was really disputed were the great Saxon kingdom of Wessex, the great Anglian kingdom of Northumberland, formed by the union of Bernicia and Deira, and the Anglian kingdom of Mercia, which formed itself in the space between them. It would seem that, sometimes at least, a supremacy of some kind on the part of one kingdom over the whole or part of the rest was

The
Bret-
waldas.

formally acknowledged; and the chief so recognized by common consent was known as a *Bretwalda* or ruler of Britain.¹ Our knowledge on this subject hardly goes beyond establishing the fact that such a supremacy was sometimes acknowledged, without telling us anything in detail as to its nature, or as to the way in which it was obtained. It was not continuous; there were times when there was no Bretwalda. It fluctuated from kingdom to kingdom, according to the accidents of war, policy, or personal ability. The fact that such a supremacy existed from early times is chiefly important on account of what it afterwards grew into. The tradition of a supremacy vested in some one power clearly helped the West-Saxon kings in gathering all the Teutonic kingdoms of Britain into the one realm of England. It further combined with other influences in suggesting the doctrine of an imperial supremacy over the whole isle of Britain.

Process
of con-
quest.

Plate II.
(Britain
in 597).

The establishment of these kingdoms at the expense of the Britons forms the period of heathen conquest, which we may reckon at about a hundred and sixty years. In the course of that time, the English, at first established only on the eastern and part of the southern coast, made their way step by step to the western sea. At the end of this period the whole of Britain was very far from being conquered; indeed English conquest was very far from having reached its fullest extent; but the English had become the dominant race in South Britain. The Britons still kept a large part of the land; but they held it only in detached pieces. The English were the advancing people. The Britons could not at the utmost hope to do more than defend what they still kept. The work of conquest during this period was mainly the work of Wessex at one end and of the Northumbrian kingdoms at the other. Sussex, Kent, East-Anglia, each gave the English race a Bretwalda; but these powers, as well as Essex, were geographically cut off from any share in the conquest after the first stage of settlement. Wessex, on the other hand, whose later growth took another direction, pressed boldly into the heart of Britain. West-Saxon progress was indeed checked for a while by British resistance under the famous Arthur. The legendary renown which has gathered round Arthur's name ought not to wipe out the fact that he met Saxon Cerdic face to face, and by the rings of Badbury dealt him a blow which for a while made the English invader halt.² But from the middle of the sixth century West-Saxon advance is swift. In 552 the second stage begins with the taking of Old Sarum. Sixteen years later comes, doubtless not the first, but the first recorded, fight of Englishman against Englishman. The fight of Wibbandū (Wimbledon) made Surrey West-Saxon, and cut off Kent from all hope of further advance. In 571 the West-Saxon border, under the Bretwaldas Ceawlin, stretched far beyond the Thames, as far north as the present Buckingham. Still no English conqueror had reached the sea between Britain and Ireland. From Dunbarton to the south coast of Devonshire, the British occupation of the western side of the island was still unbroken. Aquæ Solis, Corinium, Glevum, Uronicum, and, greater than all, Deva on her promontory, were still British strongholds. They had not yet changed into Bath, Cirencester, Gloucester, Wroxeter, and Chester. The next object of the advancing English was to break this line, to reach the sea, and, if not wholly to subdue the British inhabitants of the west coast, at least to break their continuous power into fragments which might be more easily

overcome. In 577 Ceawlin took Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, and carried the West-Saxon border to the estuary of the Severn, the future Bristol Channel. The British dominion was thus split asunder. Wales and Strathclyde, to use the geographical names of a time a little later, still formed a continuous whole. But they were now cut off from all connexion with the Britons in the great south-western peninsula, the peninsula of West-Wales, from the northern Axe to the Land's End. To break through the line at another point, to seize Deva and to carry the West-Saxon arms to the north-western sea, was the next object. In this Ceawlin failed; but his expedition of 583 established a long strip of English territory along the Severn valley. Wessex thus seemed to be growing into the great power of central, as well as of southern, Britain. But the second great blow which was to cleave the British dominion into three, as it had been already cloven into two, was not to be dealt by Saxon hands. A great power had now grown up in the north. At various periods before and after the English conquest, things looked as if the supreme power was to be fixed in the northern lands, in the city by the Ouse and not in the city by the Thames. Eboracum had been in Roman days the capital of Britain. The once imperial city was now the head of a great realm, formed by the union of Bernicia and Deira under their conquering king Æthelfrith. In 603 a victory over the Scottish king Ægðan at Dægsanstan secured his power to the north. Some years later he broke through the line of unconquered British territory; he smote the Britons under the walls of Deva, and left those walls, like the walls of Anderida, desolate without an inhabitant. The English conquest of Britain, if not yet completed, was now assured. The British power, which five and twenty years before had stretched uninterruptedly along the whole west coast, was now broken into three parts. Through western and central Britain the boundaries were still very fluctuating. While Æthelfrith smote Deva, lands near to his own capital, the land of Elmet and Loidis, the modern Leeds, was still unconquered British ground. The dominion of Wessex north of the Thames and Avon had rather the character of an outlying territory stretching into a hostile land, than of the compact dominion which the West-Saxon kings held over Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. Moreover the two great powers of the north and the south were now brought into rivalry and collision. Æthelfrith had done what Ceawlin had failed to do; and between Northumberland and Wessex a third great power had arisen, which in a few years was to show itself the equal of either. The West-Saxon had reached the western sea at one point; the Northumbrian had reached it at another point. But the greater part of the western conquests of both were to go to swell the Mercian power which had just come into being. And besides all this, a revolution had begun which was to work the greatest of all changes. The victory of Æthelfrith was the last great blow dealt by the heathen English to the Christian Britons. When it was dealt, Northumberland, Wessex, Mercia, Sussex, and East-Anglia were still heathen. But Kent and Essex had already embraced the gospel. York and Winchester still knew no worship but that of Woden; but the altars of Christ had already risen once more in Canterbury and London.

The time of heathen conquest thus ends with the first years of the seventh century. The introduction of Christianity among the English was so great a change, it gave so different a character to all the events that followed, that this would seem to be the most fitting point in our story to stop and attempt a picture of the general state of things in Teutonic Britain during the first century and a half after Teutonic conquest began. The introduction of a new religion did

¹ It may be, as Mr Kemble suggests, that the truer form is *Bryten-wealdas*, and the truer meaning "wide ruler." But if so, it is true only etymologically. In the two or three places where the name is used, it is used, rightly or wrongly, to mean "ruler of Britain."

² Dr Guest has shown that "Mons Badonicus" is not Bath, or anywhere else but Badbury in Dorset.

Effects of not stop warfare, whether between Englishman and Briton or between Englishman and Englishman. It did not stop aggressive conquest at the cost of either kinsmen or strangers. But it so far humanized its new converts that warfare ceased to be exterminating. Conquest now meant political subjugation and, for a while, social degradation. It no longer meant the more frightful alternatives of death, flight, or personal slavery. The lands won by the English up to this date must be looked on as having become purely Teutonic. The Britons were swept away as nearly as a people can be swept away. The lands conquered after this time must be looked on as lands in which the dominant Teuton has largely assimilated his Celtic subjects. The process has gone on from that day to this, and it goes on still. Kent, the south-eastern peninsula, has been purely English for fourteen hundred years. Cornwall, the south-western peninsula, has become fully English, even in speech, only within the memory of a generation which has hardly passed away. Thus, in the hundred and fifty-eight years which passed between the landing of Hengest and the victory of Ethelfrith, a large part of Britain had received another language, another religion, another system of law. Old things had passed away; all things had become new. In the whole eastern part of the island, from the Forth to the English Channel, and through a great, though still somewhat undefined, central region, reaching at two points to the western seas, the Roman and the Briton had gone, and the Teuton had taken their place. The three Low-Dutch tribes brought with them their form of the common Teutonic language. Into that language a few Roman and a few British words crept from the beginning. British slaves, British women, brought in a few humble words of domestic life. A few of the great works of Roman civilization, such as the conquerors had never seen in their own land, struck them with awe and wonder. For these they had no names in their own tongue; they therefore kept their Latin names in the English tongue. The words *street*, *port*, *chester*, thus came into our language. Many of the great natural objects, most of the rivers, a few of the hills, kept their earlier names; so did a few great cities. With these few exceptions, the vocabulary of the tongue which our fathers brought with them remained untouched. It was enriched by a few new words to express new ideas, and that was all. Nothing happened till far later times to make any change in its character, its grammatical construction, its general stock of words. We brought with us our language, and with our language we brought with us the earliest monuments of its literature. We brought with us our English Iliad in the primeval Song of Beowulf; we brought with us our Homeric catalogue in the Song of the Traveller. Whether they were written or unwritten, whether they lived only in the memory or were graven with the primeval runes, those songs were the work of Englishmen in days before a rod of British soil had become England. Nor need we doubt that the deeds of Hengest and Cerdic had already been graven on the primeval beech,¹ while yet Englishmen knew no speech but English, and worshipped no god but Woden and his fellows. Before the Roman made his second appearance in this island, the national literature of Englishmen, the local literature of England, had begun.

We thus brought with us into Britain that form of the common Aryan speech which had grown up among the tribes of northern Germany. Wherever, during the first hundred and fifty years of the English settlement, the English arms reached, there the tongue of Rome and the tongue of Britain passed away. Their place was taken by

¹ *Brock* and *book* are the same word, just like the two senses of the Latin *liber*. *Wrote* is cognate with the High-Dutch *reissen*, just like *scribere* with *scrivere*.

the speech which, with the changes that fourteen hundred years have wrought in it, still abides the speech of England. It has changed, as all other languages have changed. It has, like all other languages, so changed that its older forms cannot now be understood without special study; but it has never lost its unbroken personal being. The English tongue has never been displaced by any other tongue, as the tongue of the Briton was displaced by the tongue of the English. It has lived on, spoken in different local forms in different parts of the land, changing from age to age, losing old inflexions, taking in new words; but it has changed simply as the nation itself has changed, without ceasing to be one and the same English nation; it has changed, as each man in the nation himself changes in his passage from childhood to old age, without ceasing to be the same personal being in old age which he was in childhood. And, with our form of the common Aryan language, ^{The} we brought with us our form of another common Aryan Teutonic possession, which still abides, also unchanged in its personal polity. identity, never displaced to make way for any other system, but which has gone through even greater and more constant changes than our spoken language. We brought with us our own political and social system; that is, the form which the political and social system common to the whole Aryan family had taken among the tribes of northern Germany. A germ of political and social life was brought into Britain in the keels of Hengest, which, changing from generation to generation but never itself exchanged for any other system, borrowing from foreign sources but assimilating what it borrowed with its own essence, changing its outward shape but abiding untouched in its true substance, has lived and grown through fourteen hundred years into the law, the constitution, the social being, of England.

The earliest law or custom of England was the law or Effects of custom of the old homes of the English settlers, with such conquest modifications as the settlement in a land beyond the sea could not fail to bring with it. These modifications, as a moment's thought will show, must have been considerable. A conquest by land need not involve any sudden change; it does not necessarily place the conqueror in any wholly new set of circumstances. It may well be a mere territorial advance, a mere addition of field to field, in which the last won territory does not call for any different treatment from the older territory immediately behind it. But a conquest by sea implies a breach of continuity; the old land is necessarily forsaken, and a fresh start has to be made in a new one. The political society of the old home may be reproduced in the new; but it is reproduced rather than continued, and it can hardly be reproduced without some measure of change. And a settlement made bit by bit, each step being won by hard fighting, such as was the English settlement in Britain, will be affected by all such influences as are likely to be strengthened by constant fighting for the possession of a new country. And in such a case, when the nation is an army in active service, when the chiefs of the nation are the leaders of that army, the influences which are most likely to be strengthened are those which tend in the direction of national unity. Or, what is almost the same thing, they are the influences which tend to strengthen the authority of the chiefs by whom the national unity is represented.

The political and social state of the Low-Dutch tribes at the time of their settlement in Britain was still essentially the primitive Teutonic democracy, the state of things described by Tacitus, and which still exists, modified of course in the lapse of ages, but untouched by any violent change, in some of the smaller and more primitive cantons of Switzerland. The family is at the root of everything. The *hide* of land, the portion supposed to be enough for the maintenance of a single family, is the lowest territorial unit.

The
mark or
town-
ship.

The enlarged family, in Greek and Latin phrase the *gens*, tracing by natural descent or by artificial adoption to a common forefather, real or imaginary, divine or human, is the lowest political unit. As in ancient Greece and Italy, it constantly bears the name of such supposed forefather. The *Æscingas*, the *Scyldingas*, a crowd of other such names, marked in Teutonic, just as in Greek, by the patronymic ending, are sometimes recorded in history or legend, sometimes simply left to be inferred from the local nomenclature of England and other Teutonic lands. The territory, originally the common territory, of such an enlarged or artificial family, formed the lowest territorial division, the *mark* or *township*. The cultivated land of each *gens* was fenced in by a boundary line of untilled land, forming the *mark* in the strictest sense. The township then and its inhabitants formed the lowest political unit, an unit having its own assembly and its own political organization. Such a political unit still forms the *gemeinde*, the *commune*, of other lands. This unit has been exposed in England to influences which have altered its character more thoroughly than it has been altered anywhere else. An ecclesiastical influence has changed the original *mark* into the half civil, half ecclesiastical *parish*. An influence of another kind changed the primitive community, holding its common land by its own right, into a body of tenants holding their land of a lord. The township which had passed through such a change became a *manor*.

It must always be remembered that, in the primitive polity, each larger group is formed by bringing together several of the smaller. Several *gentes* brought together formed in the Roman system the *curia*, answering to the Attic *pharos* and the Spartan *þbri*. The Teutonic counterpart of this group is the *hundred*. The name must in its beginning have meant a real hundred of some kind; but such names soon lose their proper force, and are used in a purely conventional sense. The hundreds of England are familiar as geographical divisions; but their traditional organization, administrative, judicial, and military, is fast passing out of memory. When the English first landed in Britain, and for ages after, that organization was fresh and vigorous. But it is quite possible that, even before the voyage of Hengest, the mere name of hundred had become purely conventional, and had ceased to imply an actual hundred of any kind.

As a group of *gentes* formed a *curia*, so a group of *curiae* form a *tribe*. In the Teutonic nomenclature, the territory of the tribe is the *gá*, *gau*, *peod*, or *scir*, in modern English *shire*, the *pagus* or *scira* of Latin writers. *Gá* or *gau*, a name familiar in Germany, but whose existence can only just be proved in England, is doubtless the elder name. *Shire*, from *shear*, does not mean a group of lesser units, but in strictness a division, something *shorn* off from a greater whole. Both names are historically true. Of the existing shires of England some are really primitive *gás*, settlements of tribes, while others are in strictness *shires*, artificial divisions formed at a later time in imitation of the primitive *gá*. The West-Saxon shires are primitive *gás*, and two at least, those of the Sumorsætas and the Dorsetas, still keep the ancient tribal names. But the old tribal divisions of Mercia were wiped out in the Danish conquest of the ninth century. In the process of English reconquest the land was mapped out afresh into *shires*, strictly so called, shires grouped conveniently round a central town, and bearing the name of that town instead of the name of the ancient tribe. The shire, it is needless to say, is still a living thing throughout England, and from England it has spread itself, commonly under the French name *county*, through all lands ruled, settled, or influenced by England.

The *gá* was the lowest group which could exist as a really distinct political power. The mark and the hundred, like

the *gens* and the *curia*, do not, at least in the finished system, whether Teutonic or Greek and Italian, aspire to the character of an independent state. The *gá*, like the tribe, might do so. The *gá* might be wholly independent; it might be dependent on some stronger neighbour; it might be incorporated into a kingdom, and sink into one of its geographical divisions. But in any case it kept its full and separate organization, its assembly with judicial, administrative, and legislative power, its chief bearing the title of *Ealdorman* or *Alderman* in peace, of *Heretoga*, *Herzog*—the *στρατηγός* of the Athenian tribe—in time of war. The alderman stood, like the territory of which he was the chief, in various relations. He might be an independent or a vassal prince; he might, by the incorporation of his *gá* with a kingdom, have sunk into a mere magistrate, appointed by the king and assembly of the whole kingdom. But the organization of the *gá* or *shire* remained in either case. So the Ramnes and Titienses were independent tribes, occupying their several hills. They joined together, to become the tribes whose union formed the earliest Rome.

A system of *gás* or *shires* is thus the oldest fully developed form of the Teutonic polity. The process of grouping independent *gás* into a yet greater division was gradual, and went on much faster in some parts than others. The union of *gás* formed a *rice* or kingdom; the chief of the group thus formed was a *cynung* or *king*. What, it may be asked, was the difference between king and ealdorman? The question is a hard one; but one point of difference seems plain. The ealdorman was a ruler in peace and a captain in war. The king was more. Among the English at least, the kingly houses all claimed descent from the blood of the gods. Every king was a son of Woden. A vague religious reverence thus gathered round the king, in which the ealdorman had no share. He was also the head of the highest political aggregate which the ideas of those days had reached. He was, as his name implies, the head of the *kin*, the nation. The rule of the ealdorman was tribal, and merely earthly; the rule of the king was national, and in some sort divine.

Kingship then, the leadership of a nation, was, in the Nature ideas of those days, an office and not a property. As an office, it demanded qualifications. It demanded in truth the highest qualifications, the qualifications needed in one who was to be the leader of his people in peace and in war. Such an office could not be trusted to the chances of any law of strict hereditary descent. Or rather, the notion of any law of strict hereditary descent was a thing which had not yet presented itself to men's minds. Kingship then was elective: the leader of the people became such only by the choice of the people; but the right of choice was not wholly unlimited; the king, so custom and tradition taught, must come of the stock of Woden. But within that stock one member of it was as sacred, as kingly, as another. The son of a deceased king would doubtless be his most obvious successor, if there was nothing specially to suggest another choice; but he had no further claim beyond any other man of his house. Traditional rule dictated that the choice should be made from the royal house; reason dictated that it should fall on the worthiest of the royal house. The union of these two feelings led to that mixture of election and hereditary succession which we find among the ancient English, as among most other nations at the same stage. The king is chosen; but he is chosen, under all ordinary circumstances, from the one kingly line. He is not chosen as the heir or the representative or the next of kin of the former king. He is chosen as that one of the kingly house whom the people think fit to choose. He is chosen from the house; therefore kindred in the female line goes for nothing. The son of a king's daughter does not belong to the kingly house; he is therefore not eligible for

The
hundred.

The
gá
or
shire.

the kingly office. But the most distant kinsman in the male line is as much one of the kingly stock as the king himself, and the choice of the nation may fall upon him. There is no point in our early constitution which is more important to insist on than this. Nothing has led to more and greater misconceptions than carrying back the legal theories of later days into earlier times, than fancying that every prince was an usurper whose succession to the crown did not take place according to rules which he and those who chose him had never heard of, and would not have understood.

Gradual growth of kingship.

The institution of kingship came in gradually among the Teutonic nations, and its growth was much slower in some parts than in others. In the time of Tacitus, kingship was clearly far from universal. By the time of the Wandering of the Nations, when scattered tribes had begun to gather together in greater masses, it was clearly the rule. Among the Saxons its growth was specially slow. Among the Old-Saxons who stayed behind in Germany it never came in at all. So both the Saxon and the Jutish leaders came to Britain, not as kings, but as ealdormen or *Heretogan*. They were of the stock of Woden, and were therefore qualified for kingship; but they did not take the kingly title till they had made a firm settlement in the country. The institution of kingship seems to have grown up in different ways in different parts of England. From all that we can see of the Anglian kingdoms, they were formed by the union of several states into one greater kingdom. In such a case the ealdormen or kings of the incorporated states might go on under the superiority of the common king; but the king sank into the *under-king*, kingly in descent, kingly in office among his own people, but owning the external authority of the common king. In Wessex the course of things was otherwise. There too we find several kings at once; but all are, not only of the stock of Woden, but of the house of Cerdic. There was moreover always one head king over the whole West-Saxon nation. Something of the same kind seems to have been the rule in Kent. We see, though dimly, signs of a separate, and doubtless subordinate, kingdom of the West-Kentishmen.

Earls and churls.

Among the English conquerors of Britain we see from the beginning the same elements of political life which we see among the other Teutonic nations, and which were doubtless parts of the original Aryan inheritance. The inhabitants of the land fall into two great classes, the free and the unfree, classes each of which is again capable of subdivision. Every freeman is a citizen and a soldier; he is, or may be, a landowner; he has his place in the army, his voice in the assembly. But all freemen are not equal in rank and honour. There is a broad distinction, a distinction so old that its beginning cannot be traced, between the man who is simply free and the man who is not only free but noble. This distinction is expressed in different Teutonic dialects by the rhyming names *earl* and *ceorl*, *jarl* and *karl*, in modern English form, *earl* and *churl*. These two last words have in modern use changed their meaning. In their oldest sense they answer to the modern phrase *gentle* and *simple*. It is impossible to say in what the privileges of the *earl* consisted, nor is there anything to show that they were oppressive. But the distinction was broadly drawn, and the birth of the *earl* clearly entitled him to special respect and honour, if to nothing more. And such special respect and honour would, in the common course of things, give the *earlas* a preference for all offices and distinctions, whether honorary or substantial, which either king or people had to bestow. The unfree class again were clearly not on a level in all times and places. The actual slave, the *thrall*, the *peon*, is found everywhere. The class is formed and recruited in two ways. The captive taken in war accepts slavery as a lighter doom than

death; the freeman who is guilty of certain crimes is degraded to the state of slavery by sentence of law. In either case the servile condition of the parent is inherited by his children, and the slave class goes on increasing. The existence of other classes between the absolute slave, the mere chattel of his master, and the full freeman, with his place in the army and his voice in the assembly, is possible and frequent, but not universal. It was a natural position either for the enfranchised slave, for the foreign settler, or for the conquered enemy who was admitted to more favourable terms than usual. Out of such cases there might easily arise a class, personally free, but not possessed of the full political rights of freedom. There might indeed be many stages of imperfect freedom or mitigated bondage between the personal slave and the free churl. To some of these intermediate ranks the slave might rise or the freeman might sink. But such a class, though often found, is not a necessary element in Teutonic society. But the *earl*, the *churl*, and the *thrall*, are found everywhere. They are taken for granted; and legend represented the three classes as called into being by separate acts of the creative power of the gods. All these, as essential elements of Teutonic society, are found among our forefathers from the beginning.

But in all Teutonic societies another principle was at work, which began very early to change the nature of primitive Teutonic society. That society was a community, a community which, like all other communities, admitted distinctions of rank, wealth, and office, but where each man, earl or churl, held his place strictly as a member of the community, bound by its laws, and owing to it his duties in war and in peace. The Teutonic community differs from the Greek or Italian city in so far as it is not fenced in with walls, but has its inhabited places spread over the whole of its territory. But its leading political conception is essentially the same. The king or ealdorman is clothed with the authority of a leader. The earls have their privileges, in whatever those privileges may consist. In the assembly the king and the earls may consult and propose, while the simple freemen merely say *yea* or *nay*. But each discharges his duty in his higher or lower place strictly as a member of the community. His duty, his allegiance, is due to the whole society, not to any particular member of it. This primitive system was from a very early time broken in upon by the practice of personal commendation to a lord. Such commendation was in its beginning strictly military.

In the primitive community the army is simply the nation under arms. Each man discharges his duties in war, like his duties in peace, in obedience to the law of the society of which he is part. But at a very early time—for the picture stands out distinctly in Tacitus—successful and popular leaders began to gather round them a band of special followers, devoted by a personal tie to themselves. Where the chief led they followed. The tie was mutual. For the chief to forsake his followers, for the followers to forsake their chief, was alike shameful. A personal tie thus arose between man and man, alongside of the political tie which bound each member of the community to the community itself. The king, ealdorman, or other chief, became something more than the magistrate and captain of the community. He became the personal lord of some particular men among its members. They became his *men*, bound to do him personal service. He became their *haford*, *lord*,—in of the primitive meaning of the word, *loaf-giver*,—who was to reward the service which they rendered to him. The new principle spread, and gradually made its way into every relation of Teutonic society. The personal following of the king, his *gesiðas* or companions, his *pegnas* or servants, grew into a nobility of office. Thus arose the nobility of the *thegns*, which gradually supplanted the older nobility of birth, the nobility of the *earls*. The growth of the

royal power, and the growth of the importance of the thegnhood, naturally went hand in hand. A power like that of kingship, when once established, is sure to grow. It is specially sure to grow in a period of conquest. The king and his personal followers are likely to be foremost in warfare; and each increase of territory increases the power and dignity of the king, and therewith raises the condition of his followers. We see the institution of thegnhood in full force at an early stage of the Teutonic settlement in Britain. We may feel sure that the Teutonic settlement in Britain greatly served to strengthen it. And we cannot doubt that the change from the nobility of office to the nobility of birth greatly affected the position of the churl or simple freeman. By breaking down a barrier which was purely a barrier of birth, it made it easier for individual churls to rise to a higher rank. But by gradually confining office and power and influence to the king's personal following, it tended to degrade the position of the churls as a class.

This relation of a man to his lord might be on any scale. It might be contracted between men of any rank, between a weaker and a more powerful king, between a poorer and a richer churl, or between men of any of the intermediate ranks. In its higher degrees the relation was political; in its lower degrees it was purely social. It spread alike upwards and downwards, till it became the rule and not the exception. It came to be looked on as the business of every man to seek a lord, and at last the lordless man had legal disadvantages. Still the relation between a man and his lord, the voluntary commendation of a man to his lord, was in itself a relation purely personal, and had nothing to do with the holding of land. But the two things might easily be brought into connexion with one another. And as the practice of commendation grew, analogous changes gradually affected the tenure of land. In both cases the personal relation grew at the expense of the public relation. The community lost, and the individual gained.

Tenure
of land. The land of a Teutonic community is primarily the property of the community itself. It is *folkland*, *ager publicus*, the land of the people. But here, as everywhere else, private property in land gradually arose; that is, the community granted out parts of the common possession to its individual members. The pictures of Caesar and Tacitus show that, in the time between them, the institution of private property in land had already made some advances. When it has once begun, it is sure to advance. It would specially advance with every conquest; each man would claim to have his personal share of the soil which he had helped to win. Thus, alongside of the *folkland*, the land of the community, grew up the private estate, the *edel*, *odal*, or *allod*. This is land which is a man's very own, the gift of the community, held according to the laws of the community. It is not the gift of this or that man, owing any service to this or that man. As the king's power grew, as he came to be looked on more and more as the representative of the community, the land of the community came step by step to be looked on as his land. In the six hundred years between the English conquest of Britain and the Norman conquest of England, the *folkland*, the *ager publicus*, passed into *terra regis*, the land of the king. As the community could at all times grant away its own land, the doctrine gradually grew that the king, the head of the community, could grant it away also. In the first stage he granted it only with the assent of the community; in a later stage he came to dispense with that assent. Land thus *booked*, granted by a written document, to whomever the king would, but of course mainly to his personal followers, became *bookland*. The lord was the giver of bread to his man, and the land of the community was the noblest form of bread that he could give him. And, as

things went on, he might sometimes grant him more than the land itself. The primitive community, great or small, from the township to the nation, had the rights of a community; it had judicial and administrative powers. From those powers it might be deemed a privilege for the royal grantee to be exempted. He might be clothed with exceptional judicial powers within his own lands; the next stage would be for those powers to spread themselves over the lands of his neighbours. The privileged landowner within a community might grow to be the lord of the community. The township might grow into the lordship; its free assembly might grow into the court of the lord; the land itself, so much of it as escaped the lord's clutches, might be declared to be held under the lord. In the fictions of lawyers things are commonly turned about. The exception is declared to be the rule, and the rule to be the exception. If the community contrives to save any fragments of its ancient rights from the grasp of the lord, those fragments are at last judicially declared to be held only by the lord's grant. If no grant can be found in real history, legal ingenuity will be ready to assume one.

All land was by immemorial custom burthened with three The duties. To the repair of bridges and the repair of *trinoda* fortresses all land was bound to contribute. And the duty *necessitas* of every member of the community to serve in arms when called on for the defence of the community was so far a charge upon the land that a certain amount of land had to supply a certain number of men. But this is not military service in the later sense; the land is not held of a lord by a military tenure; the personal duty of serving in the *fyrd*, the militia of the community, is not a duty paid by the man to his lord, but by the member of the community to the community itself. The primitive militia of the community and the personal following of the lords form two distinct elements, which often appear as distinct in the records of early warfare. The strictly military tenure, the holding of land from a lord on condition of doing him military service, does not concern us as yet.

The English settlers in Britain thus brought with them Influence all the elements of Teutonic society as they stood in their of the day. The distinction of *earl*, *churl*, and *theow* went on in insular Teutonic Britain as they had gone on in Germany from time immemorial. Marks, hundreds, *gás*, arose on the conquered soil of Britain, as they had already arisen on the ancestral soil of Germany. But the circumstances of the conquest could not fail to hasten the process by which the smaller communities were gradually gathered into the larger. That the *gentes* settled by marks is plain from nomenclature; and, much as in Greece the same Doric tribes helped over and over again to found distinct Doric settlements, so settlements of the same *gens* formed in distant parts of England bore the same name. The *gens* of the *Wellingas*, for instance, appears at Wellington in Somerset, at Wellington in Shropshire, and at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire. But the mark never could have had the same importance in England which it had in Germany. Such a settlement could never maintain itself alone in a country which was being conquered bit by bit. Every settlement must from the beginning have relied on the help of its neighbours, alike for further conquests and for the defence of what it had already won. Everything must have tended to closer union among the communities which grouped together to form the hundred, the *gá*, and the kingdom. The *gá* must, from the first, have been the lowest group capable of real separate being. And in Wessex at least, each *gá*, as it was formed, was placed under the rule of an under-king of the royal house. In central England the *gás*, each doubtless under its separate king or ealdorman, often remained really distinct, till they were swallowed up by the growing power of Mercia. All these groups, greater and smaller, mark or town-

Greater ship, hundred, *yd* or shire, and kingdom, kept the less- constitution of the primitive community, modified by erasses- such changes as change of circumstances could not fail bles. to bring with them. So far as we can get any glimpses of any of them, we see in all alike the same elements. There is in all the presiding chief, the leading men proposing and debating, the whole body of freemen saying *yea* or *nay* to their proposals. The chief change was one of the highest practical moment, but which was not the result of any sudden revolution, or even of any enacted law. Democracy may change into oligarchy by the mere working of the laws of time and space. The simple freeman may have the same right to appear in the assembly of the kingdom which he has to appear in the assembly of his own township. But he is far from being so likely to be found there. Mere distance settles the question. Only the more wealthy and the more zealous will go long journeys to take a part in public affairs. Thus the assembly, popular and unlimited in its theoretical constitution, silently narrows till it becomes an assembly of the chief men, with such only of the common freemen as live near the place of assembly or are drawn to it in greater numbers than usual on some occasion of special excitement. The assembly of the king-
The Wil-
dom, the Witenagemōt or Meeting of the Wise, gradually took this character. There was no need to shut the mass of the people out; they shut themselves out. In the *Scīrgemōt*, the assembly of the shire, we see the working of the same law. Attendance has to be enforced by law; at least a *minimum* number for each district is fixed. This practically comes to confining the assembly to those who are specially summoned; for a special summons to certain members is always found to lead in the end to the exclusion of those who are not summoned. In this way, without any formal change, by the mere working of natural causes, the popular character of the primitive assemblies died out. It died out of course more thoroughly in the higher assemblies than in the lower. The great assembly of the kingdom, in theory the gathering of all the freemen of the kingdom, shrank up into an assembly of the king's thegns, subject to the appearance of more numerous bodies of men on specially stirring occasions, and to the presence of the citizens of the town where the assembly was held, when it was held in a town. This will always happen whenever the assembly of a large country is primary and not representative. The more purely democratic its constitution, the more sure is it to shrink up into oligarchy. But it is well to remember that, as long as our national assemblies kept any traces of their primitive shape, those great meetings which chose and deposed kings, which made and repealed laws, which made war and peace, were, in theory at least, meetings not of this or that class, but of the nation.

English towns. In the last paragraph we have been carried on somewhat beyond the date which we had reached in our narrative, somewhat beyond the period of heathen England. In so doing we have incidentally made mention of towns. The origin of the English towns certainly comes within the period with which we are immediately dealing. Than that origin no part of our subject is more obscure. But one negative point we may assert with full confidence; there is no trace of any possession, of any law or custom or office, which the cities and boroughs of England have inherited from the older municipalities of Rome. Whatever likeness may be seen between the two is due, beyond all doubt, not to direct derivation, but to the eternal law according to which like causes produce like results. In the primitive Teutonic system, in the system reaching from the mark up to the kingdom, there was no place for walled towns. The early Teuton looked on the walled town as a prison. When in after times strictly English towns arose, their position was wholly different from that of the Roman towns. The

No inheritance from Rome.

Roman town was the centre and mistress of everything within its own range. The city was a commonwealth; the surrounding country was little more than a subject district. Without a city there could, in Greek and Roman ideas, be no organized political or social life. In the Teutonic system, on the other hand, towns were wholly unknown, and they have never in any Teutonic country come to fill the place which they have always filled in southern Europe. The difference between English social life and that of the southern part of the European continent, the shrinking of the English upper classes from town life in any shape but that of the capital of the kingdom, dates from the very beginning of our history. In southern Europe the city is an essential of life; in England it is a kind of accident. When English towns did arise, they were simply districts where houses stood thicker together than elsewhere. The town was a mark, a hundred, perhaps a shire, in which more men lived within a smaller space than they lived in other marks, hundreds, or shires. But the question here arises, When did the English conquerors of Britain begin to occupy walled towns at all? It is certain that in many cases the Roman town was simply forsaken by its English conquerors. At Pevensey and Silchester the inhabitants were slaughtered, and the walls left standing empty for ever. It is equally certain that in other cases, as at Bath and Chester, the Roman walls, after standing empty for a while,—in the case of Chester for the ascertained period of three hundred years,—were again inhabited by settlements of Englishmen. The question is whether this last was the case with all the Roman sites which were won during the time of heathen conquest and which became English towns in later times, or whether any of them were continuously inhabited, and simply passed from British to English occupiers. It is quite certain that in some cases the period of desolation, if there was any, must have been short. If London, Canterbury, York, Lincoln, Colchester, ever stood void and forsaken, they must have been settled afresh very soon. Some at least of them were again inhabited cities at the end of the sixth century. London and York, above all, would doubtless hold out long after all the surrounding country had been subdued. They may have held out till the conquerors had laid aside somewhat of their first rudeness, and had learned to see that a city and its walls were a valuable possession. In some then of the greatest cities we may believe that their conquest was comparatively late, and that, when they were conquered, they immediately became dwelling-places of the conquerors. It may then well be that there never was a moment when the walls of Eboracum, the walls of Augusta—the old city once called London and afterwards to be called London again—ceased to gird in the dwelling-places of man. The point is that the connexion between Eboracum and *Eoforwic*, between Augusta and *Lundenbyrig*, is a connexion purely geographical. The Briton went out, and the Englishman came in. The rulers and the people of the Teutonic commonwealth had no political succession from the rulers and people of the Roman commonwealth which had once occupied the same soil.

Of English law during this time we have no contemporary Old-Eng. monuments. But law in its first form is the same as lish law. custom; the earliest written codes are simply the customs of the time set down in writing. We have no written English laws till after the introduction of Christianity; the oldest written code bears the name of the first Christian king. But the dooms of *Aethelberht*, and the dooms of much later kings, are, in all those points which are not clearly modified by Christianity, good evidence for the laws or customs of heathen times. Our oldest laws set before us a society in which the position of the king is well marked, and where he summons his people to him, doubtless to the general assembly of his realm. The classes of *earl*, *ceorl*,

and *þeow* are plainly marked. Of the *thegn*, in the earliest code of all, there is no mention. We have mention also of the classes intermediate between the freeman and the slave, the *læt* namely and the *esne*. But we see no signs of a society containing men of distinct nationalities; there is nothing answering to the mention of the Romans in the codes of the continental Teutons, or to the mention of the Welsh in other English codes which were drawn up at a later time and under other circumstances. The first

The *wer-*
gild.

English laws are drawn up for a purely Teutonic people, keeping their old Teutonic customs. Two of the most characteristic features of ancient English law are there in their fulness. Every man has his value; but his value differs according to his rank. Every freeman's oath is worth something; but the oath of the earl is worth more than the oath of the churl. Death or injury done to any man has its penalty; but the penalty is higher or lower according to the rank of the person injured. In short, in all the early codes, in England and elsewhere, the state has already stepped in to regulate and modify the natural desire for vengeance on the part of the injured person or his kinsfolk. The natural avenger of the slain man seeks for the blood of the slayer; the state steps in and persuades him, in Teutonic England no less than in Homeric Greece, to accept of a money payment instead of the gratification of his vengeance. The right of a man in a state of nature to do himself justice with the strong arm, the *fædere* or *feud* —the source of the private war and the duel of later times—is not wholly set aside; but it is regulated and modified, and confined to certain extreme cases. The state in all such cases steps in as a mediator between the wrong-doer and the man who seeks to avenge himself upon the wrong-doer. It takes the right of punishment out of his hands into its own. The later legal doctrine that a wrong done to any member of the community is a wrong done to the community itself, and to the king as its head, has not yet been reached. A crime done against the king is more heavily punished than a crime done against another man; but that is simply because the king fills the highest place in the long gradation of ranks. The first notion of a crime against the state as such seems to come out in that venerable enactment which looks like the origin of one branch of our modern privilege of parliament—"If the king his people to him call, and to them then man evil do, twofold bot and to the king fifty shillings."

The
fædere.

The language, the laws, and the constitution which the Teutonic settlers in Britain brought with them from their older homes were in the course of ages to undergo many changes; the newer forms were to part away widely from the older; but all was to be gradual growth, gradual change; there was to be no sudden revolution, no supplanting of one tongue by another tongue, of one law by another law. But the English had brought with them from their older homes another possession which was to pass utterly away, a system which was to be thoroughly supplanted by a rival system of foreign birth. With their language and their laws they had brought with them their religion; and while their language and their laws were to abide, their religion was to pass away. The old religion of the English was, like their language and their laws, that form of the common Aryan heritage which had grown up among the people of northern Germany. The old Teutonic faith is best known to us in the poetry and legends of that branch of the race which clavé to it longer than the rest, in the Eddas and Sagas of the Northmen of Scandinavia. Our system was doubtless essentially the same as theirs, though, as it was laid aside by both High and Low Germans earlier than it was in Scandinavia, it may never have reached among them the same full poetic development which it reached in more

northern lands. The names of the chief gods, Woden, Thunder,¹ Frigga, and the rest, are the same with only dialectic differences. The name of one of our old gods is of special interest; the great Aryan power of the sky, Zeus himself, appears among us, though with lessened honours, under the English form of *Tiw*. He, with his fellows, gives his name to a day of the week; and his name, like that of his fellows, may be traced in the local nomenclature of our land. Of that land the Teutonic gods took full possession along with their worshippers. The creed of the Roman and the Briton passed away with those who professed it. The still unconquered Welsh never thought of undertaking the work of missionaries among the conquerors and destroyers of their brethren. And they would have had small chance of being hearkened to by those conquerors and destroyers, if they had undertaken such a task. It was otherwise when a new light came from lands beyond the sea, between whose people and ours there reigned no such mutual scorn and hatred. And above all things, it was otherwise when the call to a new faith came directly from the capital of the western world. The English folk were first called on to cast aside the faith of Woden and to embrace the faith of Christ by men who came on that errand from Rome herself, at the bidding of the acknowledged father of Western Christendom.

The conversion of the English to Christianity was not Conver-
only one of the great turning-points in the history of sion of
England; it was one of the great turning-points in the Eng-
history of Christianity itself. It was, as far at least as the Chris-
West is concerned, a conversion of a kind that was tianity.
altogether new. Christianity is historically the religion of
the Roman empire; wherever the influence of Rome, East
or West, has spread, there Christianity has been dominant;
beyond that range it has taken little root. The Teutonic
conquerors of the continental provinces accepted the religion
of the empire as they accepted its laws and language. At
the end of the sixth century, all the subjects, all the western
conquerors of Rome, were Christian. Heathendom took in
only the lands, like Scandinavia and Germany beyond the
Rhine, which had never formed part of the empire, together
with the one Western land which had wholly fallen away
from the empire. The conversion of England was the first
strictly foreign mission of the Western Church. It was the
first spiritual conquest of a people wholly strange, a people
who stood in no kind of relation to Rome and her civilization.
It was the first act of a long series of spiritual con-
quests which gradually brought all Europe within the pale
of the Church. And it was more than the first act of
the series; it enlisted in the missionary work the people
who were to send forth the most successful apostles to
other lands. The conversion of England directly led to
the conversion of heathen Germany and Scandinavia.
Gregory, who was so anxious for the soul of Trajan, was
himself a spiritual Trajan, enlarging his spiritual empire by
conquests more lasting than the earthly conquests of Trajan
himself. The conversion of the English to Christianity
carried with it the readmission of Britain into the general
world of Europe. Throughout the fifth and sixth centuries
the notices of the affairs of Britain in continental writers
are rare and meagre beyond expression. They show that
Britain had fallen back into the isolation of the days before
Caesar; it had again become an unknown world, a world
about which any kind of fable might be safely uttered.
Such rare intercourse as that world had with the Roman
world was through the Teutonic masters of Gaul, the
Franks. And it may be taken as a sign that, in the latter

¹ *Punær*, *Punor*, in modern form *Thunder*, is the true English name. The more familiar form *Thor* is, like most Scandinavian forms, a contraction. *Thursday* is for *Pundreday*.

years of the sixth century, Kent at least must have been striving to bring itself within the European circle, when we find its king *Aethelberht* married to a Christian wife, the daughter of a Frankish king. It is to be noticed however that neither the queen herself nor the Frankish bishop whom she brought with her seem to have directly done anything for the conversion of the king or his people. That work could be done by nothing short of the majesty of Rome.

Roman
and
Scottish
share in
the con-
version.

One point which cannot be too strongly insisted on at this stage is that the Church of England which was founded by Augustine has nothing whatever to do with the early British Church. In after times certain British dioceses submitted to English ecclesiastical rule, and that is all. The Christianity of England did not come wholly from any single source; and one of the sources from which it came was found within the British islands. But that source was not a British source. The Roman planted; the Scot watered; but the Briton did nothing. He not only did nothing; he refused to do anything; he would have nothing to say to Augustine's invitation to join in preaching the gospel to the heathen English. Theologians may dispute over the inferences which may be drawn from the fact; but the historical fact cannot be altered to please any man. The Church of England is the daughter of the Church of Rome. She is so perhaps more directly than any other Church in Europe. England was the special conquest of the Roman Church, the first land which looked up with reverence to the Roman pontiff, while it owed not even a nominal allegiance to the Roman Cæsar.

The con-
version
gradual.

The conversion of the English was gradual, and, on the whole, peaceful. Christianity was nowhere forced on an unwilling people by fire and sword, as was done in some later conversions. We find wars between Christian and heathen kingdoms in which religion is clearly one great animating cause on both sides; but we do not hear of persecutions or wars of religion within the bosom of any kingdom. As a rule, the king is converted first. The great men follow, perhaps in duty bound as his thegns. The mass of the people follow their leaders. But all is done without compulsion; if conversion was not always the result of argument, it was at least the result of example. This may perhaps show that the old religion sat somewhat lightly on its votaries, and in some cases the new religion seems to have sat somewhat lightly on its converse. The Christian king sometimes had heathen sons, and their accession was followed by a re'apse. But, in the space of about a hundred years, all the English kingdoms had become Christian. The men of Wight in their island, and the men of Sussex isolated between the sea and the great wood, were the last to cleave to the idols of their fathers. The seventh century was the great time of struggle between the two religions. It was also the time when Mercia first stood forth as an equal rival with Northumberland, Wessex, and Kent. Kent soon sinks into a secondary rank, and leaves the first place to be disputed between the three other great powers. At the beginning of the period when the first Roman missionaries came, in 597, the Bretwaldedom, which had been held by *Ælle* of Sussex and *Ceawlin* of Wessex, was held by *Aethelberht* of Kent. He is expressly said to have been supreme over all the kingdoms south of the Humber. That this supremacy was not a mere name is shewn by the fact that his safe-conduct held good when Augustine crossed the still heathen land of Wessex to confer with the British bishops on the banks of the Severn. Under *Aethelberht*, the Kentish Church was planted by Augustine, and from Kent the new teaching spread over Essex and East-Anglia. From Kent too came the first conversion of Northumberland, and with it of Lindsey, by the preaching of Paulinus under the

powerful Bretwala Eadwine of Deira. That king had, before his conversion, conquered the Welsh kingdom of Loidis and Northumbrian Elmet, and had made Northumberland the first power in Britain. His first rivalry was with Wessex, which he waldas brought to acknowledge his supremacy. After his conversion he had to endure the more dangerous enmity of two powers which united against him on different grounds. The Teutonic conqueror was hateful to the Briton Cædwalla, whose kingdom of Strathclyde, cut off from his southern countrymen by the victory of *Aethelfrith*, was still a powerful state. The Christian convert was hateful to the heathen Penda, under whom Mercia first became great. Penda of Before the two Eadwine fell at Heathfield in 633, and with Mercia. him fell for a moment the Christianity and the power of Northumberland. The new power of Mercia grew equally to the south at the expense of Wessex. But this first burst of Mercian power was not to be lasting. Before long Northumberland was again united, powerful, and Christian, under the Bernician Bretwaldas, and her power and religion were first restored for a while by Oswald the saint. He overthrew his British and Christian enemy at Heavenfield in 635. This is a date of importance. In some sort it marks the completion of the English conquest. Much British land was still to be won by hard fighting; but Cædwalla was the last British prince who could wage aggressive and dangerous warfare against an English rival. Against his heathen and English enemy Oswald was less successful. He too, like Eadwine, fell before Penda at Maserfield in 642. A time of confusion and division followed, but under Oswiu, the next Bretwala, Northumberland rose again. In 654 Penda fell before him at Winwedfield, and the armed strife between Christianity and heathendom was at an end. The second conversion of Northumberland, and the conversion of Mercia which followed the fall of Penda, were chiefly the work of the Scots. That name, it must be remembered, though it does not shut out the Scottish colony in Britain, primarily means the original Scots of Ireland. Columba and his successors in their holy island linked the two together, and both were zealous in the missionary work, both in Britain and on the continent. But, though a large part of England thus owed its Christianity to the Scots, yet the special Scottish usages did not abide in the churches of Northumberland and Mercia. After much debating, the Bretwala Oswiu adopted, on behalf of his people, the usages of Rome and Kent. Meanwhile Wessex had been converted by an independent mission from the Franks of Gaul under its apostle Birinus. The heathendom of Sussex gave way in Sussex, 681 to the preaching of the Northumbrian Wilfrith, and a few years later the men of Wight, the last abiding-place of the old gods, were partly converted by Wilfrith, partly slaughtered by the West-Saxon Ceadwalla. All England was now Christian; and the English Church was finally organized between 668 and 690 by Theodore of Tarsus. The Roman, the Scot, and the man of the East, thus all worked together to bring the English conquerors of Britain within the pale of the Christian Church, and thereby within the general world of Europe.

Conver-
sion of
Kent,
Essex,
and East-
Anglia;

of
Northum-
berland.

There is something wonderful in the way in which Christianity fitted itself in, so to speak, to the old Teutonic constitutions of England. The change in men's thoughts, the change in their ways of looking at most things, must have been great; but there is no sudden break. The old political and social state goes on; the old laws and institutions are not abolished; they are hardly modified; all that happens is that many new laws are inserted among the old. But the laws bear the old character. The old scale of ranks is enlarged to take in some new members, in the form of the various degrees of the Christian priesthood. Some new crimes are forbidden: some new observances are

Addition enjoined ; but the spirit of the law, the nature of the penalties, the manner of their execution, remains the same. The various ranks of the clergy have their value, in Teutonic fashion, along with the various ranks of the laity. Churches arose, and the fabrics, with their ministers and their property, were placed under the protection of the law. Provisions against idolatrous practices are found ; but the old faith passed away so easily that but little legislation of this kind was needed. The land received a new geographical division in the form of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses ; but these commonly followed the existing civil geography. The extent of the bishop's diocese coincided with that of some kingdom or principality, and, as the ecclesiastical divisions underwent, till quite late times, much less change than the civil ones, the boundaries of the dioceses are our best guides to the boundaries of the old kingdoms and ealdormanships. Nowhere was the Church more thoroughly national than in England. The old assembly of the shire received the bishop as a new chief, along with the ancient ealdorman, and the two sat together jointly to hear matters which the more minute jurisprudence of a later time divided into causes ecclesiastical and causes temporal. Bishops, abbots, and other churchmen, became prominent in the counsels of kings and in the assemblies of the nation. A century or two later, we even find them leading the national armies to battle. Through the whole native history of England, we find no traces of any of the controversies between Church and State which show themselves in later times. In truth, Church and State did not exist as two distinct bodies ; they hardly existed as two distinct ideas. As the army was the nation in its military aspect, so the Church was the nation in its religious aspect. The leaders of the body might be different according to the matter in hand ; but the body itself was one.

This strongly national character of the ancient English Church naturally followed on the time and manner of the conversion of the English nation. The English were not like the Teutonic conquerors on the continent, in whose eyes the Church was a Roman institution, alongside of other Roman institutions. In Gaul and Spain, for some generations after the Teutonic conquest, ecclesiastical power and office remained in the hands of the conquered. In some later conversions the Church was a foreign institution through an opposite cause. It was an institution forced on the people by their conquerors. In England neither of these causes of separation had any being. The English of their own free will accepted the creed of foreign teachers ; but the Church was not to them a foreign institution. The first two or three bishops of each see were necessarily strangers ; but as soon as Englishmen were found fitted for such offices, they held them to the exclusion of strangers. It is hard to find a foreign prelate in England between Theodore of Tarsus and Robert of Jumiéges. Again, when England was converted, the privileges of the clergy as an order, the powers of the bishop of Rome as their head, were things which were still in their infancy. The claims made by the clergy and the popes in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries would have been unintelligible either to Æthelberht or to Augustine. There was nothing in England to part off the clergy, as a body having feelings and interests distinct from the rest of the nation. There was nothing to tempt the Roman bishops, subjects as they still were of the Roman emperors, to put forth the claims of an Hildebrand or an Innocent. There was nothing to make them claim from the newly founded English Church anything beyond the reverence due to a parent from a child who has already reached full age.

In short, if we look through our early law, and seek

for changes in the law itself—as distinguished from legislation on new subjects—which can be said to be directly owing to the change of religion, we shall find few indeed. It is indeed very likely that the power of bequeathing property by will was introduced by the Roman clergy.¹ There is a remarkable reference to the practice which implies as much ;¹ and we know that the wills of dead men were a matter which the clergy took largely into their own hands, and which became in the end a subject for the specially ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Yet the power of willing may have grown up in England, just as it did at Rome. In the beginning a will is an exceptional act. The testator prays the community to allow his goods to be disposed of in a particular way. The confirmation gradually becomes matter of form ; at last it is altogether dispensed with, and the power of bequest, once a privilege granted in a particular case, becomes the common right of every man. Still there is a strong likelihood the other way, and it may well be that the power of bequest has really been transferred from the Roman law to that of England. Only, if so it be, it must be remembered that it is no heritage from the inhabitants of the Roman province of Britain. It is something which was brought in afresh, as part of the ecclesiastical system of Gregory and Augustine.

Another novelty in our law, which was directly owing to the conversion, was the institution of ecclesiastical property. This is plain on the face of it. Nothing could be given for the support of the new religion till the new religion had been accepted. But the institution of ecclesiastical property involved something more than this. If it did not from the beginning imply the legal doctrine of corporate property, it at least soon grew into it. This doctrine is something wholly distinct from the primitive communal property. It presupposes the intermediate stage of private ownership. The land is first cut off from the common possession to form the particular possession of this or that person. Then, by a legal fiction, several persons are clothed with the attributes of a single person, and the artificial being called a corporation appears. Such corporations were quite familiar to Roman law ; but it is inconceivable that any such subtlety should have been thought of in primitive Teutonic times. The king or ealdorman, who gave lands to this or that church,—commonly under the formula of giving to God, or to such and such a saint,—if he did not at once create, at least paved the way for, all the fictions and subtleties of law with regard to corporations of all kinds, lay and spiritual, aggregate and sole.

It was also doubtless owing to direct Christian influence that the early jurisprudence of England came to differ in one singular point from that of other Teutonic nations. The wager of battle, an original Teutonic institution, one which was brought again into England in later times, seems to have been altogether disused between the conversion and the Norman conquest. It has an English name, the *orrest*, but it is quite unknown to English law or English usage. Its place is taken by the direct appeal to the judgment of God in the form of the ordeal. The divine power, it was held, would directly interfere to save the innocent and to punish the guilty. We need not suppose that the ordeal itself was an invention of Christian teachers. The same idea may be found in many customs in other parts of the world. But it must be owing to direct Christian teaching that the judgment by hot iron or hot water altogether drove out the more warlike appeal to the judg-

¹ The Norman writer William of Poitiers (p. 128 Giles) makes Harold thus answer William's claim by Edward's bequest :—*Ab eo tempore quo beatus Augustinus in hanc venit regionem, communem gentis hujus falsae consuetudinem donationem, quam in ultimo fine quo quis fecerit, eam ratam habere.*" It is an odd quarter to go to for a statement of English law, but its soundness can hardly be doubted.

New
Latin in-
fusion
into
English.

ment of battle, so that this last came in again in after times in the guise of a foreign innovation.

But, small as were the direct legal or political changes which it wrought, the conversion of the English, even setting aside its purely theological and spiritual side, was the greatest event in the history of our nation. The effects which it wrought were great and manifold. The Roman missionaries brought with them a new learning, a new culture. The little influence which Rome had on our language and laws, before the great continental infusion of later times, was due far more to the days of the conversion than to the days of the first conquest. Our forefathers translated a great number of ecclesiastical terms, some of which we have come again to use in a Latin shape. Still, as new things must have new names, the Roman missionaries brought into our language a good many Latin words to express ecclesiastical ideas, and seemingly a few other words, expressing other objects of Roman culture. Here was a second Roman infusion into our Teutonic speech. It was an infusion far greater than the handful of Latin words which we picked up in the course of the first conquest; but it was still an infusion which in no way affected the purity of our native vocabulary. Some foreign things kept their foreign names; but no native thing changed its native name for a foreign one. The effect on language was in short much the same as the effect on law. There was no break, no change; only certain new elements were adopted and assimilated by the old.

Effect on
litera-
ture.

But if the conversion wrought but little change in the English tongue, it breathed a new literary life into the English people. The missionaries brought with them the whole learning of their time, and, above all, the use of the Latin language. Latin, it must be remembered, was still, not merely the literary tongue, but the common every-day speech of Western Europe. The dialects which grew into the Romance languages had doubtless already begun to form themselves; but no one looked on them as anything but vulgar dialects of Latin; no one thought of committing them to writing, or of using them for any serious purpose. A people who knew no Latin were cut off from all intercourse with the civilized world of the West; a people among whom Latin was cultivated at once formed part of that world. From the coming of Augustine, "book Latin" again took its place among the languages of Britain.¹ But happily it always remained "book Latin." It never displaced the native Teutonic speech on the lips of men; it never even shut out the native speech from the rank of a cultivated language possessing a written literature. Or rather, the general intellectual impulse which followed on the conversion, while it first gave us a Latin literature, also first made our English written literature. We learned to use a more convenient alphabet than the runes, a more convenient writing material than the beech. English was, what the Romance languages were not as yet, so far apart from Latin that the two languages, the two literatures, could live side by side. One point only is to be regretted. It is at once the strength and the weakness of the Latin Church, and one of her points of contrast with the Churches of the East, that, wherever her system is accepted in its fulness, she imposes the tongue of Rome as the one tongue of religious worship. Like crowds of other laws and usages, good and bad, this usage came about of itself, without any set purpose; it was only when it was objected to in after times that arguments were sought for to defend

Use of
Latin in
divine
service.

¹ The Chronicles at the very beginning say, "Her synd on þam iglande sif geƿedu—Englisc, Brytwylc, Scottysc, Pihtisc, and Bochleden." This translates Bæda's list "Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ meditationes scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis."

it. It was in England that the practice began of having divine service in a tongue not understood of the people. That is to say, England was the first country of wholly foreign speech which the Roman Church had to deal with. It had not come into any man's head to translate the mass or the lectionary into the dialects of Gaul or Spain. Indeed we may be sure that the time for such a step was not yet come; the ecclesiastical Latin was doubtless at least as intelligible then as the English of the sixteenth century is now. Thus men who were accustomed only to Latin in public worship went on using it, even in a country where the same reasons which pleaded for the use of Latin at Rome pleaded no less strongly for the use of English. But this was the only error; the native tongue was in no way discouraged as the tongue either of devotional writ or of translations or paraphrases of Scripture. A noble Christian literature soon grew up in the English tongue. The only thing to be lamented is that its growth must have put the older heathen literature under a cloud. The songs which record the English conquest live only in Latin fragments, and Beowulf himself has been taught to utter Christian phrases, if only with stammering lips.

The two ends of England contributed to the growth of the Cædmon new English literature. Our Christian English poetry is of and Deira; our English prose is of Wessex; our Latin literature, our earliest history in literary shape, is of Bernicia. Cædmon of Streoneshalh led the way, the first of our English sacred poets, he who, a thousand years before Milton, dealt with Milton's theme in Milton's spirit—he who sang the warfare of Hebrew patriarchs with the true ring of a Teutonic battle-song. Next came Bæda of Jarrow, the first who recorded English history in Latin prose, and who, amid a crowd of Latin writings, did not forget the rendering of the gospel into the tongue of his own people. For Cædmon there might have been a place in the older state of things; for Bæda there could have been none. Cædmon, born while parts of England were still heathen, might have been a heathen born; he might, in the self-same spirit, with little more than the change of names, have sung of Woden and Loki instead of Christ and Satan; he might have told the tale of Ida warring with the Briton instead of the tale of Abraham warring with the kings of Canaan. But Bæda is the direct offspring of the great religious change. The monk, the student, who never struck a blow in battle or raised his voice in the assembly of shire or kingdom, was a new character among Englishmen. Yet Bæda is English too; he is no stranger to us; he is the man of our own race, as the man of our race might now become under a state of things so far removed from the thoughts of the olden time. Of English prose, though in a sense it begins with Bæda, the true and full growth is later. Its founder is the king who was at once the judge, the captain, and the teacher of his people, West-Saxon Ælfred himself.

We may also safely say that it was with the conversion Effects to Christianity that the first rudiments of art were brought on art back into Britain. As heathen Rome taught her culture to the Briton, so Christian Rome taught her culture to the Englishman. How far the monuments of Roman skill were designedly swept away it might be hard to say. Most likely there was no design in the matter. Much would perish in the ordinary course of barbarian havoc, and there was no English Theodoric to guard what escaped. It is a speaking fact that a Roman column standing in its place is a thing unknown in Britain. We may be sure that the art of stone building was unknown to the heathen English in their old homes; nor was there anything in the circumstances of their settlement in their new homes to lead their thoughts in that direction. Architecture, and with it the other arts, painting, music, and the rest, came in again in the wake of the Church. Churches were built in the style

which was then usual in Italy, churches of brick or stone with round arches. Sometimes a Roman ruin was still able to be repaired; more commonly it supplied materials for a new building. When the tall bell-towers came into fashion in Italy, they were imitated in England also. Thus arose, in England as elsewhere, that early round-arched style, based directly on Italian models, which formed the usual style of all western Europe till the eleventh century. The art of those days was mainly ecclesiastical. Houses were commonly, most likely always, of wood till the coming of the Normans. The Roman military works seem hardly to have been imitated till the great era of fortification in the tenth century.

With the new religion the land received a wholly new class of mankind, utterly unknown to the heathen Teutons, the class of men and women devoted to the religious life. Monasticism forms a marked feature in some pagan systems; but it had no place in the old Teutonic religion. We had not so much as anything that answered to the virgins of Vesta. But Teutonic monasticism took a character of its own. Monasteries became private inheritances; the distinction was not always very accurately drawn between the ordained monk and the secular priest, between the unordained monk and the layman. Celibacy was doubtless essential to the very laxest form of the monastic life; but we shall look in vain in the early monasteries of England for any very strict observance of the rule of Saint Benedict. There was room however in them alike for the ascetic scholarship of Bæda and for the ruder zeal which led a crowd of men and women of all ranks, among them kings' daughters and even reigning kings, to forsake the world to embrace the religious life. A large proportion of the native saints of the English calendar were supplied by those kingly houses whose pride had once been to be sprung of the blood of the gods of heathendom.

This last idea had of course wholly to change its shape under the influence of the new faith. The pedigree was not forgotten; Woden was still the forefather of all the kingly houses. But Woden was now found out to have been a mere mortal hero, the descendant of Noah in such and such a generation. We may suspect that one effect of Christianity was to lessen the reverence for the kingly stock as such, to strengthen the elective element, and to make it easier to choose kings who were not of kingly descent. The analogy alike of the Roman emperors and of ecclesiastical officers of all kinds would work the same way. But kingship, as an office, was in Christian hands clothed with a higher majesty, and became an object of deeper reverence. If one form of sanctity was taken away from the son of Woden, he gradually obtained another in his new character of the Lord's Anointed. At least from the eighth century, perhaps from an earlier time, English kings began, as the emperors had long been, to be admitted to their office with ecclesiastical ceremonies, among which the rite of unction held the chief place. The king thus became in some measure a sharer in the sanctity of the priesthood. He was clothed in sacred vestments, and enjoyed sacred privileges beyond the laymen of ordinary degree. But this only brought out more strongly his position as holding an office according to law. The priest, the abbot, the bishop, was chosen and admitted to his office according to a known law. According to the same law, he might, in case of demerit, be deposed from his office. So it was with the kingly office. The greater the mysterious sanctity that was shed over the kingly office, the more was his person shorn of all mysterious sanctity. He held a sacred office; but that sacred office might, like any other office, be taken away from an unworthy holder. On the other hand, the growing practice of personal commendation stepped in to restore the balance, and to strengthen the king's personal authority.

He became the personal lord of all the chief men in his kingdom. They were bound to him by a voluntary tie of personal faith and honour. But these two growing notions, which made the king, on the one hand a personal lord, on the other hand an ecclesiastical officer, worked together somewhat to wipe out the older idea of the king as the head of the people, the chief, the judge and captain of the community, commanding obedience directly as the head of the state, without any need either of religious consecration or of personal allegiance.

But if the new religion thus modified the older ideas of The nation-ship, and tended on the whole to strengthen the kingly power, it affected the national being of the English people by the in a yet more direct way. In fact, it created that national Church.

Hitherto there had been no tie to bind together the various Teutonic kingdoms in Britain, except the precarious and fluctuating tie of the Bretwaldadom. Had the Bretwaldadom been permanent, it might have gradually fused all the Teutonic settlements into one nation. In the form which it actually took, it was a mere momentary superiority of one kingdom over others, which was naturally irksome, and was thrown off as soon as might be. The Church sowed the seeds of a truer national unity by accustoming Englishmen from different kingdoms to act together, and to acknowledge a common head. England had national synods long before she had national parliaments. Her kingdoms acknowledged a common primate long before they acknowledged a common king. The original scheme The two of Gregory would have divided Britain into two ecclesiastical provinces of much the same extent. York was to have taken in all Scotland; but the claim of York to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Scotland was always precarious, commonly nominal, and it was in the end formally abolished. The regular succession of archbishops of York began later than that of Canterbury, and the northern primate, sometimes with one or two suffragans, sometimes with none at all, never practically held the same metropolitan position as the archbishop of Canterbury. This last became, long before any king could so call himself, the "head of Angle-kin,"¹ the chief of the English nation, irrespective of political divisions. And such an influence was purely national. It gave no political importance to the secondary, soon to become the dependent, kingdom of Kent. It worked however when Kent had been merged in Wessex, to help the advance of Wessex, and to settle the general headship of England in the south. And, in the same way, the position of the see of York, which in practice was not so much an archbishopric as a great and powerful independent bishopric, doubtless did much to strengthen the general tendency of Northumberland to keep up a being distinct from that of southern England.

Thus, before the end of the seventh century, Teutonic and Wars of heathen England had embraced a new creed, and with that longer creed it had received those changes in thought, law, and custom which could not fail to follow on such a conversion. One change above all affects the general history. Warfare still goes on, warfare alike with the Britons and with Englishmen of other kingdoms; but warfare no longer implies extermination. Where the heathen conqueror carried mere slaughter and havoc, the Christian conqueror was satisfied with political subjection. The overthrow of Deva by Æthelfrith may well have been the last case of mere destruction. The greatness and fall of Penda form part of the history of the conversion; his reign was the armed

¹ In the poem on the martyrdom of Elfheah in the Chronicles, 1011, the archbishop is called—

"Se þe sei was heafod
Angelycynnes
And cristendomes."

Rivalry
of
the
English
king-
doms.

Western
advance
of
Wessex.

Advance
of
Mercia.

Great-
ness of
Northum-
berland.

resistance of heathendom to the new faith. His alliance with Cædwalla gave the Briton his last chance of greatness at the cost of the Teutonic intruder. When Cædwalla and Penda had both fallen before the sword of the Northumbrian Bretwaldas, two questions were solved. The Teuton and not the Celt was to be dominant in southern Britain; but the rule of the Teuton was to be a Christian and not a heathen rule. But a third question, which of the Teutonic powers in Britain should become the head of Britain, was still undecided. This question took more than a hundred years to settle, and it was at last settled in a way which was hardly to be looked for. During the greater part of the seventh and eighth centuries the struggle seemed to lie wholly between Northumberland and Mercia. Wessex seems to have given up all her schemes of aggrandizement in central Britain. She gradually loses her dominion north of the Thames; it is sometimes more than she can do to maintain her own independence against Mercian supremacy. But all the while she is gradually extending her dominion at the expense of the Britons to the west. She is also, in the latter part of the period, establishing a supremacy over the smaller English kingdoms to the east. The Wessex of 800 A.D. was a state of a wholly different shape on the map from the Wessex of 600 A.D. The West-Saxon kings, from the seventh century onwards, ruled over a realm of quite a different character from any of the earlier English kingdoms. Their western conquests, from the northern Axe to the Tamar, made them, now that the days of mere slaughter and havoc were passed, masters of a realm which contained British as well as English subjects. In the laws of Ine (675-693) we find the picture of a land in which the Britons are under the full protection of the law, but in which they form a distinct class, marked as inferior to the dominant English. The Welshman's oath and the Welshman's life both have their value; but they are rated at a less value than the oath and the life of an Englishman of the same rank. When we turn to the laws of Ælfred (878-901), no trace of any such distinction is left. He legislates for a purely English realm. That is to say, the Welsh within the West-Saxon kingdom had, in the course of those two hundred years, become naturalized Englishmen. The impassable barrier of creed which divided the Christian Briton from the heathen Teuton had now passed away. There was nothing to hinder the conquered, when once admitted to legal protection, from gradually adopting the tongue and manners of their conquerors.

The same work must have been going on along the Mercian frontier also; but here we have not the means of studying it in the same detail. During these hundred and fifty years the Mercian kings spread their dominion a long way westward of the boundary stream of the Severn. But we hear far more of them as warring, often as conquerors, against the English powers to the north and south of them.

But at the beginning of this period Northumberland still remains the greatest power of Britain. For a while after the death of Penda her supremacy was undoubted. Mercia then again became independent, and under Wulfhere (657-675) and his successor Æthelred (675-703), who died a monk, pressed far towards the dominion of southern as well as of central England. Meanwhile, Ecgfrith of Northumberland (670-685) was pressing on to the further north, as the West-Saxon kings were to the extreme west. Northumberland, it must be remembered, reached to the Forth; but to the west it was hemmed in by the British land which stretched to the Clyde. This last Ecgfrith incorporated with his dominions. Carlisle and its district, a land which was in after days to become English again, now became English for a moment, as well as the land to the west which was not to become English again. But Ecgfrith fell in a war with the Picts beyond the Forth, and

the dominion of Northumberland died with him. The northern land still remained for a while the chief seat of learning and culture, the land of Cædmon and Bræda. But its political power fell with Ecgfrith. The stoutest Northumbrian kings of the eighth century could at most keep their own borders against the Mercian, or again win victories against the North Briton. Of the Bretwaldadom of the seventh century they had no hope. Towards the end of the eighth century Northumberland fell into a state of confusion and division, which made it an easy prey for any enemy.

During the greater part of the eighth century everything Greatness looked as if the chief place in the island was destined for of Mercia. Æthelbald (716-757), Offa (757-796), and Cenwulf (797-819), through three long reigns, taking in more than a century, kept up the might and glory of their kingdom. Meanwhile, in Wessex a series of valiant kings pressed westward against the Briton, and bore up against the Mercian. But to bear up was as much as they could do. The fight of Burford in 752, under the West-Saxon king Cuthred, secured the independence of Wessex; but it secured only her independence; her northern frontier was finally cut short by Offa. This last is the greatest name in Mercian history. Though none of these Mercian kings are enrolled on the list of Bretwaldas, yet the position of Offa was as great as that of any English king before the final Charles. union of the kingdoms. In one way it was higher than that of any of them. Offa held, not only a British, but an European position. Britain was now again threatened with annexation by a continental power. Charles the Great, not yet crowned Cæsar and Augustus, but already virtual lord of Rome, exercised an influence in British affairs such as no prince of the mainland had ever exercised since Honorius withdrew his legions. That Englishmen, the famous Alcuin (Ealhwine) at their head, held high places at his court and in his favour was simply part of the wise encouragement which he held out to learning and merit everywhere. But the great Frankish king exercised direct influence, if not supremacy, in several parts of our island. The Scots are, at least by his own annalist, counted among his homagers. Northumberland took back a king at his bidding. A banished West-Saxon prince learned in his school the art of founding empires. But with the great king of the Mercians Charles corresponded as an equal. War was once threatened, but only threatened, between the great potentates of the island and of the mainland. In the next reign Cenwulf found it needful to put it clearly on record that neither the bishop of Rome nor the emperor of Rome had any jurisdiction in his realm of Mercia. These dealings with the continental empire should be marked, both on their own account and because of the light which they throw on some later passages in British history.

Charles, lord of the western world of Rome, was not Suppre-fated to become lord of the island world of Britain. But macy of a nearer approach to that character than had yet fallen to any English prince was in store for the friend and pupil of the great emperor. West-Saxon Ecgberht went back from the Frankish court to do in Britain as nearly as he could what Charles had done in Germany and Gaul. He went back to become the eighth Bretwalda, and more than a Bretwalda. The day of Northumberland and the day of Mercia had passed; the day of Wessex had come. The single reign of Ecgberht (802-837) placed her for ever at the head of the powers of Britain. Immediate king only south of the Thames, Ecgberht stretched his overlordship to the Forth, and, what no Bretwalda had done before him, he handed on his dominion to his successors. But the dominion of Ecgberht must not be mistaken for a kingdom of all England. He was king of the West-Saxons; once only does he call himself King of the English. But the

kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Essex were now, as the West-Saxon shires had once been, ruled by under-kings of the West-Saxon house. In Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia native kings still reigned, but they held their crowns as the men of the West-Saxon overlord. And in neither was the West-Saxon supremacy a mere precarious dominion, like that of the earlier Bretwaldas. Both relations were steps towards more perfect incorporation ; they were stages in the process by which Wessex grew into England.

England or Saxony. The name of *England* is not yet found in any contemporary writer. It came into use in the course of the next century. In truth, the oldest name for the Teutonic part of Britain is not *England*, but *Saxony*. This is only what was to be looked for. The lands won by the Teutons would first receive a common name from the Celts of the island, and that name, according to their usage, would naturally be *Saxony*. The Teutonic settlers themselves would not give their country a common name till they had reached some degree of political unity ; but when they gave it a name, that name was naturally *England*. England, in short, as a political unity, began to be formed in the ninth century ; it received its name in the tenth. Now that the various English kingdoms are brought so closely together, we begin to feel the need of a geographical name which may take them all in. Some name is needed, some name was doubtless soon felt to be needed, to distinguish the English kingdoms now united under West-Saxon supremacy from the other parts of the island. The position of Ecgberht could not be so well described as by calling him king of the West-Saxons and lord of all England. Lord of all Britain he was not, though he came nearer to being so than any prince before him. West-Wales, if not actually incorporated, was brought into thorough dependence, and the princes of North-Wales—that is, Wales in the modern sense—were brought to acknowledge the West-Saxon supremacy. The Welsh of Strathclyde, the Picts, and the Scots, remained independent and untouched.

Thus, though a kingdom of England was not yet formed, the greatest of all steps had been taken towards forming it. But the work of Ecgberht had stood but for a little while when it seemed to be swept away for ever. Yet while it seemed to be swept away, it was in truth both quickened and strengthened by an event which forms one of the great landmarks in our story, an event which has no parallel since the first settlement of the English in Britain. The English conquest was in some sort wrought over again. Christian Britain was again attacked by heathen invaders, and a large part of it was again brought under heathen rule. The West-Saxon supremacy seemed to vanish away ; the West-Saxon kingdom itself was for a moment overcome. But the blows which overcame kingdom and supremacy did in truth only enable Ecgberht's successors again to do Ecgberht's work more thoroughly.

Succes-
sors of
Ecgberht. The dominion of Ecgberht passed to his son *Aethelwulf* (837–858), and from him to four of his sons in succession, *Aethelbald*, *Aethelberht*, *Aethelred* (858–871), and the more famous *Alfred* (871–900). This succession involves a constitutional point ; for we hear of a will of *Aethelwulf*, confirmed by the *Witan*, by which the order in which his sons were to succeed to the crown was arranged beforehand. There is in this no formal surrender of the right of the nation to choose its king ; for the confirmation by the *Witan* was equivalent to a conditional election in advance. But that the crown could be made the subject of bequest in any shape shows the growth of a whole crowd of ideas which had no place in the elder Teutonic system. We are, to say the least, on the way towards the doctrine that the leadership of men is not an office but a property. This is the first case of any attempt to settle the succession beforehand,

and, as in most other cases afterwards, the attempt failed. The sons of *Aethelwulf* succeeded ; but they did not succeed in the order marked out by their father's will. Another point which marks the increasing intercourse between England and the mainland is the fact that *Aethelwulf* made the pilgrimage to Rome. More than one king had given up his crown, and had ended his days at Rome ; but this is the first case of a reigning king thus absenting himself from his kingdom. On his return also he married a foreign wife, Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald. This is the first recorded case of the kind since the marriage of *Aethelberht* of Kent ; and we shall find only one more in the whole line before the Norman Conquest. As long as England remained purely England, the mothers of English kings were Englishwomen.

Another point with regard to the succession should be noticed. On the death of *Aethelred*, *Alfred* succeeded, though *Aethelred* had children living. This is of course simply an instance of the general law of choosing from the royal house, but of choosing only one who was personally qualified to reign. Minors were therefore passed by, as a matter of course, in favour of a full grown uncle or other kinsman. The children thus shut out might or might not be chosen at some future vacancy. The right of *Alfred* to his crown was not disputed in his own day, nor has he commonly been branded by later historians with the name of usurper. But it is well to bear in mind that his succession was of exactly the same kind as that of some later kings to whom the name of usurper has been freely applied. In all such cases the mistake comes from forgetting that the strict laws of succession to which we have been used for the last two or three centuries were altogether unknown in the earlier stages of our constitution.

But the main history of England during these reigns, and indeed for a long time after, gathers round the successive Danish invasions. Christian England was now attacked by the heathen Danes, as Christian Britain had been attacked by the heathen English. But the results in the two cases were widely different. The Danes were not a people altogether foreign to the English ; they were of kindred race, and spoke a kindred tongue. Had their inroads begun when the settlements of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were still new, they might have passed for a fourth branch of the same stock, come to share the spoil with their kinsfolk. As it was, their nearness in blood and speech made them disposed to accept a new religion at the hands of the English, and in the end to merge their own national being in that of the English, in a way in which the English themselves had been in no way disposed to do towards the wholly foreign races among whom they settled. The Danish invasions of England were part of a general movement which about this time began to carry the adventurous people of Scandinavia into all parts of Europe. Of the three great kingdoms into which they settled down about this time, Sweden had little to do with Western Europe ; the advance of that power was to the east. But the people of Norway and Denmark ravaged everywhere, and settled in many places, along the coasts of Germany, Gaul, and the British islands. The Northmen founded powerful states, which have an occasional connexion with English history, in Ireland, Orkney, and the Western Islands ; but the Scandinavian settlements in England itself were almost wholly Danish in the stricter sense.¹ Their

¹ That there were in northern England Northmen, as distinguished from Danes, appears from the record of the commendation of 924 in the Winchester Chronicle. The name *Northmen*, at an earlier time, meant the Scandinavian nations generally ; it is now specially used to mean the men of Norway. The Danes settled on the eastern coast of Northumberland and East-Anglia ; the Northmen would seem to have made their way into western Yorkshire by way of Cumberland.

Three stages of Danish invasion. invasions fall naturally into three periods. There is first a time of mere plunder; secondly, a time of local settlement, when Danish dynasties are set up in certain parts of England; lastly, when England, Denmark, and other European powers had grown into something more of definite shape and order, we find an attempt, and for a while a successful attempt, to place a king of all Denmark on the throne of a kingdom of all England. Of these periods it is the first two only with which we are concerned at this stage, and these two have their exact parallels in the two stages of English invasion in Britain. The first recorded inroad of the Danes in any part of England is placed in Northumberland in 789; but it was not till the latter years of the reign of Ecgberht that their incursions became formidable, at least in southern England. They plundered both in Kent and in Wessex, and they leagued themselves with the West-Welsh to meet a common defeat at the hands of the Bretwalda.

Settlement between Ælfred and Guthrum. The actual settlements did not begin till the reign of Æthelred. In 870 the Danes, after ravaging various parts of Northumberland and Mercia, and setting up a puppet king in Bernicia, occupied East-Anglia, whose king, the famous local saint Eadmund, died a martyr. Then came their first great invasion of Wessex, and the battles of the last days of Æthelred and the first days of Ælfred. Then (874-883) Northumberland and Mercia came altogether into the power of the Danes. For a moment they overran Wessex itself, and the realm of Ælfred was confined to the isle of Athelney. But the spirit of the great king never failed, and that of his people rose again. The Danes were driven from Wessex, and the peace of Wedmore settled the relations between the West-Saxon king and the Danes of East-Anglia. A line drawn from north-west to south-east divided Mercia into two parts. The south western fell to the West-Saxon, the north-eastern to the Dane. The Danish king Guthrum embraced Christianity, and became a precarious and dangerous vassal of the West-Saxon overlord. His actual kingdom lay in East-Anglia; the chief power in Danish Mercia lay in the confederacy of the five boroughs, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Stamford. In all these the Danish settlers seem to have formed a patrician order, holding the English inhabitants in bondage. Deira, with York for its capital, formed a Danish kingdom. In Bernicia English princes still reigned under Danish overlordship. In a large part both of Northumberland and Mercia the land was divided among Danish owners, and not a few places received new Danish names. It might have seemed that the Danish conquest of more than half England was only less thorough than the English conquest of Britain itself.

Effects of the Danish settlement. But in truth the Danish occupation of northern and eastern England did but make ready the way for the more thorough incorporation of those lands with the West-Saxon kingdom. Ecgberht had established his supremacy over the English powers in those lands. But it was the supremacy of an external master. The Danish settlements gave the West-Saxon kings a wholly new character. Unless we reckon the tributary kingship of Bernicia, all the ancient English kingdoms, with their royal houses, were swept away wherever the Danes established their power. The West-Saxon kings remained the only champions of Christian faith and English nationality. They were now Kings of the English, and they alone. Mark also that, by the treaty between Ælfred and Guthrum, while the West-Saxon king lost as an overlord, he gained as an immediate sovereign. The actual West-Saxon dominion, as distinguished from mere West-Saxon supremacy, again reached far beyond the Thames. English Mercia was ruled under Ælfred by an ealdorman of the old royal stock, the husband of his daughter the renowned

Æthelflæd. The Lord and Lady of the Mercians held a place intermediate between that of an under-king and an ordinary ealdorman. At the other end of Wessex, Kent and Sussex were completely incorporated, and ceased to be even distinct apanages. The West-Saxon supremacy was more fully established in Wales, and at last, in 893, even the Danes of the north acknowledged it. Ælfred had thus, in name at least, won back the overlordship of Ecgberht, combined with an enlarged immediate kingdom. As that immediate kingdom took in by far the greater part of Saxon England, and little or nothing that was not Saxon, he sometimes bears, neither the narrower style of King of the West-Saxons nor the wider style of King of the English, but the title, almost peculiar and specially appropriate to himself, of King of the Saxons. His overlordship over the heathen Danes was doubtless far less firmly established than Ecgberht's overlordship had been over their Christian predecessors. But now, in the eyes of the Christian inhabitants of Northumberland and Mercia, the West-Saxon king was no longer a stranger and a conqueror. He had become the champion of their race and faith against their heathen masters. In that character Ælfred himself hardly appeared. The last years of his reign were chiefly taken up in defending Wessex and English Mercia against new Danish invasions from without. But this Christian and English Second championship is the distinct characteristic of the kings who follow him, of his son Eadward the Unconquered (901-925), of his grandsons Æthelstan (925-940), Eadmund (940-946), and Eadred (946-955). Under them Wessex grew into England, and the overlordship grew into the empire of Britain. Eadward waged the war in partnership with his sister the Lady of the Mercians, who ruled alone Plate II after the death of her husband, and whose territory was on her death fully incorporated with Wessex. The son and the daughter of Ælfred gradually advanced their frontier, winning battles, fortifying towns, till Eadward, King of the English, held all England south of the Humber as his immediate realm. His overlordship was more fully admitted by the Welsh and the Northumbrians, and it was acknowledged for the first time by the Scots and the Strathclyde Welsh, who in 924 chose the English king as father and lord. Under Æthelstan Northumberland was incorporated, and the immediate realm of the one king of the English reached to the Forth. Still both he and his two successors had to fight against endless revolts and rival kings in Northumberland. The Danish land was won and lost and won back over and over again, till at last under Eadred Northumberland was finally incorporated, and ruled, sometimes by a single earl, sometimes by two, of the king's appointment. The kingdom of England was now formed.

The first half of the tenth century thus gave the West-Saxon kings a position in Britain such as no English kings imperial of any kingdom had held before them. Dominant in their own island, claiming and, whenever they could, exercising a supremacy over the other princes of the island, their position in the island world of Britain was analogous to the position of the Western emperors in continental Europe. It was in fact an imperial position. As such it was marked by the assumption of the imperial titles, *monarcha, imperator, basileus, Augustus*, and even *Cæsar*. These titles were meant at once to assert the imperial supremacy of the English kings within their own world, and to deny any supremacy over Britain on the part of either of the lords of the continental world. When we remember that some both of the Teutonic and Celtic princes of Britain had been the men of Charles the Great, the denial of all supremacy in the Cæsars of the mainland was not needless. Indeed that denial was formally made over

Changed position of Wessex.

and over again at various times down to the reign of Henry VIII.

On the other hand, we see during these reigns the beginning of the process which fixed the modern frontier of England to the north. The Picts and the Scots of Britain now formed what, as regarded their southern neighbours, was a single great kingdom north of Forth and Clyde. In the great fight of Brunanburh in 936 the Scots joined the Danes against Æthelstan, and shared in their defeat. After that time the relations of the Scottish kings to the English overlord seem for a long while to have been friendly. During this period the Scottish power began to make its way south of the two great firths. In 945 Eadmund conquered Cumberland. It might not be easy to say exactly what territory is meant by that name; but it was clearly the whole or a part of the ancient Strathclyde. It most likely took in Carlisle and its district, which had not been under direct English rule since the days of Ecgfrith. This territory Eadmund bestowed on Malcolm king of Scots, distinctly as a territorial fief. This is perhaps the earliest case of a grant of that kind in our history. It is something different from the commendation of either Scots or Britons to Eadward in 924. The northern kingdom of the Britons now became the ordinary apanage of the heirs of the Scottish crown. The Scottish royal house, if not the actual Scottish kingdom, thus obtained a great establishment south of the firth of Clyde, and soon afterwards the Scottish kings themselves made their way south of the Forth. In the reign of Eadred, Edinburgh, the border fortress of Northumberland to the north, became a Scottish possession. It is not clear on what terms this acquisition was made, or whether it was made in war or in peace. It is at least as likely, under the circumstances of the time, that it was a peaceful grant. But in any case it was the beginning of the process which brought the lands between Forth and Tweed into the possession of the Scottish kings, and which thereby turned them into English kings of a northern England, which was for a while more English than the southern England itself.

This period of war and conquest was also a period of legislation and intellectual advancement. In Ælfred we have the noblest name in all English history, the name of him who united more and more varied virtues than any other recorded ruler. The captain of his people, he was also their lawgiver and their teacher. His laws, the first that can be called a code, laws drawn up by himself and then submitted by him to the approval of his Witan, mark, as we have seen, when they are compared with those of Ine, a time when the distinction of Englishman and Briton had passed away from the West-Saxon kingdom. They are remarkable also for the great mass of scriptural and other religious matter which is brought in whole into their text. The laws of Eadward, of Æthelstan, and of Eadmund follow, and among them we have the text of the treaty between Ælfred and Guthrum, the earliest diplomatic instrument in our language. In all these laws we may trace the growth of the various new ideas which have been already spoken of as having gradually made their way into the older Teutonic system. The king grows greater and greater. Already a sacred, and fast becoming an imperial personage, he is something widely different from the old kings who ruled only over Wight or half of Kent. The increase of his dignity, the increase of the extent of his dominion, raise him at every step above the mass of his people. And as the kingdom grows, the right of the ordinary freeman to a place in the general assembly of the nation becomes more and more shadowy. That assembly shrinks more and more into an assembly of bishops, ealdormen, and king's thegns, made ever and anon more

splendid by the appearance of vassal princes and kings. As the king grows in greatness, his immediate followers grow also. The old nobility of the earls is finally supplanted by the new nobility of the thegns. The result of this change is the general depression of the churls as a class, while it becomes easier for this or that churl to raise himself to thegn's rank. On the other hand, the lowest class of all begins to have its lot lightened. The spirit of Christianity, if it does not yet venture to preach the emancipation of the slave, brings in provisions which lessen the rigour of the ancient law. And we now find the first of a series of well meant, though for the most part vain, attempts at least to hinder the slave from being sold out of his native land. Commerce and discovery are fostered. Thegn's rank is held out as a reward to the successful trader by sea. Intercourse with foreign countries becomes closer and closer. No foreign wife shares the throne of the *basileus* of Britain; but the sisters of glorious Æthelstan are given in marriage to the greatest princes of Western Europe. It was a great age for England, an age of great men and great events. The line of our hero kings, of Saxon Eadward the Unconquered, of Æthelstan the Glorious, and of Eadmund the Doer-of-great-deeds, is only less famous than it should be, because even their names must yield to the unequalled glory of their grandfather and father. Towards the end of the period we see, for the first time in English history, the person of a great minister, the wise counsellor of wise kings. Our first recorded statesman who was not a king is, as might be looked for in that age, a churchman, the great Dunstan, the guide of England through many stirring years of war and peace. The Church had made the English a nation; a great churchman was now foremost in making England a kingdom. A kingdom she now became, not yet indivisible, but still one. But one and strong and glorious as England stood in the central years of the tenth century, her unity and strength and glory were bought in no small degree by the loss of the ancient freedom of her people.

In literature this was a time which saw nothing short of the beginning of English prose. For a long time, as we have seen, the special home of learning and culture in England was in the north. Wessex had her scholars too, King Ine's kinsman Ealdhelm at their head; but the land of Bæda took the lead. In the confusions of the latter years of the eighth century the light of Northumbrian learning seems to have died out; yet even at the time of Ælfred's accession the great king places the greatest lack of learning of south of the Thames. In the interval of peace between Ælfred, the wars at the beginning and the wars at the end of his reign, Ælfred largely devoted himself to wipe out this stain. He was himself the first English prose writer on a great scale; but his writings, in accordance with the modest and practical bent of his mind, were no displays of original genius, but translations, or rather paraphrases, of such Latin works, both on divine and on secular subjects, as he thought were fitted for the improvement of his people. But above anything that Ælfred wrote himself stands the really greatest literary work of his reign, the beginning of the English Chronicle as it now stands. The fragmentary chronicles of earlier times were put together; the history of Bæda and the records of other lands were pressed into the service; the work became contemporary in the minute and brilliant narrative of Ælfred's own reign. From his day it goes on, sometimes full, sometimes meagre, sometimes a dry record of names and dates, sometimes rising to the highest flight of the prose picture or of the heroic lay, but in one shape or another never failing us, till the pen dropped from the hand of the monk of Peterborough who recorded the coming of Henry of Anjou. We, and we alone among the nations of Western Europe, can read our own

story from the beginning in our own tongue in which we were born. But it must be borne in mind that, as we go on, we shall find that the English Chronicle is not one chronicle but many. The record which began at the beginning of Ælfred was in the eleventh century continued in various monasteries, and the later parts of the several copies must be looked on, not as copies of a single work with some places where they differ, but as separate works which have some matter in common. The tale is told in different ways, with much difference of local feeling and even of political creed. The different chronicles stop at different periods. That of Peterborough, as we have hinted, stops suddenly in 1154.

England under Ælfred was a land where foreign merit was welcome, as under Charles the Great English merit had been welcome in other lands. The Briton Asser, the Old-Saxon John, the Frankish Grimbald, received at the West-Saxon court the same reception which Ealhwine had met with at the hands of the mighty Frank. Learning now prospered; the monasteries were schools; but the native tongue flourished also. Of the wars of Eadward and Æthelred the Chronicle gives us a full military narrative; in the following reigns the prose entries are meagre, but we get in their stead the glorious lay of Brunanburh and the shorter song of the deliverance of the Five Boroughs.

Dunstan. Towards the end of our present period, Dunstan, the great statesman, began to appear as an ecclesiastical reformer. His name is connected with the movement of the last half of the tenth century for enforcing a stricter discipline on the monasteries and for substituting monks for secular priests in many cathedral and other churches. The English clergy, even those who formed collegiate bodies, were fond of the separate, and not uncommonly married, life of the secular priest. This supposed laxity now gave way in several episcopal churches to the strict Benedictine rule. Hence came the usage, almost but not quite peculiar to England, by which the bishop had, as his diocesan council and the ministers of his own special church, a body of men who had professedly renounced all the affairs of this world. That Dunstan shared in this movement there is no doubt. But it would be hard to show from real history that he was foremost in the movement; and it is far more certain that no merely ecclesiastical reform was the foremost object in Dunstan's policy. The unity and the greatness of England were the first objects of the statesman whom Glastonbury gave to England.

Under Eadred the unity of England was formed. On his death the newly-built fabric seemed to break in pieces. The days of the grandsons of Ælfred, like the days of his brothers, were days when brothers succeeded one another after short reigns, and died for the most part childless. When Eadred died, there was no other son of Eadward the Unconquered to succeed him; nor does there seem to have been in the more distant branches of the royal family any one likely to command the unanimous voice of the nation. For a man who, though of kingly descent, was not the son of a king to come forward as a candidate for the crown would hardly have been endured, except in the case of one who held a commanding personal position, such as was held by no man in the realm save the mighty churchman. England had therefore more than once during this age to risk the woes which are denounced against the land whose king is a child. And the realm so newly united risked the dangers not only of minority but of division. The young sons of Eadmund, passed by according to ordinary rule on the death of their father, succeeded, for want of better candidates, on the death of their uncle Eadred. The elder, Eadwig, received Wessex as his immediate kingdom; the younger, Edgar, reigned over Northumberland and

Mercia as under-king. The division was followed by a period, short, confused, and obscure, but of the highest importance both on its constitutional and on its ecclesiastical side. The facts which stand out without doubt are that Eadwig was the enemy of Dunstan and that Edgar was his friend; that in 957 the kingdom of England was altogether divided by the Mercians and Northumbrians declaring their under-king Eadgar full king in his own right; that in 959 ^{Reign of} the kingdom was again united by the death of Eadwig and ^{Eadgar.} the succession of Edgar to the whole realm. But the causes which immediately led to these events are told with every kind of contradiction; the characters of the actors are painted in the most opposite colours. It is clear however that with the accession of Edgar the party of the monks triumphed. It is clear also that under Edgar's rule the land enjoyed sixteen years of unparalleled peace and of unparalleled prosperity. During his reign no word of foreign invasion was breathed, and the two or three disturbances within the island were of slight consequence. The well-known picture of the *basileus* of Britain rowed by eight vassal kings on the Dee, even if some of its details may be legendary, at least sets before us the popular conception of the dominion of Edgar the Peaceful. On the other hand, when we turn to the personal character of the two brothers, it is dangerous to accept, without the closest examination, either the crimes which the monks lay to the charge of Eadwig or the crimes which the gleemen lay to the charge of Edgar. At no time in our early history did England hold a higher position in the world in general. And when Old-Saxon Otto wore the crown of Rome, and West-Saxon Edgar, in some sort his nephew, reigned over the island empire of Britain, the Saxon name had reached the highest point of its glory.

The reign of Edgar, there can be no doubt, did much for the unity of England. By birth a king of the south, he owed his crown to the men of the north. He strictly preserved the distinct laws and customs to which the great divisions of the kingdom, now beginning to be distinguished as West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish, were severally attached. Commerce and intercourse with foreign countries is encouraged. The ecclesiastical reform led to increased splendour in ecclesiastical buildings, and the land was covered with minsters built on a scale before unknown. The kingdom thus built up and strengthened had presently to undergo the shock of a disputed election for the crown. Again the immediate royal family contained none but minors, the two sons of Edgar, Eadward and Æthelred. ^{Reign of} As far as we can see, Æthelred was supported by the party ^{Ead-} of the monks and Eadward by their enemies. ^{ward} Dunstan therefore distinctly sacrificed his party to his country when he brought about the election of Eadward, the elder of the boys, whose minority would therefore be the shorter. His short reign (975-979) was ended by his murder, done, there can be little doubt, at the bidding of his step-mother Ælfthryth, the Elfrida of romance. Her young son Æthelred then entered on the saddest and most shameful reign ^{Reign of} ^{Æthel-} red. in our annals. His time of thirty-seven years (979-1016) forms the most marked contrast to the short and vigorous reigns of the heroes who opened the century. For the first nine years of this unhappy time, Dunstan still lived; he was taken away before the fulness of evil came. The main feature of this time is the renewal of the Danish invasions, which, after some years of mere plundering incursions, take their third form, that of a distinct political conquest, the establishment of a Danish king on the throne of all England. The constitutional lesson of this time is that, limited as the powers of an English king were by law, incapable as he was of doing any important act without the consent of his Witan, the difference between a good and a bad king was something which words cannot set forth. It was for the

Witan to pass decrees; but it was for the king to put them in force; and under Æthelred nothing good ever was put in force. The unready king—that is the king without *rede* or counsel—seems to have been incapable of any settled or vigorous plan of action. He showed energy now and then in needless and fruitless enterprises; but under him the kingdom never showed an united front towards the common enemy. His only policy, the only policy of his cowardly or traitorous advisers, was the self-destroying policy of buying off the invaders with money. The invaders are met at London, at Maldon, at Exeter, with the highest valour and conduct on the part of the leaders and people of particular cities and districts; but it is always isolated cities and districts which resist. Such local efforts were naturally fruitless; the local force is either defeated by superior numbers, or, if victorious, it has, through want of concert with other parts of the kingdom, no means of following up its victory. Through a warfare like this, carried on year after year, the nation at last lost heart as well as its king. Local jealousies, hushed under the vigorous rule of earlier kings, now rose again. It is emphatically said that one shire would not help other. Under such a reign the efforts of the best men in the land were thwarted, and the places of highest power fell to the worst men. The successive advisers of Æthelred appear as a succession of traitors, who sold him and his kingdom to the enemy. The last of them, Eadric, whom Æthelred made earl of the Mercians and married to one of his many daughters, plays the chief part in the revolution which in the end placed the Dane on the English throne.

The staple then of the history of this time is foreign warfare, and that mostly warfare which takes the shape of invasion of England. But this time is marked also by foreign intercourse of another kind, intercourse which may at the time have seemed of no great importance, but which helped, together with the Danish invasions, to lead the way to events greater even than the Danish conquest itself. English political intercourse with other lands had hitherto been mainly with the Franks in Germany and Gaul, and with their successors in Germany, the Saxon emperors. In the course of the tenth century, the new powers of France and Normandy had sprung up in what had been the western or Gaulish part of the Frankish dominion. The king of the French at Paris was cut off from the sea by his vassal the duke of the Normans at Rouen. While Normandy was a practically independent state, there could be hardly any dealings, in war or in peace, between England and France. But it was through its connexion with Normandy that England became entangled in the affairs of France, and the connexion between England and Normandy begins under Æthelred. England and France might doubtless in the end have become rival powers in some other way; but the way in which they actually did become rival powers was through a chain of events of which we have now reached the beginning. Two quarrels between Æthelred and the Norman duke Richard were ended by a peace and a marriage (1002) between Æthelred and Richard's daughter Emma. Here was the beginning of the causes which led to the Norman Conquest. Emma brought with her Norman followers, some of whom were trusted with commands in England. The kindred between the ruling families of the two lands which came of the marriage of Emma led to increased intercourse between Normandy and England, to Norman interference with English affairs, to the settlement of Normans in England, to the claims of Duke William and to the Norman Conquest. When Normandy and England were under a common sovereign, France became in some sort a neighbour and an enemy of England. The rivalry between Normandy and France led to a rivalry between England and France, and that

rivalry went on after France had swallowed up Normandy. Thus not only the Norman Conquest, and the internal changes which followed it, but the French wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the long abiding enmity between Englishmen and Frenchmen, have their direct source in the events of the reign of Æthelred..

This last series of Danish invasions began, in the form of mere plundering incursions, in 980. In 991 a formidable invasion, Norwegian rather than Danish, and in which

Brihtnoth.

the famous Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvesson seems to have had a share, was marked by two opposite events, each alike characteristic of the time. Brihtnoth, the ealdorman of the East-Saxons, died with his thegns around him in the fight of Maldon, and his fall is recorded in one of the noblest of Teutonic battle-songs. Æthelred's earl, as he calls himself in the song, met the invaders with steel; but Æthelred himself had no arms but gold. The year of Brihtnoth's death was the very one in which the invaders were for the first time bought off with money. In 994 came a great joint invasion under the two kings of the north, Olaf of Norway and Swegen of Denmark. They were beaten off by the Londoners. Æthelred again bought peace; Olaf, converted to Christianity, kept the peace and vanishes from the story; but the war went on, if not with Swegen himself, at least with his Danes. After eight years of invasions, payments, brave local resistance, and inaction and treason at head quarters, came the general massacre of the Danes in England on the day of Saint Brice in 1002. This of course does not mean the slaughter of all the men of Danish descent in England, but simply the slaughter of those men of the invading host who had stayed in England, under cover of a treaty. Then came in 1003 a more terrible invasion by Swegen in person, when Exeter was betrayed to him by a Norman follower of the queen's. A valiant resistance in East-Anglia checked the invasion at the time, and Swegen himself did not appear again for some years. In the next stage, in 1006, the Danes first ravaged the inland part of Wessex. In 1010 comes the invasion of Thirkill; and the battle of Ringmere near Ipswich marks the last armed resistance. In 1013 Swegen came again. All strength and all hope was now gone; Æthelred was deposed, and took refuge in Normandy, and the Danish king was acknowledged as king—though native writers choose rather to call him tyrant—over all England.

Massacre
of Saint
Brice.

This Danish conquest of England, taking the form of a forced election of the conqueror, is something widely different alike from mere plundering incursions and from mere local settlements. It shows that we have got into the age of great powers. The king of an established kingdom adds another crown to the one which he has already, and strives to give his conquest an outward show of legality. Swegen's conquest is in this way almost a literal foreshadowing of the more famous conquest of William. But Swegen's conquest was only for a moment; he died the next year; his Danish host chose his younger son Cnut as his successor; the English Witan voted the restoration of Æthelred. In Denmark, it must carefully be marked, Swegen was succeeded by his elder son Harold. Cnut was chosen king over England only. A Danish dynasty was to reign in England; it was not yet ruled that Denmark and England were to have a single king. The war was now renewed between Cnut and Eadmund, surnamed Ironside, one of the younger sons of Æthelred. Englishmen had again a hero at their head, and, under his guidance, the whole state of affairs was changed. In the midst of this second war, in 1016, Æthelred died. A double election took place; Cnut and Eadmund were chosen to succeed by two distinct bodies of the English Witan. Eadmund, it would seem, was chosen, at such a

eginning
of
ter-
nurse
ith
ordi-
nary.

arriage
d and
mma.

First
election
of Cnut.

moment, over the head and with the consent of his elder brother Æthelstan.¹ A series of battles followed, in which Eadmund had decidedly the upper hand, till the last fight at Assandun, that is, Ashington in Essex, was lost by the treason of Eadric. The kingdom was divided; Eadmund took the south with a formal supremacy; Cnut took the north. The division was hardly made when Eadmund died mysteriously, by the practice of Eadric, as men deemed. And now another and final election gave Cnut the crown of the whole realm.

Reign and character of Cnut. The personal character of Cnut, his gradual change from a barbarian conqueror into a king who stood beside Ælfred in the memory of his people, makes him one of the most interesting studies in our whole history. But we have here to deal mainly with the political results of his accession. England was now brought more closely than ever into relations with other parts of the world. But those relations took a shape which was altogether new and unexpected. Cnut was a conqueror, and his establishment in England was a conquest, so far as that a foreign king made his way to the English crown at the sword's point. And, when he had worn the crown, he did not scruple to secure it by the death or banishment of such Englishmen as he thought dangerous to him, either on account of their connexion with the former royal house or on any other ground. But, when he had once made himself safe on the throne, there was nothing more of the conqueror about him. England was neither oppressed nor degraded under his rule. His government, his laws, were framed after the pattern of those of the ancient kings. He sent home his Danish army, keeping only a body of chosen guards, the famous housecarls. These were the first standing army known in England, a body of picked men, Danes, Englishmen, or brave men from any quarter. Cnut gradually displaced the Danes whom he had at first placed in high offices, and gave them English successors. He raised an Englishman, the renowned Godwine, to a place second only to kingship, with the new title of Earl of the West-Saxons. In her foreign relations, England, under her Danish king, was in no sense a dependency of Denmark. England was the centre, Winchester was the imperial city, of a northern empire, which rivalled those of the East and the West. Cnut, it must be remembered, was chosen to the crown of England first of all, while still very young. To that crown he added the crown of Denmark, on the death or deposition of his brother Harold. He won Norway, which had revolted against his father, from its king Olaf; and he seems to have established his power over part of Sweden and other parts of the Baltic lands. But all these were acquisitions made by one who was already "King of all England";² they were largely won by English valour, and the complaint in Denmark and elsewhere was that Cnut made his northern kingdoms subordinate to England, and preferred Englishmen rather than natives to high offices in them. At home, after the first years of his reign, his rule was one of perfect peace. In 1018 a Scottish victory at Carham secured all Lothian to the Scottish king. This was the carrying out of the work which had been begun by the Scottish annexation of Edinburgh. Whether there had been an earlier grant, or an earlier conquest, of Lothian is uncertain. Of its Scottish occupation from

this time there is no doubt. But in 1031 Malcolm of Scotland, and two under-kings, the famous Macbeth and one described as Jehmarc, did full homage to the King of all England. The northern king thus held his dominions in three distinct forms. In Scotland proper he was simply under the terms of the old commendation. Cumberland, whatever extent of territory comes under that name, was strictly a territorial fief. Lothian was an earldom held within the kingdom of England.

The position of Cnut, both as a man and as a king, ^{to the} derives a special interest from his being a convert to Christianity. His father Swegen was an apostate. ^{Chur} He had been baptized in his childhood or youth; but he cast aside his new faith, and carried war into England as a heathen conqueror. His son Cnut was baptized in the course of his English wars, and he appears in English history as a Christian king, a devout king, a special favourite of the Church and her ministers. His laws are strong on all ecclesiastical points, and they contain—what was needful in his day, but which had not been needful, in Wessex at least, for some ages—a crowd of provisions for the suppression of heathen worship. In Denmark he appears as completing the conversion of that kingdom which had already begun. His newly born religious zeal led him, like Æthelwulf, to make the pilgrimage to Rome. His reception there by the pope, the emperor, and the Burgundian king, helped to raise the position of England and her sovereign in foreign eyes; but it had no other political result.

One change, the fruit of which was chiefly seen a little ^{Cnut} later, was made by Cnut in the administration of the ^{earl} kingdom. As far as we can see, the rule had hitherto been for each shire to have its own ealdorman. One ealdorman sometimes held several shires, and the arrangement, at any rate under Æthelred, was confused and fluctuating; under Cnut it was organized in a new shape. Four great chiefs were set over the four great divisions of the kingdom, Wessex, East-Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. The Danish title *Jarl* or *Earl*, hitherto used only in Northumberland, was now substituted for ealdorman. We find also smaller earls of one or more shires; but it is plain that these were subordinate to these great governors. Wessex, above all, received now for the first time, in the person of Godwine, a governor distinct from her king.

The relations between England and Normandy now get ^{Rel} closer and more important. Æthelred had found shelter with ^{mand} in the Norman court with his brother-in-law Duke Richard. The young Æthelings, Ælfred and Eadward, the sons of Æthelred and Emma, were brought up at the court of their uncle. But, strange to say, their mother Emma entered into a second marriage with Cnut himself, who must have been many years younger than she was. With Richard of Normandy Cnut kept unbroken peace; but Richard's more adventurous son Robert asserted the rights of his cousins and threatened—perhaps attempted—an invasion of England on their behalf. Robert presently died on his famous pilgrimage. In the same year (1035), Cnut himself died, still in the prime of life, after a reign of only eighteen years from his final election.

Such a dominion as the northern empire of Cnut was ^{Divis} in its own nature ephemeral. Such a power can hardly ^{emp} endure beyond the life of its founder. The dominions of Charles the Great, geographically continuous and bound together both by Roman and by Frankish traditions, could not be kept under one ruler. Much less could the scattered empire of great islands and peninsulas which Cnut had brought under his power. Not only did his empire break in pieces, but his kingdom of England was again, for the last time, divided. Of his empire he himself had decreed

His dominions.

Relations with Scotland.

¹ This is merely a probability, not an ascertained fact; but several circumstances point to such a supposition, there is nothing to contradict it, and it would explain several difficulties. See *History of the Norman Conquest*, i. 691, ed. 8.

² Up to this time the title is always "King of the English," never "King of England." Cnut uses the special style of "King of all England," "Rex totius Anglie." This is not strictly a territorial style; still less is it the style of a conqueror. The object is to distinguish his kingship over all England from his earlier divided kingship when the land was parted between him and Eadmund.

the partition. He had in some sort begun it in his life-time. His sons had been sent to reign as under-kings in Denmark and Norway. As his successor in England he named Harthacnut, his son by Emma, who at his death was under-king in Denmark. But the succession to the English crown was disputed. Godwine and the West-Saxons asserted the claims of Harthacnut, according to his father's will. Mercia and Northumberland declared for Cnut's doubtful or illegitimate son Harold. A civil war might have been looked for ; but a decree of the Witan divided the kingdom between the two candidates. Harthacnut, now king of the West-Saxons, tarried in Denmark, and left his English kingdom to the care of Emma and Godwine. Now, and not under Cnut, the West-Saxon realm seemed to be dealt with as a province of Denmark. The offended subjects of Harthacnut voted the deposition of their non-resident king, and the crown of the whole realm passed to Harold. Since that day England has been an united kingdom. Its crown has often been disputed and struggled for in arms ; but every claimant has been a claimant of the whole kingdom. The division of England between two kings has never been seriously proposed since the deposition of Harthacnut. The very thought of such a thing had altogether passed out of men's minds before the end of the century with which we are now dealing.

The divided reign of Harold and Harthacnut was marked by an event which is told in as many and as contradictory shapes as any event in our early history. But it is certain that \AA lfred, the elder of the two \AA thelings who were living in banishment in Normandy, came over to England to make an attempt on the crown. The case is an exact parallel to the coming of the two Stewart pretenders seven hundred years later. As \AA lfred landed on the south coast, his immediate design must have been on the kingdom of Harthacnut ; but he came, in some way or other, into the power of Harold. His Norman companions were put to cruel deaths ; the \AA theling himself was blinded, and died soon after. Such dealings are quite contrary to either the English or the Norman practice of the age. It shows that the son of Cnut, unlike his father, retained the full spirit of a Scandinavian pirate. That Earl Godwine had a share in the crime was rumoured in his own day ; but, as the tale is commonly told, it is absolutely impossible. If his guilt was asserted by some, it was carefully denied by others ; he was tried on the charge, and was solemnly acquitted ; and, in the state of our evidence on the subject, he is entitled to the benefit of that acquittal. The reign of Harold was short. On his death in 1040, Harthacnut was chosen to the whole kingdom. A son of Emma, therefore a half brother of the surviving \AA theling Eadward, he sent for that prince to his court. But Harthacnut proved as worthless and brutal as Harold, and his reign, like Harold's, was short. On his death in 1042, the English nation were thoroughly tired of Danish rule. The memory of Cnut could not outweigh the infamy of his two sons. There was still a Danish party, whose candidate was Swegen, the nephew of Cnut through his sister Estrith, a prince who afterwards ruled Denmark with consummate prudence. But the English people had made up their minds to go back to the old kingly stock of the West-Saxons. In two distinct elections the nation chose the \AA theling Eadward, an unwilling candidate, recommended by his birth. But at such a moment English and kingly birth outweighed every other consideration. It should be also remarked that Eadward, like so many other kings, was chosen over the head of a nephew, who, according to modern ideas, was the direct heir. This was another Eadward, the son of his elder brother Edmund Ironside. But he was far away in Hungary and none thought of him.

The election of Eadward was in some sort the Eadward beginning of the Norman Conquest. The English nation the Confessor had chosen Eadward, who seemed an Englishman, rather than Swegen, who seemed a foreigner. But Eadward was in truth far more of a foreigner than Swegen. Born in England, but taken to Normandy in his childhood, he was in speech and feeling far more Norman than English. His monastic virtues won him the reputation of a saint and the title of Confessor, but no man could have been less fitted to wear the crown of England in such an age. His reign falls into two parts. Elected mainly by the influence of Godwine, Eadward married his benefactor's daughter, and raised his sons to earldoms. But the greatness of the West-Saxon earls was looked on with more or less jealousy by central and northern England, or at least by the earls who ruled over them. According to the division of Cnut, Northumberland was ruled by the Danish Siward, Mercia by Leofric, seemingly a descendant of the ancient kings of Mercia. Leofric himself was, as a party leader, eminently moderate and conciliatory ; but the rivalry between his house and the house of Godwine formed a marked feature in the reign.

Meanwhile the king himself filled every place that he Banished could with Norman favourites, who plotted against English-ment of men of every district and party. Above all, the king was Godwine. under the influence of the Norman Robert, a monk of Jumiéges, whom he raised successively to the bishopric of London and the archbishopric of Canterbury. The influence of strangers was now at its height ; so was their insolence. Against the king's foreign favourites no justice could be had. Godwine and his sons took up arms in the cause of the nation (1051). He was induced to abide by the decision of a national assembly, by which he and his sons were banished. The power of the strangers now seemed secure. William, duke of the Normans, a kinsman of Eadward through his mother, visited Eadward ; and it was most likely now that Eadward made to him that promise of the succession to the crown on which William afterwards founded his claim to succeed him. It seemed as if the Norman conquest of England had been already brought about without slash or blow. The king was Norman in feeling ; he was surrounded by Norman courtiers ; Normans and other men of French speech held high offices and great estates. The peaceful succession of the Norman duke to the Schemes English crown seemed far from unlikely. But all this was of Wil- liam of only on the surface. It is needless to show that a king of Nor- mandy ; the English had no right to bequeath his crown. The utmost that he could do was to recommend a candidate to the Witan, and their choice was, under all ordinary circumstances, confined to the royal house. William himself might doubtless see through all this ; but his kindred to Eadward, the bequest of Eadward in his favour, worthless as either was in point of English law, were advantages which he well knew how to turn to his own purposes.

A peaceful conquest of this kind, had such a thing been possible, would have been an unmixed evil. When the actual Norman Conquest came, its final results were on the whole for good. But that was because the violent overthrow of our national freedom did in effect breathe a new life into the nation. It called forth the spirit of Englishmen, and step by step we won back more than we had lost. But had the Normanizing schemes of the Confessor been carried out, the ancient freedom would have been undermined rather than overthrown ; there would have been less to call forth the full strength of antagonistic feelings, and England might, without knowing it, have sunk to the level of continental states. It is therefore not only in the patriotic view of the moment, but in the longest-sighted view of general history, that we set down the return of Godwine and his sons in the year after their banish-

Return
of God-
wine.

ment as one of the great events of our history. They came in arms; but the nation received them with all gladness, and the army which the king had brought together refused to fight against the deliverers. The restoration of Godwine and his sons, and the banishment of the archbishop and of a crowd of other Normans, was decreed in a national assembly which was one of the most memorable in English history. The old Teutonic constitution revived. At such a moment the Witenagemot ceased to be a mere gathering of the chief men of the realm. The nation itself came together. Such a name may fairly be given to an assembly made up of the citizens of London and of the two armies which had refused to fight against one another. This is the most conspicuous among several instances which show that, narrow as the constitution of the national assembly had become in ordinary practice, the rights of the common freemen were only dormant, and could still be made good whenever circumstances were favourable for making them good. It should be noticed also that this armed assembly of the nation took upon itself to depose an archbishop, and seemingly to nominate his successor. So to do was, there can be no doubt, fully within the powers of an English national assembly. But the breach of all ecclesiastical rule, as ecclesiastical rule was understood on the continent, was turned by Norman cunning into another count against England and her deliverers.

Godwine died the year after his return, and his place in the kingdom was taken by his son Harold. His policy was one of conciliation. The king was allowed to keep his personal favourites about him; but the Norman influence in public affairs was stopped. On the other hand, Harold cultivated the friendship of Germany, and many Lotharingian churchmen were promoted in England. The Welsh were now again formidable, having been united under a vigorous prince named Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. After some victories over other English commanders, the Britons were at last brought to more complete dependence by Harold himself, in a war in which Gruffydd was killed by his own people. Earlier than this, the Northumbrian earl Siward had overcome Macbeth, and had restored the Scottish crown to Malcolm, the heir of the former kings.

England thus, under the administration of Harold, held a high place at home and abroad. Still there were several sources of weakness, all of which the Norman knew how to make use of. When the Norman archbishop Robert was deposed and banished, his English successor Stigand was looked on at Rome as an usurper of the see. In the early years of Eadward, Roman influence had greatly grown in England, and the canonical scruple about Stigand's appointment was shared by many at home. And when at last Harold procured the acknowledgment of Stigand from Pope Benedict X., matters were only made worse; for Benedict himself was presently declared to be an usurper. It was

Harold's oath to William. of more importance still that Harold himself was alleged to have entered into some personal engagements with Duke William. The tale, which comes to us only from the Norman writers, is told with so much contradiction that it is impossible to get at the exact truth. The Normans gave out that Harold was sent by Eadward to announce his bequest of the crown to William, that he did homage to William, engaged to marry his daughter, and promised to promote his succession at Eadward's death and to give him immediate possession of the castle of Dover. This tale is altogether impossible; but it is very likely that Harold was shipwrecked on the shore of Ponthieu and imprisoned by its count Guy; that he was released by the interference of Duke William; that, in return for this favour, he helped him in his war with the Bretons; that he promised—though an older man than Duke William—to marry his daughter;

and that he did an act of formal homage to his intended father-in-law and temporary military commander. Here is most likely the germ of the story, a story about which the contemporary English writers are significantly silent, while the Normans improve it into such forms as suited their own purposes. It is plain that the canonical question about Stigand, and the story of Harold's oath, gave every opportunity, when the time came, to represent the English as a sacrilegious and schismatic people, and their ruler as a man faithless to his oath.

While these sources of danger were growing up abroad, a third source was growing up in England itself. The rivalry between the West-Saxon and the Mercian, between the house of Godwine and the house of Leofric, went on. The character of Leofric himself is without stain; but his son Ælfgar did not scruple to ally himself with the Welsh against England. Outlawed and restored, he held his father's earldom of Mercia till his death, when it passed to his son Eadwine. But, in the latter days of Eadward, all the rest of England was under the government of the sons of Godwine. Of these Tostig had succeeded Siward in Northumberland. He was a personal favourite of the king, and his appointment may well have been King Eadward's own act. In the last year of Eadward's reign the Northumbrians deposed Tostig, and chose as their earl Morkere, the brother of Eadwine. Rather than plunge the country into a civil war, Harold confirmed the choice of the Northumbrians. Tostig went into foreign lands to complain of his brother, and to plot against his country. Harold thus drew on himself the enmity of his brother, without winning the gratitude of the sons of Ælfgar.

Such were the threefold dangers which threatened *Election of Harold.* England when Eadward died, January 5, 1066, while the Witan were assembled at Westminster for the Christmas feast. Eadward was childless, and the question of the succession must have been in men's minds during the whole of his reign. That he promised the crown to William at the time of the duke's visit is, as we have seen, very likely. But such thoughts passed away under the administration of Harold. Eadward sent for his nephew Eadward from Hungary, clearly designing him as his successor. The younger Eadward came to England and died. He left two daughters, and a son Eadgar, young and of little promise, who was at Eadward's death the only male left in the royal family. In such a strait, it was needful to look for a king beyond the royal family. Eadward on his death had recommended Harold to the choice of the electors, a recommendation which was willingly accepted. Harold was chosen and crowned, taking care to avoid any question as to the validity of the crowning rite, by having it performed, not by Stigand, but by Ealdred archbishop of York. The Northumbrians for a moment refused to acknowledge the election of the new king; but he won them over by his presence and the eloquence of his friend Wulfstan bishop of Worcester. It was most likely at the same time that he tried to win the northern earls to his side by a marriage with their sister Ealdgyth. This was a direct breach of his promise to William; and, as Ealdgyth was the widow of Gruffydd of Wales, this last fact was made a further charge against him by the Normans.

Of the lawfulness of Harold's succession, according to the *Its law.* English law of the time, there can be no doubt. He was nominated by the late king, regularly chosen, regularly consecrated. The Witan had always exercised a free choice within the royal house, and the same principle would justify a choice beyond the royal house, when the royal house contained no qualified candidate. Minorities had been endured after the death of Eadred and after the death of Eadgar. But then the only man in the land who held at all the same position as Harold now did was the

churchman Dunstan. In fact the claims of Eadgar do not seem to have been put forward at the time. They begin to be heard of at a later time, when the notion of strict hereditary right was growing. When Harold is blamed at the time, it is not for disregarding the hereditary right of Eadgar, but for breaking his own personal engagement to William. Whatever was the nature of that engagement, its breach was at most a ground of complaint against Harold personally; it could give William no claim as against the people of England. According to English law, William had no shadow of claim. The crown was not hereditary but elective; and he was not elected to it. Nor had he even any hereditary claim; for he was not of the kingly stock of Cerdic. The alleged bequest of Eadward was cancelled by the later bequest in favour of Harold. The whole question was a personal question between William and Harold. A single act of homage done by Harold to William when in William's military service could not bind Harold to refuse the crown which the nation offered him. The engagement to marry William's daughter was undoubtedly broken. To this charge we have Harold's own answer: A King of the English could not marry a foreign wife without the consent of his Witan.

Claims of William. William then had no claim to the crown on any showing, either of natural right or of English law. But, by artfully working together a number of points which had no real bearing on the matter, he was able to make out a plausible case in lands where English law was unknown. His kindred to Eadward, the alleged bequest of Eadward, the alleged perjury of Harold, the alleged wrong done to Archbishop Robert and the other Normans, were able to be worked into a picture which gradually won supporters to William, first in his own duchy, and then beyond its bounds. His own subjects, who at first listened but coldly, were before long stirred to zeal in his cause. Foreign princes encouraged him; to the Roman see above all it was the best of opportunities for winning increased power in England. Pope Alexander II., under the influence of his archdeacon Hildebrand, afterwards the renowned Pope Gregory VII., approved of William's claims. He was thus able to cloke his schemes under the guise of a crusade, and to attack England alike with temporal and spiritual weapons.

William's invasion of England. Thus doubly armed, the Norman duke set forth on his enterprise against England. He had not a single partisan in the country; but Tostig, the banished Englishman, was indirectly doing his work. For Tostig William was too slow; he betook himself to Harold Hardrada, the famous king of Norway, and either stirred him up to an attempt on England or joined him in an attempt which he had already planned. Harold of England was thus attacked at once by two enemies, either of whom alone it might be hard to overcome. The Norwegian came first; he landed in Yorkshire, defeated Eadwine and Morkere at Fulford, and on September 24 received the submission of York. Harold of England on the morrow overthrew the Norwegian invader at Stamfordbridge. Three days later the Normans landed at Pevensey; the English king marched southward; the northern earls kept back their forces, seemingly in the hope of a division of the kingdom. On October 14, Harold, at the head of the men of Wessex, East-Anglia, and part of Mercia, met William and his host on the hill of Senlac. After a hard-fought struggle, the Normans by a stratagem made their way on to the hill; the king was wounded by an arrow and cut down by four Norman knights, and his personal following was slaughtered around him. The first step in the conquest of England was thus taken; but the work was far from being done. After the fall of Harold, William had never again to fight a pitched battle; the

land was without a leader, and therefore without union. Local resistance was often valiant; but it was only local resistance, and the land was conquered bit by bit.

On the death of Harold, the Witan in London chose His election as Edgar to the vacant throne. But the Mercian earls failed him, as they had failed Harold; and their treason hindered any general national resistance. Before the end of the year, the newly chosen king and a large body of the chief men of the realm found it expedient to submit to the invader. He had then subdued the shires south of London, whose forces had been utterly cut off at Senlac; he had crossed the Thames and threatened the city from the north. He was now chosen king and crowned at Westminster on Christmas day. He was thus king by the submission of the chief men, by the rite of coronation, and by the absence of any other claimant. But he was very far from having full possession of the whole kingdom. His actual authority did not go beyond the south-eastern part of the country. His dominions certainly reached from Hampshire to Norfolk. They probably took in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire, with an outlying post in Herefordshire; but the north, the south-west, and the greater part of central England were still unsubdued.

The conquest of these still independent districts was the result of a series of local campaigns spread over about two years, from the beginning of 1068 to the beginning of 1070. In 1067 William visited Normandy, and the oppression of Plate III. his lieutenants, his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osmund, earl of Hereford, stirred up revolts in Kent and in Herefordshire. The Kentish revolt took the strange form of an alliance with a foreign prince, Eustace count of Boulogne, who had been himself in William's service in his invasion. In Herefordshire the movement was more strictly national, though its chief, Eadric, surnamed the Wild, who had never submitted to William, did not disdain an alliance with his Welsh neighbours. Eadric in fact held out till a much later time; but the Kentishmen with their foreign allies were subdued before William's return. At the end of the year the king came back, and with the beginning of the next year he betook himself to the conquest of what was still unconquered. His first march was towards the west, where Exeter and the whole of western England were still independent. They were first subdued in the spring of 1068. After a revolt in the next year, after two attempts in successive years on the part of Harold's sons, western England was finally subdued in the course of 1069. Northern England, as far as the northern boundary of Yorkshire, was first conquered in the autumn of 1068. An attempt on Durham in January 1069 was defeated. York and the North generally revolted more than once. In September 1069 Swegen of Denmark sent a great fleet to the help of the English, who were under the leadership of Eadgar, Waltheof the son of Siward, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and the other northern leaders. But, in the course of the winter of 1069-1070, the whole of northern and central England was finally conquered, Chester being the last point to hold out. After this time there were local revolts, but no very general resistance of any large part of the country. Early in 1070 William reviewed and dismissed his army at Salisbury. At the Easter feast of the same year, being now full king over all England, he was again solemnly crowned by legates from Rome.

A distinction must be carefully drawn between the resistance to William's arms in those districts which had never submitted to his authority and the revolts which happened after his power was fully established. The two are however divided by a very short interval of time. In the course of the summer of 1070 the fen-land was in

Revolt
of Here-
ward.

revolt under Hereward. That inaccessible district can never have fully submitted ; still the warfare there was a new and distinct outbreak, and not a continuation of the earlier warfare at Exeter, York, and Chester. The abbey of Ely was the centre of resistance, and, in a country which so often formed the last shelter of defeated parties, it was defended for about a year. Earl Eadwine was slain on his way to join the insurgents ; Morkere was in the island at the time of its surrender, and was condemned to a life-long imprisonment. Hereward alone, with a few valiant followers, escaped by sea. He appears to have been afterwards reconciled to William, and even to have served him in his foreign wars. The manner of his death is uncertain.

The war at Ely was the last patriotic warfare on the part of the English against William. He was now undisputed master of England ; the nation had learned that the time for national resistance was past, and that local revolts could avail nothing. On the Welsh border he established the great earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, whose holders largely extended the power of the English kingdom at the expense of the Britons. Northumberland was entrusted to the care of a succession of earls, first English, then Norman. But on this side the frontiers of the kingdom were not at this time enlarged.

Relations with Scotland. But from the very beginning of William's conquest the northern frontier was a source of the deepest anxiety. The banished English, and specially the royal family, found shelter at the court of Malcolm of Scotland, who married Margaret, the sister of Eadgar. Under cover of asserting their rights, Malcolm cruelly ravaged northern England. But in 1072 William himself entered Scotland and received the homage of Malcolm at Abernethy. He had thus succeeded to the empire, as well as to the immediate kingdom, of his West-Saxon predecessors. In the next year he employed English troops on the continent in winning back the revolted county of Maine. In 1074 he could afford to admit Eadgar, the rival king of a moment, to his favour.

A revolt which took place in 1075 only showed how firmly William's power was established, and how little disposition there was on the part of the English to rise against him. Two of his own earls rose against him. One, Ralph earl of Norfolk, was an Englishman by birth; but as he came over with William and served with him at Senlac, he must have been banished under Eadward or Harold. His fellow rebel, Roger earl of Hereford, was the son of William's special friend William Fitz-Osbern. These two revolted; but they had to trust mainly to the help of Breton mercenaries or adventurers : Normans and English were leagued against them. The revolt was crushed ; Ralph escaped ; Roger, like Morkere, spent the rest of his days in prison. But their fall brought down with them the last Englishman who held a secular post of the first rank under William. This was Waltheof, formerly the leader of the English at York, but who had submitted again and had been received to the king's highest favour. Besides his former earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, he had received the earldom of Northumberland. That name now means so much of Bernicia as had not passed to the Scottish kings ; that is, the present county so-called. Waltheof seems to have listened to the plans of his brother earls ; but he took no part in their revolt, and he even revealed the conspiracy to William. Yet he was the only one of the three whose life was taken. After a long imprisonment, he was on May 31, 1076, beheaded at Winchester. At no other time in William's long reign did he send a political enemy to the scaffold ; and Waltheof could hardly be called a political enemy. The Norman courtiers and his own Norman wife, the king's niece

Judith, seem to have called for his blood. By the English he was looked on as a saint and martyr.

The last eleven years of William's reign are far richer in continental than in English events. He was engaged in war with his French and Breton neighbours, and with his rebellious eldest son Robert. In England a Danish invasion in 1075, in concert with the revolt of the earls, led to a sack of York, and to nothing further. In 1080 Walcher, bishop of Durham and earl of Northumberland, was killed in a popular tumult. A revolt it could hardly be called ; but it was cruelly punished by the king's brother Bishop Odo. After this we do not hear of so much as a tumult. In 1086 an invasion from Denmark was again threatened by the Danish king Cnut. His enterprise was stopped by his death by the hands of his own subjects, which won him, somewhat strangely, the honours of martyrdom and the title of a saint. The next year, 1087, William himself died of an accidental hurt received while burning the town of William Mantes in warfare with his neighbour and lord, Philip king of the French.

Accession of William Rufus. The Conqueror was now gone, but the tale of the Conquest is not quite over. One act more of the drama is still to be told before we stop to consider the nature, the cause, and the results, of this wonderful revolution. By the dying will of William, Normandy passed to his eldest son Robert ; England he wished to be the portion of his second son William. William, surnamed the Red, was acknowledged and crowned without opposition. In the next year (1088) almost the whole of the Norman nobles rebelled on behalf of Robert. The king appealed to his English subjects. By their valour, seconded by the loyalty of the bishops, the Norman revolt was put down, and the crown of the Red King was made safe. This was the last time that Normans and English, as such, met in arms on English soil. The work of the Conquest had been so thoroughly done that it could bear in a certain sense to be undone. The conquest made by the Norman had been so thorough that it was not disturbed even by English victories over Normans. Within twenty-two years after William's landing, his son, the second Norman king, owed his crown to the support of the native English against his own countrymen. Signs of distinction and jealousy between the two races may be discerned for some time longer ; but the last open warfare between them was when the English defended the throne of William Rufus against his Norman rebels.

Character of the Norman Conquest. Such is a short sketch of the leading events of the period which we may call the period of the Norman Conquest. Looking at it simply as an event, it is most important to bear in mind its gradual nature. Nothing can be further from the truth than the notion that England passed at once into the hands of the Normans after a single battle. Still there is a sense in which it is not untrue to say that England was conquered in a single battle. After the fall of Harold, at all events after the northern earls withdrew their forces from the service of Eadgar, the conquest of England was only a question of time. Just as in the days of Æthelred, there was no acknowledged leader ; and throughout that age, under a worthy leader, the English people could do everything ; without such an one, they could do nothing. There was no man who could gather the whole force of the nation around him. There was no man who could stand up as William's rival either in military or in political skill. Hence, after the one great battle, there was no common effort. The West resisted valiantly ; the North resisted valiantly ; but the resistance of each was isolated without any intelligent concert. Help came from Denmark ; but it was no avail when there was no generalship, no common plan, and when the Danish leaders were actually bribed by William. In all these ways the strength of the

Execution of Waltheof.

country was frittered away. Alfred and Eadmund Ironside, whether defeated or victorious, fought battle after battle. They were real leaders. After Harold fell in the first battle, there was no real leader left, and the first pitched battle was the last. Next to the fall of Harold and his brothers in the first battle, William's greatest advantage was the submission of London and of the chief men assembled in London. This enabled him to be crowned king at an early stage of the war, when not more than a third of the country was in his actual possession. From that time his government had a show of legality. The resistance of the west and north was, in fact, as truly resistance to an invading enemy as the fight on Senlac itself. But, when William was once crowned, when there was no other king in the land, resistance to him took the outward form of rebellion. The gradual nature of the conquest, together with William's position as crowned king at the head of an established government, even enabled him to turn the force of the conquered districts against those which were still unconquered, and to subdue England in some measure by the arms of Englishmen. Thus, within five years from his landing, anything like real resistance had come to an end. William was full king throughout the land. The revolt of the earls met with no national support, and the tumult in which Bishop Walcher was killed was a mere tumult, caused by local and personal wrongs, such as might have happened in any age. The one general national impulse of a later date than the fall of Chester was, as we have just seen, that which led the English people to support that son of the Conqueror who appealed to them against that son of the Conqueror who was supported by the Norman nobles.

Title of Conqueror. But the Norman conquest of England was something much more than the mere establishment of a Norman king or a Norman dynasty upon the throne of England. William, we must always remember, did not give himself out as a conqueror. The name *Conqueror*, *Conquistor*, though applied with perfect truth in the common sense, must strictly be taken in the legal meaning of *purchaser* or *acquirer*. William claimed the crown as the lawful successor of Eadward. No doubt he would have been well pleased if his title had been peaceably acknowledged. As his claim was not acknowledged or taken notice of in any way, he had, from his own point of view, no course left except to make good his rights by force; and, in a land where he had no native partisans, the making good of his rights by force meant the conquest of the land by a foreign army. The peculiar character of the Norman Conquest comes from this, that a legal claim to the crown was made good through conquest by a foreign army. William's accession was something quite different from the mere peaceful succession of a foreign king. It was also something quite different from a mere foreign invasion without any legal pretext at all.

Character of William. We must here, in considering the effects of the Norman Conquest, distinguish between those immediate effects which are rather the form which the Conquest itself took and those lasting effects which the peculiar nature of the Conquest caused it to have upon the whole future history of England. The peculiar nature of William's claim, and the personal character of William himself, had the deepest influence both on the character of the Conquest itself as an event, and on the character of its permanent results.

We may say generally of William that he was a man who united the highest military skill of his age with a political skill which would have made him great in any age. He knew how to knit together a number of points, none of which really proved anything, but all of which in one way or another told in his favour, so as to give a plausible look to a claim which had no legal or moral ground whatever.

He deceived others; most likely he deceived himself. He was in no sort a vulgar oppressor, in no sort a contemptuous despiser of law and right. He never lost sight of a formal justice and of a more than formal piety. He was cruel in the sense of not scrupling at any severity which would serve his purpose; he was not cruel, in the sense of taking any pleasure in oppression for its own sake. He was guided strictly by the letter of the law, according to his reading of the law. In his own idea, he was not only guided by justice, but he tempered justice with mercy. It is certain that he often forgave those who revolted against him; it is also certain that he carefully abstained from blood except in open battle. When he punished, it was always, with the single exception of Waltheof, by some penalty short of death. That the worse part of his character grew at the expense of the better is not wonderful in such a career. Early in his reign he laid waste Northumberland out of a cruel policy; later in his reign he laid waste a large tract of Hampshire to form a forest for his own pleasure. In his earlier days Exeter withstood him, Le Mans revolted against him. Both those cities he entered as a peaceful conqueror. In his last days he gave Mantes to the flames, and enjoyed the sight, when he had no wrong to avenge on the part of the people of Mantes, but when he was simply stirred up to wrath by a silly jest of their king.

The effect of the peculiar position and character of His con-William was that his settlement was in truth a territorial fiscations and conquest veiled under legal forms. In William's reading grants of the law, if he was not himself actually king from the moment of Eadward's death, yet at least he was the one lawful successor to the kingdom. It was therefore treason to fight against him, or to put any hindrance in the way of his taking possession of the crown. The lands and goods of traitors were confiscated to the crown; therefore the lands and goods of all who had opposed William, living or dead, were confiscated to him. The crown lands—and in William's reading of the law, the *folkland* was crown land—of course passed to the new king. The whole *folkland* then, together with the lands of all who had fallen on Senlac, including the vast estates of Harold and his brothers, all passed to William, and was at his disposal. But, as no Englishman had supported his claims, as many Englishmen had opposed him in arms, the whole nation was involved either in actual or in constructive treason. The whole soil of England then, except the property of ecclesiastical corporations, was forfeited to the new king. But William was not inclined to press his claims to the uttermost; at his first entry he allowed the mass of the English landowners to redeem the whole or a part of their possessions. Gradually, after each conquest of a district, after each suppression of a revolt, more land came into the king's power. That land was dealt with according to his pleasure. It was restored, wholly or in part, to its former owners; it was granted away, wholly or in part, to new owners, as William thought good in each particular case. But in every case, whether a man kept his own land or received land which had belonged to some one else, all land was held as a grant from the king. The only proof of lawful ownership was either the king's written grant, or else evidence that the owner had been put in possession by the king's order. Of this process of confiscation and regrant, carried out bit by bit during the whole reign of William, Domesday is the record. We see that, in the course of William's twenty-one years, by far the greater part of the land of England had changed hands. We see further, as we might take for granted in such a case, that by far the greater part of the land which was granted to new owners was granted to William's foreign followers. By the end of William's reign all the greatest estates in England had

passed into the hands of Normans and other strangers. But we see also that it is an utter mistake to believe that Englishmen were indiscriminately turned out of hearth and home. A few Englishmen who had, in whatever way, won William's special favour kept great estates. A crowd of Englishmen kept small estates or fragments of great ones. In a vast number of cases the English owner kept his lands as tenant under a Norman grantee. Altogether the actual occupants of the soil must have been much less disturbed than might have seemed possible in so great a transfer of lands from one set of owners to another.

Legal character
of William's acts.

The special feature of this great transfer of land from men of one nation to men of another is that it was done gradually and under legal form. It was not a mere scramble for what every man could get; nor was it like those cases in the early Teutonic invasions when the lands of the conquered, or a part of them, were systematically divided among the conquering army. Every step in William's great confiscation was done regularly and according to his notion of law. There was no formal or general distinction between Normans and Englishmen. Every man, Norman or English, was dealt with according to his personal merits. Every man, Norman or English, held his land only by a grant from King William. No general change was made in the tenure of land. The new owner got his land on the same terms on which the old owner had held it. The new owner was clothed with the same rights, and was burthened with the same liabilities, as the old one. William took lands here, and granted them there, according to the circumstances of each case. Most commonly he took from Englishmen and gave to Normans. But he took from Englishmen and gave to Normans, not by virtue of any legal distinction between Englishmen and Normans, but because it was, as a rule, Englishmen who incurred forfeiture by resisting him, Normans who deserved reward by serving him.

His dis-
posal of
offices;

As William dealt with lands, so he dealt with offices. The two processes were to some extent the same; for most ecclesiastical and many temporal offices carried with them land or rights over land. Gradually, and under cover of law, the highest offices in Church and State were taken from Englishmen and bestowed on Normans. At the end of William's reign there was no English earl, but one English bishop, and only a few English abbots. But this change was not made all at once. In the appointment of earls William brought in a new policy which reversed that of Cnut. The great earldoms were broken up. There were no more earls of the West-Saxons or of the Mercians, and the earldom of Northumberland now meant only the modern county. Indeed William did not appoint earls at all, except in districts which were open to attack by land or sea—districts, in short, where the earls would have to play the part of *marquesses*. Kent, Norfolk, Northumberland, Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, were William's only earldoms. Each of these had a special duty of guardianship against the Briton, the Scot, the Dane, and any possible enemies from Gaul or Germany. At his coming he established Norman earls in such parts of the earldoms of Harold and his brothers as he thought needed defence. Elsewhere he kept the English earls, and even appointed new ones, as the circumstances of the time dictated. At last, ten years after William's coming, the last English earl was removed by the beheading of Waltheof. Other officers, sheriffs, stallers, and the like, were in the same way gradually changed. But smaller posts largely remained in the hands of Englishmen. It has been noticed, as marking some traits in William's personal habits, that Eadward's English huntsmen kept their places, but that all the new king's cooks were strangers.

of earl-
doms;

The same system was carried on with ecclesiastical offices

also, though in this case a greater degree of caution was of bishoprics and abbeys needed. The king might by himself, or at all events with the consent of his Witan, remove a sheriff, an earl, or any temporal officer: to remove a bishop or abbot needed, in William's view, full ecclesiastical sanction. Throughout William's reign, when a bishop died, a foreign successor was found for him, and those English bishops against whom any canonical charge could be devised were removed without waiting for their deaths. The same general rule was applied to the abbots, though here the exclusion of Englishmen was not quite so strict. Though the greater number of the newly appointed abbots were strangers, a few Englishmen were appointed to abbeys even down to the end of William's reign. In a series of synods held in 1070 by the papal legates, the new organization of the English Church began. The two metropolitan sees were filled by foreigners. York was vacant in ordinary course by the death of Ealdred; it was bestowed on the Norman Thomas of Bayeux. Canterbury was vacated by the deposition of Stigand, and was bestowed on a far more famous man, Lanfranc of Pavia, William's right hand man in the settlement of Church and State. Other sees were filled in the same year, and gradually, as bishops died or were deposed, Normans took their places. At William's death, Wulfstan of Worcester was the only bishop of English birth.

Of these changes in the possession of landed property Domesday Book is the great record. This unique and invaluable document was drawn up in pursuance of a decree passed in the Christmas assembly of 1085–1086, and the necessary survey was made in the course of the first seven months of 1086. The immediate object of the survey was a fiscal one, to insure that the tax on the land known as *Danegeld*¹ might be more regularly paid and more fairly assessed. But William further took care to have a complete picture of his kingdom drawn up. We are told in all cases by whom the land was held at the time of the survey, and by whom it had been held in the time of King Eadward. We are told what was the value of the land at those two dates. This is the essence of the inquiry; but we also get a mass of statistics and a mass of personal and local detail of every kind. As a mere list of landowners under Eadward and under William, it enables us to trace the exact degree to which land had passed from Englishmen to Normans. And the incidental notices of tenures, customs, personal anecdotes, the local institutions of districts and towns, are at least as valuable as the essential parts of the survey. With their help we can see England as it was in 1086 more clearly than we can see it at any earlier time, more clearly than we can see it at any later time for a long while after. And not the least instructive thing about the survey is the light which it throws on the general character of William's government, the system of legal fictions, the strict regard to a formal justice. William is assumed throughout as the lawful and immediate successor of Eadward. The reign of Harold is ignored. The grant of William is assumed as the one lawful source of property; but there is throughout a clear desire to do justice according to that doctrine, to secure every man in his right, as William understood right, without any regard to race or rank. Powerful Normans, William's own brothers among them, are entered as withholding lands wrongfully, sometimes from other Normans, sometimes from Englishmen. Domesday, in short, may be set alongside of the English Chronicle as one of the two great and

¹ The more correct name is *Herengeld*, that is, a tax for the support of a paid military force. *Danegeld* is, in strictness, money paid to the Danes as black mail by Athelred and others. But, as both payments were unpopular, the two names got confounded, and *Danegeld* became the received name of the chief direct tax paid in these times.

unique sources of English history. They are possessions which have no parallel elsewhere.

In the constitution of England William made no formal change, and the particular laws of his enacting were few. The direct changes of his reign had some analogy to the direct changes which followed on the introduction of Christianity. No old institutions were abolished; but some new institutions were set up by the side of the old ones. The old national assemblies went on, without any change in their formal constitution. The real change in their character was not a formal, but a practical one. The assembly which, at the beginning of William's reign, was an assembly of Englishmen with here and there a Norman had, before the end of his reign, changed into an assembly of Normans with here and there an Englishman. The assemblies, as before, were in ordinary times mere gatherings of the great men of the realm; but, as before, on special occasions, a vast multitude was brought together. Thus, when Domesday was finished in 1086, William gathered all the landowners of his kingdom, great and small, whether his tenants-in-chief or the tenants of an intermediate lord, and made them all become his men. No one act in English history is more important than this. By it William secured his realm against the growth of feudal doctrines and their abuses. It established the principle that, whatever duty a man might owe to any inferior lord, his duty to his sovereign lord the king came first. When this rule was once established, the mightiest earl in England could never be to William what William himself was to his own lord the King of the French. This one act of the wisdom of the Conqueror secured the unity of England for ever.

Of the few actual changes in the law which William made, the most part were mere ordinances enacted to meet the immediate needs of the time. Thus, for instance, in the appeal to the judgment of God, the English ordeal and the Norman wager of battle were alike legalized and regulated. Provisions were made for the safety of William's foreign followers, especially by the singular law of *Murder* and *Englishry*, according to which, if an unknown man was found dead, he was held to be a Norman, unless he could be proved to be English. In legislating against the slave-trade, William only followed in the steps of former kings; but in wholly forbidding the punishment of death, he acted on a personal theory of his own. But it must be remembered that, in William's jurisprudence, the substitutes for death were mutilations which in modern ideas would be deemed worse than death. Most of these provisions were in their own nature temporary. The chief permanent change in our law which was due to an actual ordinance of William was a part of his ecclesiastical reformation, the separation of the temporal and spiritual jurisdictions. Hitherto the bishop and the earl had sat together in the *Scirgemot*, and had heard both ecclesiastical and temporal causes. This was now forbidden, and separate ecclesiastical courts began. The strict forest law of William's reign must also have been an innovation; but it does not exist in the shape of a code; we know it only by the complaints of the contemporary chronicles, and by the practice of later times. In all legal matters the ancient assemblies and the ancient forms went on; nor was there any direct change in the language of the law. English remained, as before, an alternative language with Latin. But from this time the use of Latin gradually encroaches on the use of English. French is not used till a much later time.

But the immediate and formal changes which followed on William's coming were of small account when compared with the indirect, and far more important, changes which came as it were of themselves as the natural result of his

coming. A revolution was gradually wrought in everything that touched the relations of the kingdom within and without. But it was a revolution of a strange kind. It was a revolution which seemed, if not to root up our ancient institutions, at least practically so to transform them that they might be deemed to have in truth passed away. It was a revolution which seemed to have broken down the spirit of Englishmen for ever under the yoke of strangers. But what that revolution really did was to call forth the spirit of Englishmen in a stronger and more abiding shape, and to enable us to win back under new forms the substance of the institutions which seemed for a moment to have passed away. This will then be the best place to go through the chief lasting results of the Conquest, and to show how deeply, and in what ways, that event has influenced our institutions and the general course of our history down to our own day.

First of all, the Norman Conquest altogether changed the European position of England. As soon as England was ruled by a continental prince who kept his dominions on the continent, Britain ceased to be that separate world which it had hitherto been. And, though after events brought us back in no small degree to our older insular character, yet Britain has never again become so completely another world as it was in the older day. We have already seen that it was through her connexion with Normandy that England was first led into that rivalry with France which has had so great an influence on our later history. England took up the quarrel of Normandy, and she carried it on on her own account after Normandy had gone over to the other side. And, besides this special side of our ecclesiastical history which is formed by the relations between England and France, the Norman Conquest brought England in every way into closer connexion with continental nations generally. In ecclesiastical matters this took the form of a far closer connexion with the see of Rome than had been known before. The insular position of Britain had hitherto made the English Church far more independent of the see of Rome than the western churches generally. If the king of the English was looked on as the emperor of another world, the primate of all England was also looked on, and was sometimes directly spoken of, as the pope of another world. And it may be that the very fact that the English Church was more directly the child of the Roman Church than any other of the western churches may really have helped to strengthen the independence of the island church. It was pre-eminently a child. It was not a subject or a servant, nor could it pass for a part of the Roman Church itself. It was a child, but a child of full age, who owed reverence indeed, but who no longer owed servile obedience. One great effect of the Conquest was to weaken this insular independence, and to bring the insular Church more nearly into the same position as the churches of the mainland. In this, as in many other things, the Conquest did but confirm and hasten tendencies which were already at work. The reforms of Dunstan's day marked one step Romeward. Another, we may say, was marked by the pilgrimage of Cnut. The zeal of a new convert naturally filled the Danish king with a special reverence for the chief seat of the religion which he had embraced. The reign of Eadward, a special devotee of the Roman Church, wrought still more strongly in the same direction. In his day the interference of the Roman see in the affairs of England becomes more marked and constant than ever. But the great step of all was taken by William himself. When he sought for a papal confirmation of his claim to the crown of England, he went very far towards clothing the pope with a power to dispose of that crown. In William's own hands the rights of his crown were safe. When Hildebrand himself called on him to do homage for his

crown, he refused to do what no king of the English had done before him. So, while the great struggle of investitures was raging in Germany and Italy, William went on in England and in Normandy investing bishops and abbots with the staff, as the kings and dukes before him had done. Nor did Hildebrand ever blame William for doing what he branded as such deadly sin in his own sovereign the emperor. Under William the old ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown remained untouched; but it is none the less true that two acts of his had a direct tendency to undermine it. The separation of the ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdictions led the way to those claims on the part of churchmen to be exempted from all temporal jurisdiction which were unheeded in his day, but which became matter of such important controversy under his successors. And, though he himself firmly refused all homage for his crown, yet, when he made the pope a judge between himself and Harold, he led the way for the day when his descendant took his crown back again as a fief of the Roman see.

In other points also we see the way in which the Norman Conquest opened a path for increased intercourse between England and the continent. It was doubtless mainly owing to the Norman settlers that England took the share which she did in the crusades. The crusades were primarily a Gaulish movement. Germany was less stirred than Gaul, and Scandinavia was less stirred than Germany. England, in her old insular state, could hardly have played a greater part than Scandinavia. Again, with the accession of a foreign line of kings, foreign marriages become more common. The settlement of foreigners in England which began with the conquest and confiscations of William was followed by the coming of settlers of a more peaceful kind, of foreign merchants and of foreign scholars. And, if strangers came to make their fortunes in England, the general breaking down of barriers between nation and nation equally opened the way for the advancement of Englishmen in other lands. These were gradual and indirect results of the great Norman revolution. But the Conquest itself, its confiscations and its outlawries, led directly to an emigration of Englishmen of quite another kind. Englishmen, chafing under the yoke of the stranger, found their way to the extremest bounds of Europe. They took service under the Eastern emperor, and remained the surest bulwarks of his throne against the assaults of Turk and Frank alike.

With regard to the effects of the Conquest on English institutions, the Norman king stepped into the position of his English predecessors. As king he claimed their rights, and no more. But the circumstances of the Conquest worked in every way to increase his power, and to provide him with new means of influence and new sources of revenue. The notion that William introduced a "feudal system" into England is a delusion which shows utter ignorance both of the position of William and of the general history of Europe. If by a "feudal system" is meant the state of things in Germany and Gaul, a state of things in which every great vassal became a rival to the king, William took direct care that no such "feudal system" should ever be introduced into his kingdom. But if by a "feudal system" is meant merely the holding of land by military tenure, subject to the burthens of reliefs, wardship, marriage, and the like, though William certainly did not introduce such a "system" ready made, yet the circumstances of his reign did much to promote the growth of that kind of tenure, and of the whole class of ideas connected with it. Such tendencies were already growing in England, and his coming strengthened them. Under him the doctrine that all land is a grant from the crown became a fact. And, though he did not directly innovate on the Old-English tenures, yet we can see that the doctrine of military tenure began in his reign, and that it was put into a systematic shape, and carried out to its

English
share
in the
crusades.

William
hinders
feudalism.

logical consequences, in the reign of his son. The Norman kings ruled in a twofold character; they were all that their English predecessors had been, and something more. The Norman king was the chief of the state; he was also the personal lord of every man in his kingdom. In the one character, he could call out the military force of the state; in the other, he could call on his tenants for the military service due from their lands. As chief of the state, he levied the ancient taxes due to the state; as lord he levied the new-fangled profits which, according to the new-fangled ideas, were due to the lord from his tenants. In short, William brought in that side of feudal doctrine which helped to strengthen the crown, and kept out that side which helped to weaken it. The doctrine that a man was bound to follow his immediate lord had destroyed the royal power in other lands. William, by making himself the immediate lord of all his subjects, turned that doctrine into the strongest support of his crown.

This union of two sources of power in the Norman kings made their rule practically despotic. But their very despotism preserved English freedom. They had no temptation to uproot institutions which they found means to turn into instruments of their power. They had no temptation to abolish the national assemblies, in which they found little check on their will, and in which they both displayed their power and practically exercised it. The coming of William practically changed the character of those assemblies; it gradually gave them a new constitution and a new name. But there was no sweeping away, no sudden revolution; all was done gradually and by force of circumstances at particular times. Thus the forms of a free constitution went on; there is no break between the earliest national assemblies and the latest. At some points of our history, the freedom of England seems sometimes to slumber; but it never died. The seeming slumber under Norman despotism led to the awakening of the thirteenth century. The seeming slumber under Tudor despotism led to the awakening of the seventeenth.

The king was thus in possession of two sources of power, Their of two sources of revenue. One source came by inheritance twofold from his English predecessors; another came from the circumstances of William's conquest. He was both king and lord of all men within his realm. To the English he was in the first place king; to the Normans he was in the first place lord. Each race had need of him, and the Norman kings knew how to play off each race against the other. In the first days of the Conquest, the king, if he was not the friend of his English subjects, was at least not their worst enemy. His power was some protection against local oppressors. Both William Rufus and Henry I. were raised to the throne by the English in the teeth of Norman opposition. Gradually, as the two races drew together, as in a word the Normans became Englishmen, neither race needed the support of the king against the other, while both alike felt the heavy yoke of his dominion. Instead of the English people siding with the king against the Norman barons, the Norman barons, changed into Englishmen, now became the leaders of the English people against the king.

The greatest effect of the Norman Conquest is really to be looked for, not in any sudden changes, least of all in any in the great and immediate legislative changes, but in a complete, though gradual, change of the administrative system, and in such changes of the law as followed upon those changes in the administration. And even the administrative changes seldom took the form of the utter abolition of anything old. They too rather took the form, sometimes of setting up something new by the side of the old, sometimes only of increasing the importance of one old institution at the expense of another. Thus the national assemblies themselves changed their character, and a variety

Effects of the practice of summons were developed out of the national assemblies, by no cause so much as by the growth of the practice of summons. Wherever it becomes usual specially to summon particular members of an assembly, the first step is taken towards the exclusion of all who are not so specially summoned. In the great assembly at Salisbury, where all the landowners of England became the "men" of the king, we see the first germs of Lords and Commons. The Witan are distinguished from the "land-sitting men." By the Witan, so called long after the Conquest, we are doubtless to understand those great men of the realm who were usually summoned to every assembly. The vast multitude who came to do their homage to the king were summoned only for that particular occasion. The personal right of summons is the essence of the peerage. It is the distinctive mark round which all the other honours and privileges of the peer have grown. The earls and the bishops of England, by never losing their right to the personal summons, have kept that right to personal attendance in the national assembly which was once common to all freemen, but which other freemen have lost. The House of Lords represents by unbroken succession the Witan of the assembly of Salisbury; that is, it represents by unbroken succession the old assemblies of the Teutonic democracy. Never did any institution so utterly change its character. But the change has been the gradual result of circumstances, without any violent break. The "land-sitting men," on the other hand, not summoned personally or regularly, but summoned in a mass when their attendance was specially needed, gradually lost the right of personal attendance, till in the end they gained instead the more practical right of appearing by their representatives. Thus grew the Commons. The steps by which our national assemblies took their final shape do not begin till a later time. But it is important to notice that the first glimpse of something like Lords and Commons—a distinction which doubtless already existed in practice, but which is nowhere before put into a formal shape—dates from the last years of the Conqueror.

The King's Court

The practice of summons thus gave birth to our final parliamentary constitution. It gave birth also to a vast number of administrative and judicial institutions, of which we see traces before the Conquest, but which put on their definite shape under the Norman kings. The practice of summons produced the House of Lords. It produced also the *curia regis*, the King's Court, out of which so many institutions grew. The King's Court is properly the national assembly itself; but the name gradually came to be confined to a kind of judicial and administrative committee of the assembly. Even before the Norman Conquest, we get a faint glimpse of a body of the king's immediate counsellors, bearing the name of the *Theningmannagemb*. Out of this body, to which was gradually attached the name of *curia regis*, grew, on the one side the Privy Council, and out of that the modern Cabinet, and on the other side the courts of law. The Cabinet, our most modern political institution, an institution so modern as to be unknown to the written law, is the last growth of the principle of summons. The Cabinet, the body to which in common use we have latterly come to give the name of *Government*, is simply a body of those privy councillors who are specially summoned. Those who are not summoned stay away. All the king's courts, administrative and judicial, grew in the same way. They were committees of the national assembly, which gradually grew into separate being and separate powers, as the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government parted off more distinctly from one another.

Along with the practice of summons grew the importance of those who were most specially and habitually summoned, the great officers of the king's court and household. Soon after the Conquest these officers began to rise into an

importance which they had never held before. They may be divided into officers of state and officers of the household. The notion that offices in the royal household were honourable is part of the general doctrine of the *comitatus* and its personal service, the doctrine out of which grew the nobility of the thegns. Some of these offices were simply old offices with new names. The *staller* became the *constable*, the *bower-thegn* became the *chamberlain*, the *steward* kept his English name. Some of these posts became hereditary and almost honorary. In some cases, as in that of the chamberlain and the steward, a secondary office of the same name grew up. Of greater importance and interest are those officers into whose hands came the chief powers of government under the king. Nothing is so important under the Norman reigns as the exchequer. But the exchequer is simply an old institution with a new name, and the treasurer is simply an old officer with a new name. The king's *hoard* or treasury must always have had a keeper; but the *hoarder*, under the Latin name of *treasurer*, grew into increased importance in times when the main object of government seemed to be to fill the king's hoard. The hoard or treasury got the playful name of exchequer,¹ and it grew into two departments of state, administrative and judicial. The treasurer himself grew into an officer of such power and dignity that, for a long time past, his office has been put into commission among several holders. And of these the chief has drawn in late years to himself more than the power, though without the dignity, of the old single-headed treasurer. The chancellor again is found by that title under Eadward the Confessor, and his office must have existed under some title as early as there was any settled government at all. But it is under the Norman kings that he gradually grew to great importance and dignity, an importance and dignity which have been more lasting in his case than in the case of any other of the great officials of those days. But the greatest dignitary of the Norman reigns, the justiciar, really seems to have been wholly new. The name is first given to the regents who represented William in his absence from England; and the office may well have grown up through the need which was felt for some such representative when the king visited his dominions beyond sea. The justiciar appears as the first in rank among the great officers of state; but while the chancellorship, remaining a single office, grew, the office of the justiciar was gradually divided among many holders. Among them all those, great and small, who administer justice in the king's name may claim to have a share.

The modern judicial system of England begins, in some thing like its present shape, in the reign of Henry II. But its growth is one of the direct results of the Norman Conquest. The older judicial system is essentially local and popular. The men of the township, of the hundred, of the shire, come together under their local chiefs. The highest judicial body of all, as well as the highest legislative body of all, the assembly of the nation, comes together under the chief of the nation, the king. At least as early as the reign of Æthelred we find examples of royal commissioners, like the *missi* of the Frankish emperors and kings, who are sent on the king's errand to the local courts. After the Conquest this system grows, till in the end the local chiefs, the earl and king's the bishop, are wholly displaced by the king's judges. Thus judges grew up the lawyers' doctrine that the king is the fountain of justice. But the popular element survived in the various forms of the jury. It is idle to debate about the invention or introduction of trial by jury. The truth is that it never

¹ The older names are *fiscus* and *thesaurus*. *Scaccarium* or *exchequer* was the established name by the time of Henry II. It comes from the parti-coloured cloth with which the table was covered, which suggested the notion of a chess-board.

Origin of was invented or introduced, that, even more than other institutions, it emphatically grew. Its germ may be seen in all those cases, compurgation or any other, where a matter is decided by the oaths of men taken from the community at large. The Conquest caused a step in advance by the more constant employment of recognitions taken on oath. Under Henry II. the practice was still further strengthened; but it was not till long after his day that the modern idea of the jury was established, as no longer witnesses but judges of facts. When their judicial character was fully established, that is, when in the reign of Charles II. they ceased to be called to account for their verdicts, the old popular character of the courts in a great measure came back to them.

In this way justice became more centralized in England than anywhere else. All the weightier causes came to be tried either in the king's own courts or by judges immediately commissioned by him. The local chiefs gave way to the king's representatives. One local officer indeed grew into increased activity. This was the officer who in each shire had always been specially the king's officer, the *shire-reeve* or *sheriff*, who looked after the interests of the king, while the ealdorman or earl represented the separate being of the shire. Under William, earls ceased to be appointed, save where they had distinct military duties. Under his successors earldoms gradually sank into merely honorary dignities. But the sheriff was in the Norman reigns the busiest of all officers; for he had to collect and bring in all that was due to the royal exchequer from the endless sources of income by which it was fed.

The main political result of the Norman Conquest thus was to strengthen every tendency that was already in being—and such tendencies have been powerfully at work ever since the beginning of the growth of the thegnhood—by which the king, his authority, his officers, took the place of the nation and its authority. But the older system was undermined rather than overthrown, and the course of our history has, to a great extent, given us back the old institutions under other shapes. Thus, for instance, there was a strong tendency at work to turn the *folkland*, the land of the nation, into the land of the king. To this process the Conquest gave the finishing touch. The stroke by which the whole lay soil of England was held to be forfeited to the Conqueror turned all *folkland* into *terra regis*. From Domesday onward the *folkland* vanishes; but now that the crown lands are placed under the control of parliament, as part of the national revenue, the *terra regis* has practically become *folkland* again. And while the king, the highest lord, was thus encroaching on the nation, that is, on the community which took in all others, smaller lords were doing the like to the lesser communities which made up the nation. Under the older system all grants of *sac* and *soc*, that is, all grants to a particular person of any special jurisdiction exempt from the ordinary local courts, were in their own nature exceptional. As the new ideas grew, the *manor*, as it was called by the Normans, finally supplanted the *township*. Lawyers gradually found out that the exceptional novelty was the original state of things.

Just as they ruled the king to be the fountain of justice, because he had gradually taken the administration of justice into his own hands, so they ruled that, wherever any rights of the community had escaped the grasp of the lord, their existence must necessarily be owing to an unrecorded grant of the lord. The ancient court of the people, the *court baron*, was held to be the court of the lord. Here again the evil has cured itself. The lord and his court have become harmless; but they remain as curious examples of the way in which lawyers have read the history of England backwards.

Both as regarded the greater lord and the lesser, the

tendency of the ideas which the Norman Conquest strongly New idea confirmed was to put the notion of property before the notion of king-ship; Kingship, the highest office in the common-wealth, came to be looked on mainly as a possession. The rather king of the people has now put on the character of the lord than of the land; his title gradually changes into a form which better expresses this new position. The *King of the English* gradually changes into the *King of England*. William himself is still almost always *Rex Anglorum*. But the new territorial title now begins to creep into use, and from the beginning of the thirteenth century it altogether displaces the older style. But the new ideas did much more than merely change the royal style. As soon as office had changed into property, as soon as the chief of the people had changed into the lord of the land, the old rule that the king should be chosen out of the one kingly house began to stiffen into the doctrine of strict hereditary right. The general results of the Conquest were all in favour of that doctrine; but the circumstances of the reigns which immediately followed the Conquest all told the other way, and helped to keep up the elective character of the crown for some time longer. The ancient doctrine died out very slowly, but it did die out in the end. And then lawyers found out that the crown had been hereditary from the beginning, and ruled that the king never died, and that the throne never could be vacant. On the other hand, as office was turned into property, so Primogeniture in land was turned into office, and carried with it the genuineness of the likeness of a miniature sovereignty. The doctrine of primogeniture also now naturally supplanted the old principle of division of lands. No doctrine could be more opposite to the old doctrine of nobility than the doctrine which gave everything to a single son in the family. In this way primogeniture has its good side. It gave us a peerage; but, in giving us a peerage, it saved us from a noblesse.

The immediate ecclesiastical effects of the Norman Conquest, those which in truth formed part of the process of astical conquest, have been already spoken of. But the introduction of foreign prelates, and the closer relations with Rome, worked in many ways. The foreign bishop naturally stood at a greater distance from the native clergy than his English predecessor had done. Moreover, the new theories as to the tenure of land turned the bishop into a baron, holding as a tenant-in-chief of the crown. The bishop became in his own diocese more of a lord and less of a father, while he was often kept away from his diocese by holding high temporal office. It gives a false view of the case to say that the prelates grasped at high temporal office: the case rather is that, in a time when education was chiefly confined to the clergy, public business was mainly in the hands of the king's clerks, and that they received bishoprics as the reward of their temporal services. Under such bishops the Church was secularized and feudalized. Ecclesiastical livings were looked on less as offices with an endowment for the maintenance of the holder than as *benefices* charged with certain duties which might be discharged by deputy. The relation of the parish priest to his bishop put on the likeness of the relation between a man and his lord. At the same time, the rage for founding monasteries, which was at its height in Normandy at the time of the Conquest, came into England with the Normans, and in the next century drew a fresh impulse from the foundation of the Cistercian order. The love of exemptions of all kinds led Exemptions of ecclesiastical bodies to a constant striving on the part of ecclesiastical bodies to be exempted from the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is shown, not only by separate monasteries, but even by the cathedral chapters, especially where the place of the chapter was filled by a monastic body. And one immediate result of the Conquest was the transfer of the seats of several bishoprics from smaller towns to greater. This was

Folkland becomes terra regis.

Growth of manors.

in accordance with the continental notion of a bishop, by which he was looked on as primarily bishop of a city, while in English ideas he was rather the bishop, first of a tribe, and then of a district. But this very change, one made by the Norman bishops themselves, may well have helped to bring about that separation between the bishop and his church which dates from this time. The bishop who had become a feudal lord, even when he was not altogether away from his diocese on the king's service, commonly fixed his dwelling-place in his rural castle rather than in his palace in the city.

The social results of the Conquest were such as naturally followed on the general transfer of the greatest estates and highest offices of the country. The Conquest itself, the military occupation of William, was followed by a peaceful immigration of Normans and other strangers into England, especially into the merchant towns. London, above all, received a crowd of citizens of Norman birth. That these men, and the Norman settlers generally, turned into Englishmen in a wonderfully short time is one of the great features of our history. The causes are easy to see : with most men, if there be no special reason to the contrary, place of birth goes for more than descent by blood, and the stranger is gradually assimilated by the people among whom he dwells. And in the case of Normans and English, we can hardly doubt that original kindred went for something. The Norman was simply a Dane who had adopted the French tongue and some French fashions ; he was easily won back into the Teutonic fold. But the circumstances of William's conquest, his pretended legal claim to the crown and the whole system of legal fictions which grew round that claim, helped largely to bring all classes of his subjects together. The Norman settled in England was driven to become in some sort an Englishman. He held his estates of the King of the English, according to English law. The fusion of the two races was so speedy that a writer little more than a hundred years after the Conquest, the author of the famous *Dialogue de Scaccario*, could say that, among the free population, it was impossible to tell who was of Norman and who was of English birth. That is to say, the great nobles must still have been all but purely Norman ; the lowest classes must have been all but purely English. In the intermediate classes, among the townsmen and the smaller landowners, the two races were so intermixed, and they had so modified one another, that the distinction between them had been forgotten. We might say that the effect of the Norman Conquest was to thrust every class, save one, of the older English society a step downwards. The churl, the simple freeman, had been gradually sinking for a long time before the Conquest. In the course of the century after the Conquest, he finally sank into the villain. On the other hand, if the churl gradually sank to the state of villainage, the slave gradually rose to it. The Norman Conquest, while thrusting down every other class, undoubtedly helped to raise the most wretched and helpless class of all.

Changes in social relations. Chivalry. But while the Normans who settled in England changed into Englishmen with remarkable speed, they of course, by the very fact of their fusion, did much to modify the character of Englishmen. A way was now opened for all that class of ideas which, for want of better names, may be called feudal and chivalrous. Chivalry is rather French than Norman ; and its development comes rather under the Angevin than under the Norman kings. Still, so far as Normandy was influenced by France, so far as the Norman Conquest opened a way for French influence, and, we may add, French kings, in England, so far this whole class of ideas and feelings may be set down as results of the Norman Conquest. But in England chivalry never was really dominant. Teutonic notions of right and

common sense were never wholly driven out. For the man unassisted by birth to rise was harder in some ages than in others. There was no age in England when it was wholly impossible.

The greatest of the outward changes which were caused by the Norman Conquest was its effect on the language and literature of England. In the matter of language, as in other matters, the Conquest itself wrought no formal change. Whatever change happened was the gradual result of the state of things which the Conquest brought about. French Late use was never substituted for English by any formal act. Documents were written in English long after the Conquest ; and, though the use of English gradually dies out in the twelfth century, it dies out, not in favour of French, but in favour of Latin. French documents are not found till the thirteenth century ; they are not common till the latter part of that century. As it was with institutions, so it was with language. The old language was neither proscribed nor forgotten, but a new language came in by the side of it. William himself tried to learn English ; his son Henry, if no other in his family, understood English, and seems even to have written it. Henry II. understood it, but seemingly did not speak it. By the end of the twelfth century, English seems to have been the most usual tongue among people of all classes. It was the language of common speech and of purely popular writings ; French was the more polite and fashionable language, the language of elegant literature ; Latin was the language of learning. Every educated man in the latter part of the twelfth century must have been familiar with all three.

A foreign language was thus brought into England along the side of the native language, and it displaced the native in the language for certain purposes. Such a state of things could not fail to have a great effect on the English language itself. That effect largely took the usual form of strengthening tendencies which were already at work. The two changes which took place were the loss of the old inflexions and the infusion of foreign words into the vocabulary. Neither of these processes began with the Conquest ; the Conquest simply strengthened and quickened them. The other Low-Dutch and Scandinavian tongues, which were brought under no such influences as English was by the Conquest, have lost their inflexions quite as thoroughly as English has. Even the High-Dutch, which keeps a comparatively large stock of inflexions, has lost a large part of the forms which were once common to High and Low. We may be sure then that we should have lost our inflexions, or most of them, even if the Normans had not come. Indeed, in one form of English, the dialect of the North, the inflexions had largely given way already, chiefly, it would seem, through the influence of the Danes. But when English lost its place as a polite and literary speech, when, though spoken by all classes, it was written only for the lower classes, there was no longer any fixed literary standard ; the grammatical forms therefore became confused and inaccurate. We see the change at once in those parts of the Chronicles which were written in the twelfth century. On the other hand, the English tongue had taken in a few foreign words from the first coming of the English into Britain. The Roman missionaries brought in another stock. The Normans brought in a third. But the third stock, like the second, consisted for a while mainly of words which were more or less technical ; they were new names for new things. Through the twelfth century the two languages stood side by side, without either borrowing much from the other. It was not till the thirteenth century that French words came in to any great extent to express things for which the English tongue had names already. Thus the English tongue gradually put on its later cha-

racter. It remained Teutonic in its essence, Teutonic in its grammatical forms. But it lost its inflexions, more thoroughly than some kindred tongues, not more thoroughly than some others. It also received a vast infusion of Romance words into its vocabulary, an infusion far greater in degree, but exactly the same in kind, as the Teutonic infusion into the vocabulary of the Romance languages, especially into French.

Effects
on literature.

In literature, as distinguished from language, and also in art, the Norman Conquest is one of the most strongly marked epochs in our history. The breaking down of the barrier between the insular and the continental world did much for both. Learning had gone down again in England through the Danish invasions; and Eadward the Confessor, with all his fondness for foreigners, did little for foreign scholars. Under William and his son Henry things altogether changed. The first two occupants of the see of Canterbury after the Conquest were the two greatest scholars of their day. Both of them were strangers in Normandy no less than in England: Lanfranc came from Lombard Pavia, Anselm from Burgundian Aosta. After them England herself produced a goodly crop of scholars among her children of both races. While the Chronicle was still writing in our own tongue, a crowd of learned pens recorded English history in Latin. Florence of Worcester told the unvarnished tale of the early Norman reigns in a chronicle which is English in all but language. Henry of Huntingdon preserved to us large fragments of our ancient songs in a Latin dress. William of Malmesbury aspired to the character of a critical historian, a character still more nearly reached somewhat later by William of Newburgh. The statesmen-historians of Henry II.'s day follow, and lead us on to the monastic historians of the thirteenth century. Yet, after all, one would gladly exchange much of the light which they give us for a continuation of the English Chronicle in the English tongue.

Change
in proper
names.

One form of influence on language was the almost complete exchange of the Old-English proper names for a new set of names which came over with the Conqueror. The strictly Norman proper names, those which the Normans either brought with them from the North or had borrowed from the Franks, are as truly Teutonic as the English names; a few names only were common to both countries. But, just at the time of the Conquest, the Normans were beginning to adopt scriptural and saintly names, which were all but unknown in England. With the Conquest a new fashion set in, and the names, whether Teutonic or saintly, which were in Norman use gradually displaced the ancient English names. A few specially royal and saintly names, like Eadward and Eadmund, alone survived. Throughout the twelfth century we constantly find the father bearing an English name, while the son has one of the new fashion. This point is of importance. It at once marks and hides the fusion of races. It helps us to see that many a man who was to all outward appearance a stranger was in truth of genuine English descent.

Use of
heredi-
tary sur-
names.

Along with the change in personal names came in the use of hereditary surnames. Surnames, in the sense of mere personal descriptions or nicknames, were already common both in England and in Normandy. But the hereditary surname, the name of the family handed on from father to son, was at the time of the Conquest unknown in England, and it was only just coming into use in Normandy. The Normans brought the fashion into England, and the circumstances of the Conquest gave it a fresh impulse. While many of the Norman settlers brought with them the surnames which they had already taken from their estates or birth-places in Normandy, a crowd of men of both races now took surnames from their estates and birth-places in England. The fashion to some extent affected local nomen-

cature also. On the whole, the Norman Conquest made but little change in this way. Few places, if any, lost their names. But some towns, castles, and monasteries of Norman foundation received French names; and a crowd of English towns and villages did, as it were, take Norman surnames, by taking the name of a Norman lord to distinguish them from other places of the same name.

In those days art is almost synonymous with architecture, and the changes in that art which were wrought by the Norman Conquest were great indeed. There was then but little room for great displays of artistic architecture anywhere but in churches. But in this, as in all periods of genuine art, the style used for buildings of all classes was the same. Up to the eleventh century all Western Europe had built in one style, in that older form of the Romanesque or round-arched architecture which came direct from Italy and was known as the *mos Romanus*. Its most striking feature is the tall, slender bell-towers which in England are a sign of work not later than the eleventh century, while in Germany they go on through the twelfth, and in Italy they never went out of use at all. In the course of the eleventh century several parts of Europe struck out new styles of their own, which still keep the round arch, and which are therefore properly classed as later varieties of the Romanesque type. One of these arose in Normandy, and was, among other Norman fashions, brought into England by Eadward in the building of his new church at Westminster. After the Conquest the Norman style naturally became the prevailing fashion. One part of that fashion was the man building of churches on a gigantic scale, such as had never before been seen in England. This fashion led the Norman bishops and abbots to pull down and rebuild most of the minsters of England. The earliest Norman style was an advance on the Primitive Romanesque in proportion and in vigour of style, casting off the mere imitation of Roman models which had lingered for so many ages. But in mere amount of ornament it was certainly no advance. The enriched Norman style comes in later. However, from the reign of William, one might perhaps say from the reign of Eadward, the older style gave way to the new. The Primitive models were now followed only in smaller and less important churches, where the use of the slender bell-towers lasted longer than any other feature. Yet the Norman style, in supplanting the earlier English fashion, was in some measure influenced by it. The Norman churches of England have some distinctly English features of which there is no sign in those of Normandy.

We are told that great improvements in domestic architecture were brought in by the Normans; but, when we see the few Norman houses that are left to us, we may be inclined to think that the chief change was the freer application of stone to domestic work. It was only in houses of the very highest class, as in kings' palaces, that there was room for any great display of art. Such buildings allowed of the great hall, with rows of columns and arches, like those of a church. For municipal architecture there was as yet no room in our island. But military architecture took one of its greatest steps in this age. Fortification had advanced in England from the hedge or palisade which Ida built at Bamburgh to the wall of squared stones with which Æthelstan had surrounded Exeter. But the Norman *castle*, Norman name and thing, was brought in as something new in the days of Eadward, and the land was covered with them in the days of William. The massive square tower, of which the Conqueror's Tower of London is the greatest example, is one type. The shell-keep, the polygonal wall raised most commonly on a mound of English work, is another type. In the days of our forefathers the castle was the very embodiment of wrong and oppression. The Chronicle never speaks of castle-building without some epithet of horror.

Changes
in
war-
fare.

One result of these changes in the art of fortification was largely to change the character of the warfare as well as the tactics of the age immediately following the Conquest. The older warfare of England is a warfare of pitched battles. Such is the warfare of *Ælfred*; such is the warfare of *Brihtnoth* and *Ulfeytel* and *Eadmund Ironside*. But the warfare of the twelfth century is mainly a warfare of sieges. The taking of towns and castles is endless; but between *Senlac* and the wars of the thirteenth century we hardly meet with more than two great battles in the open field, those of *Tinchebrai* and the *Standard*.

The changes in the character of warfare were accompanied by a more general change in the art of war. An ancient English army fought on foot; the horse was used only to carry the warrior to the field. When the time for action came, the king or ealdorman and all his following dismounted. The old national weapon was the sword, which under *Cnut* was exchanged for the heavy Danish axe. The English armies of the eleventh century consisted of two classes, both footmen. The housecarls, the paid force, and the thegns and other personal followers of the king, wore coats of mail and carried shields, which could be made into a kind of fortification called the shield-wall. They hurled javelins at the beginning of the fight, and came to close conflict with the axe. The irregular levies of the shires came armed with axes, javelins, clubs, or any other weapons that they could bring. But there was no cavalry, and there were but few archers. In the Norman system of warfare, cavalry and archers are the chief arms. The mailed knights charge on horseback with long lances raised high in the air; they use the sword, and sometimes the iron mace, for close combat. The infantry are mainly archers; the mounted archer is rare. With the Conquest the Norman tactics naturally displaced the English. The Englishman grasped the weapon of his conqueror, and the fame of the English archers began. Yet the Norman manner of fighting was itself to some extent influenced by English practice. The English archer, though he had changed his weapon, was really the true heir of the English axeman. In the fourteenth century, as in the eleventh, the main strength of an English army lay in its infantry. And, earlier than this, the old traditions of English warfare were sometimes followed by the Normans themselves. More than once in wars of the twelfth century we find kings and nobles getting down from their horses and fighting on foot; axe in hand, like *Cnut* or *Harold*.

Sum-
mary.

We can now sum up the main results of the Norman Conquest. We can be hardly wrong in calling it the most important event in English history since the first coming of the English and their conversion to Christianity. It was a great and a violent change, a change which, either in its immediate or in its more distant results, touched everything in the land. Yet there was no break, no gap, parting the times before it from the times after it. The changes which it wrought were to a great extent only the strengthening of tendencies which were already at work. The direct changes which we may look upon as forming the Conquest itself, as distinguished from its more distant results, were done at once gradually and under cover of legal form. No old institutions were uprooted, though some of them were undermined by new institutions set up alongside of them. The revolution which seemed to be the overthrow of English freedom led in the end to its new birth. Under an unbroken succession of native kings, freedom might have died out step by step, as it did in some other lands. As it was, the main effect of the Conquest was to call out the ancient English spirit in a more definite and antagonistic shape, to give the English nation new leaders in the conquerors who were gradually changed into country-

men, and, by the union of the men of both races, to win back the substance of the old institutions under new forms.

Under the sons of the Conqueror England appears for the first time in her new European character. Looking at her simply as a power, without regard to the nationality of her inhabitants, she now appears as an insular power making conquests on continental ground. William Rufus, placed on the throne by the English people in opposition to a Norman revolt, broke all his promises of good government, and ruled as one of the worst tyrants in our history. But it would be hard to show that he was an oppressor of Englishmen as Englishmen. His rule was rather a tyranny which pressed on all classes and all races, though the native English would doubtless be the class which felt it most bitterly. Godless and vicious beyond all parallel before or after, he was still a captain and a statesman, and no king better knew how to make use of every art to advance the power of his kingdom. He won a large part of Normandy by force of arms; and, when his brother Robert set forth on the crusade, he obtained the whole duchy under cover of a mortgage. Maine revolted and was won back; a purchase of Aquitaine was negotiated; Rufus was believed to have designs on the crown of France itself. A short war was waged between Rufus and Philip of France, a war which now begins to put on the character of a war between England and France, rather than that of a mere war between the duke of the Normans and his overlord at Paris. The wealth and strength of England now for the first time directly told in continental affairs. But the schemes of the Red King were cut short by the stroke of an arrow in the New Forest (2d August 1100). By an agreement between William and Robert, if either died childless, his brother was to succeed to his dominions. But at the death of Rufus, Robert was far away on the crusade, and the English nation had never paid much heed to any attempts to settle the succession of the crown before a vacancy. Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, the only one of his sons who was the son of a crowned king and born on English ground, was unanimously chosen and speedily crowned. An Englishman by birth, if not by descent, he further married a wife who had some English blood in her veins, and who, in the eyes of his subjects, passed for an Englishwoman. This was Edith, the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, who at her marriage took the Norman name of Matilda. The English king and the English queen were mocked at by the Norman courtiers, who again conspired to bring in the Norman duke. Again a son of the Conqueror owed his crown to English loyalty. A second Norman invasion of England followed. Robert landed at Portsmouth, as his father had landed at Pevensey, but the policy of Henry found means to send him and his host away without fighting (1101). One of the usual agreements was made, an agreement which had little chance of being kept, by which again each brother was to succeed to the dominions of the other in case of the failure of direct heirs. But Robert was incapable of ruling his own dominions; a party in Normandy invited the King of the English to save the duchy from anarchy. Two campaigns, ending in the great fight of *Tinchebrai* (1106), brought Normandy into the hands of Henry. Men at the time looked on the day of *Tinchebrai* as the reversal of the day of *Senlac*. Normandy was conquered by England, as England had before been conquered by Normandy. Such a view put forth only one side of the case; but from one side it was true.

During the rest of Henry's reign there was perfect peace in England; but nearly the whole time was filled with continental wars. The warfare between France and

Wars
with
France.

Intended
success-
sion of
Matilda.

Election
of
Stephen.

The
anarchy.

Succes-
sion of
Henry II.

England, of which there had been only a glimpse in the days of Rufus, now began in earnest. It is true that the wars of Henry were waged wholly for Norman and not at all for English interests, and Englishmen at home bitterly complained of the taxes which were wrung from them for wars beyond sea. But it is none the less true that, in their European aspect, they were English wars, and that they tended to give the England of Henry a wholly different position from the England of the days before the Conquest. The later years of Henry were chiefly occupied in schemes of dynastic policy on the continent. His only legitimate son, the *Aetheling* William, to whom homage as his successor had been done both in Normandy and in England, was drowned in 1120. The king's daughter Matilda had been married to the emperor Henry V. Strict alliance with Germany formed part of Henry's policy, as it had formed part of the policy of Godwine and Harold; and the two Henrys, emperor and king, joined in warfare against Lewis of France. On the death of the emperor, Matilda returned to England, and, by an act without precedent either in his kingdom or in his duchy, Henry procured that homage should be done to his daughter as his successor. No more striking comment can be needed as to the growth of the new ideas of kingship. The crown was beginning to be so thoroughly looked on as a possession that it was deemed that it might pass to a woman. On the other hand, no settlement could be more opposed to modern notions of hereditary right. When homage was first done to Matilda, Robert's son William, who, according to modern notions, was the direct heir of the Conqueror, was still living. In Normandy indeed he was his uncle's enemy, and in England his claims seem never to have been heard of. But, in the lack of legitimate male heirs, the choice either of the king's natural son Robert or of his sister's son Stephen would have been much less opposed to earlier ideas, both English and Norman, than the succession of Matilda. The imperial widow was presently married to Geoffrey of Anjou, a marriage clearly designed with a view to the enlargement of the continental dominions of her father's house.

King Henry died in 1135, leaving, as he deemed, the succession to his daughter and her young son Henry. As usual, an arrangement made before the vacancy was set aside, and the choice of England fell on Stephen. The case of the new king's election was not unlike the older and more famous case of the election of Harold. In itself it was perfectly good. Against it stood the fact that Stephen had, with the rest of the chief men, sworn to the succession of Matilda. Stephen then was a perjuror as regarded his own soul; he was no usurper as regarded the nation. He was accepted without opposition, and King Henry's son Robert did homage to him with the rest. But Stephen, a man of many winning personal qualities, was utterly unable to reign in those times. Rebellions broke out; Earl Robert asserted the rights of his sister in England, and Normandy was conquered by her husband Geoffrey. The empress landed in England (1139); she was chosen Lady (1141)—the name Queen was not used; but she was never crowned. A civil war, a time of utter anarchy and havoc raged, till (1153) another agreement of the usual kind was made between Stephen and Matilda's son Henry, now duke of the Normans. He had been brought over to England as a child; he had taken his share in the wars; and it was now agreed that Stephen should keep the crown for life, and that Henry should succeed him. This time the agreement took effect. When Stephen died in the next year, Henry succeeded without opposition. Again a duke of the Normans succeeded to the crown of England; but Henry of Anjou, by birth-place Henry of Le Mans, was far more than duke of the Normans and king of the English. To the

lands of his mother's father he added the lands of his father, Plate IV. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and a politic marriage gave him a greater dominion still. The designs of William Rufus upon the duchy of Aquitaine came to pass in another way. The great dominion of Southern Gaul, Poitou, Aquitaine, and Gascony, had passed to Eleanor the daughter of their last duke. She married Lewis, the heir of the crown of France, who almost immediately succeeded to the kingdom (1137). For a moment France and Aquitaine, Northern and Southern Gaul, the land of *oïl* and the land of *oc*, were joined together. It might seem that a kingdom of France, in the modern sense, was about to begin. But the northern king and the southern duchess did not agree. A canonical objection to the marriage was conveniently found, and it was accordingly annulled. The divorced queen at once married the young duke of the Normans (1152). Her dominions came with her, and the prince who now succeeded to the crown of England already held the greatest power in Gaul, a power far greater than that of his nominal lord at Paris. With that dominion he won the undying hatred of the lord whose wife with her splendid heritage had passed to him. The king of Paris was not yet to be master of Southern Gaul. He was to be again shut up in his inland dominion, while his mighty vassal held the mouths of the great rivers and the fairest cities of the land. As England under Cnut might seem to have become part of a Scandinavian empire, so under Henry she might seem to have become part of a Gaulish empire. The strictly Norman period of the English history comes to an end. Normandy and England have alike become parts of European dominions of a king who by female descent might be called either Norman or English, but who, both by birth and by general character, was neither Norman nor English. In ruling over a vast number of distinct states, widely differing in blood, language, and everything else, ruling over all without exclusively belonging to any, Henry II., king, duke, and count of all the lands from the Pyrenees to the Scottish border, was the forerunner of the emperor Charles V.

It was during the reigns of the two sons and the grand-son of the Conqueror that the chief steps were taken towards the fusion of English and Normans into one people, or rather towards the change of Normans into Englishmen. At the accession of Rufus the distinction was in full force; at the accession of Henry I. it is clearly visible. In the course of Henry's reign it so far died out that, though it was doubtless not forgotten, it was no longer marked by outward distinction. The name of Englishman now takes in all natives of England, of whatever descent. A tale of a general conspiracy to kill all the Normans soon after the accession of Stephen proves, when it is examined, to mean, just as in the case of the massacre of St Brice, not a design to slay everyman of Norman descent in England, but merely a design to slay a particular body of Norman mercenary soldiers.¹ Everything during these reigns tended to draw the two races more nearly together; nothing tended to keep them apart. The brutal tyranny of Rufus wronged both races alike; yet men of native English descent could rise even under him.² The cold despotism of Henry at once benefited and offended both races alike. At one time of his reign we meet with a complaint that he would admit no Englishman to high office. When the complaint is tested,

¹ See *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 281.

² The career of the crusader Robert the son of Godwine, whose history will be found in William of Malmesbury and in the Scottish writer John Fordun, who represents Turgot, is a case in point. So at the accession of Henry I. there were several Englishmen holding abbeys, one of whom, Godric of Peterborough, had been chosen by the monks, who paid William Rufus a large sum for leave to elect freely.

it is found that the exclusion extended to natives of England of both races, that the preference was a preference for absolute foreigners as such. The horrors of the anarchy in Stephen's day fell on both races alike; the foreign mercenaries who laid waste the land were hateful to both alike. We may safely say that, at the time of the accession of Henry of Anjou, the man of Norman descent born in England had, altogether in feeling and largely in speech, become an Englishman.

Feudal innovations of Flambard.

None of these three reigns was a time of great legislative changes, but the reigns of Rufus and Henry were the time in which the new system of administration grew up. Under Rufus the doctrine of military tenures, and of the incidents consequent on such tenures, was put into systematic shape by his rapacious minister Randolph Flambard, whom he raised to the bishopric of Durham. This man is distinctly charged with having first subjected ecclesiastical property to these burthens, and there can be little doubt that it was he who laid them on lay property also. The evidence is this. Under the Conqueror we see the germs and beginnings of certain usages, but nothing more. At the accession of Henry they appear in a systematic shape as established usages, usages which Henry does not promise to abolish, though he does promise to reform the abuses of them. The feudal burthens were a logical deduction from the doctrine of military tenure. The land is held of the lord on condition of certain services being rendered. It passes from father to son; but in order that each successive tenant may strictly hold it as a grant from the lord, the heir must receive it again. For the new grant he must pay a *relief*, the price of the *relevatio*, the taking up again, of the estate which has lapsed to the lord. But it may be that the heir is from age or sex incompetent to discharge the services due to the lord. In the case of the minor heir, the lord takes the fief into his own hands till the heir is of age to discharge them. The heiress can never discharge them in person, she must discharge them through a husband. But the interests of the lord require that she shall marry only with his approval, lest she should carry the fief into the hands of an enemy. All these occasions were turned by the perverse ingenuity of Randolph Flambard into means for increasing the royal revenue. The wardship,—that is, the temporary possession of the minor's estate,—might be granted or sold. So might the marriage of the heiress. The lord might either sell her and her estate for money, or else he might take money from the heiress herself for leave to marry according to her own inclinations. So with bishoprics and abbeys; Flambard found out that they too were held of the king by military service. During the vacancy of the benefice, there was no one to discharge the service; the king therefore took temporary possession of the ecclesiastical estate. And, as the new prelate could not be chosen without the royal consent, the king might prolong that temporary possession as long as he chose. All these inferences were logically drawn out and sternly carried into practice by the minister of Rufus. The utmost that Henry pledged himself to do was to reform the grosser oppressions of his brother's reign, and to limit his exactions within some reasonable bounds. The claims themselves went on, to the oppression and sorrow of successive generations of heirs and heiresses, till, as regards lay tenures, the whole system was swept away by the famous Act of Charles II.

The laws of Flambard. There is nothing to make us think that the innovations of Flambard were ever put forth in a legislative shape. At all events, no laws of William Rufus are extant. A book is extant which calls itself the Laws of Henry; but, like the codes called the law of Eadward and William, it is rather a private compilation or law-book. It has a certain value, as a witness to the state of the law in

Henry I.'s time; but it must not be mistaken for a collection of real statutes put forth by that king. It is remarkable for the strongly English character of the jurisprudence described. There can be little doubt that the compiler purposely gave his work as English a character as he could; but there is as little doubt that Henry strove to give to his government, as far as he could, at least the appearance of an English character. In his charter he grants to his people the law of King Eadward—that is, the system of government which prevailed in Eadward's reign—with his father's amendments. And, both in the charter and in other documents of his reign, the time of King Eadward is constantly taken as the standard. Henry however kept the forests in his own hands, and preserved the stern forest law of his father. The reign of Charter Henry is also memorable as the time of the earliest extant to towns. charters, both of the king and of other lords, granting new privileges to boroughs, often calling them into legal existence for the first time. Thus the citizens of London are exempted from various burthens of different kinds, and from the jurisdiction of any but their own courts. They have further the farm of all Middlesex—their subject district—and the appointment of their own sheriff. In the next reign or rather anarchy, the citizens of London appear distinctly as a *communio* or *commune*.

But if this period was not marked by many formal changes Adminis- in the law, the new administrative system grew stronger tration of and stronger. If the reign of Rufus systematized the Henry. military tenures, the reign of Henry systematized the exchequer and the great offices of state. A family of able ministers begins with Roger, chancellor, justiciar, and bishop of Salisbury, a family of the secularized churchmen of that day, most of whom rose from the king's service to high ecclesiastical office. Henry, a strict administrator of justice, looked no less narrowly after his own interests. Under him we get the earliest pipe-roll of the exchequer, and a wonderful document it is, showing how many and how strange were the sources of income which flowed into the board of a Norman king.

These reigns are also of the highest moment in ecclesiasti- Contro- cal history. We now see what the ecclesiastical effects of the Conquest really were. As we have seen, the tendency and Rufus of the time was to make bishoprics the reward of temporal Henry services, a practice which under Rufus easily sank into direct simony. Yet Rufus himself, in a fit of sickness and Anselm. repented, put a saint at the head of the English Church. After a vacancy of four years (1089-1093) Anselm succeeded Lanfranc in the see of Canterbury. Anselm was forced into the office, but at this stage he showed no objection whatever to the ancient English mode of investiture, by which the prelate received his staff from the king, and became his man. But, in such a reign as that of Rufus, the tendencies of such a man as Anselm could not fail to be Romeward. Rome might well seem to be the seat of law, as opposed to the *unlaw* of the reigning king. The quarrel began about the acknowledgment of a pope of disputed title, it went on about various matters, till Anselm crossed the sea to confer with Pope Urban. He remained in banishment till the death of Rufus, and learned at Bari and at Rome that the laws of England were evil, that no churchman ought to receive investiture from a lay lord or do homage to a lay lord for the lands of his church. He was recalled by Henry, and served him loyally during Robert's invasion. But he refused to do homage or to consecrate the bishops whom the king had invested. A second absence from England (1103-1106) followed, till a compromise was made between the king and Pope Paschal. The king gave up the claim to invest with the staff; but the prelate was to do homage to the king for his lands. Anselm then came back.

Growth
of eccle-
siastical
claims.

The controversy is a memorable one, not the least so because Henry and Anselm are an almost solitary example of a king and a bishop who could each maintain claims which he held to be right without loss of temper or breach of personal friendship. Anselm was a true saint. He was no mere stickler for ecclesiastical privileges, but a denouncer of moral evil. One of his canons again denounces the slave-trade, and indeed denounces slavery itself. Yet it is plain that through Anselm the power of the Roman see in England greatly advanced, and he laboured hard to forbid the English use which allowed marriage to the clergy. Under his successors the claims of Rome grew yet faster, and a succession of canons were passed against the married clergy. Under the anarchy it is not wonderful if the ecclesiastical power grew : it was the only thing in the realm which kept any likeness of law. Ecclesiastical synods took upon themselves to judge the king ; and the right of succession to the English crown was argued in a solemn pleading before the court of Rome. The doctrine of clerical exemptions grew ; it was held that no clerk might be tried in a temporal court for any crime whatsoever. Nothing did greater damage to Stephen than his imprisoning two bishops, the famous Roger of Salisbury and his nephew Alexander of Lincoln. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical courts continued to draw to themselves a large class of causes which concerned laymen. Nor was this in those days altogether without a good side. The bishops' courts had a bad name for corruption, that is, for letting off offenders for money. But at least they were not bloody. As they could not inflict death, so neither could they inflict the horrible mutilations which were common, even in the case of very trifling offences, in the courts of the king.

The Cis-
tercian
order.

The uni-
versities.

Rela-
tions
with
Scotland.

This period was also marked by the introduction of the Cistercian order into England. Houses of this order, a reform of the older Benedictine rule, never reached the wealth and importance of the Benedictine houses ; but they have added a special feature to English scenery. The monks of this order habitually sought wild and lonely spots ; the ruined abbey is most commonly Cistercian. At the same time, we see the first beginnings of the university system in England. Oxford, a flourishing borough, a strong military post, a favourite seat of national assemblies, and an occasional royal residence, now became for the first time a seat of learning. The teaching of divinity began under Robert Pulein in the days of Henry ; that of law began under Vacarius in the days of Stephen. This is really all that we know of the beginnings of that great university ; but its growth must have been steady during the whole of this century ; for at the beginning of the next the scholars of Oxford were a numerous and important body.

The relations of England to the rest of Britain are of considerable importance during this time. The marriage of Malcolm and Margaret had most important results on both countries. The Scottish kings became in truth English kings, more truly English than the Normans and Angevins who reigned in England. Their culture was English ; they dwelled mainly in the English or Anglicized parts of their dominions ; strangers from England of both races were welcome at their court. This English influence began under Malcolm ; after a period of struggle, it became fully established under David. Malcolm invaded England more than once, both in the days of the Conqueror and in those of Rufus, and his last invasion saw also his death at Alnwick (November 14, 1093). This invasion was perhaps caused by an act of the king of the English which may well have been dangerous to Scotland. Rufus was the one king of his race who enlarged the actual kingdom of England. He made Cumberland, meaning by that name the old diocese of Carlisle, an integral part of England ; he peopled it with colonists from southern

England, and he rebuilt or repaired the local capital, which became a strong fortress against Scotland. After Malcolm came a time of struggles between the Scottish and the new English party in Scotland, which was ended by Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, being placed on the throne by English help. Under his reign and those of Alexander and David (1097–1153) the relations between England and Scotland were close, and, as long as Henry of England lived, perfectly peaceful. In Stephen's day David asserted the rights of his niece the empress ; he twice invaded England ; he suffered a great defeat in the battle of the Standard ; but he obtained the cession of the newly won land of Cumberland, and also of the earldom of Northumberland. Like Lothian at a former time, these lands were to be held as English earldoms. Their possession by the Scottish kings was short ; but it doubtless tended, along with other things, to make Lothian become more directly a part of the Scottish realm.

Along the Welsh frontier the power of England greatly Affairs of advanced under the two Williams and under Henry. We Wales, may say, roughly speaking, that South Wales was conquered at this time. But the conquest amounted to little more than the settlement of Norman lords with a following of all nations, who kept up from their castles an endless warfare against the Welsh in their mountains. But one part of the land was settled in another way. The southern peninsula of Pembrokeshire, and seemingly the peninsula of Gower in Glamorgan, were under Henry (1111) planted with a Flemish colony, which may be fairly called the last of the Teutonic settlements in Britain. In the Flemish district of Pembrokeshire the Britons and their tongue vanished as utterly as they had done from Kent. Two of the chief towns, Pembroke and Tenby, keep Welsh names in a corrupt form ; the rest of the local nomenclature preserves the names of the Flemish leaders.

With the accession of Henry of Anjou a new period Reign of Henry II. begins. The purely English period has ended. The Norman period has ended also ; England and Normandy are alike under the rule of the cosmopolitan prince from Le Mans. Englishmen tried to see a native king in the man who sprang through three generations of females from the son of Edmund Ironside.¹ And Henry was too wise to refuse to listen. Whatever he was, he was not Norman, and under him the last traces of distinction between men of English and of Norman birth in England altogether died out. Of all the kings between the Conqueror and Edward the First, he has the best right to the name of lawgiver. He is not the author of any formal code ; but he is the author of a greater number of actual enactments than any king before him. His reign falls naturally into three parts. The first is taken up with the restoration of order after the anarchy. To this work the young prince of twenty-one, who had already won a name beyond the sea, gave himself with a good will. He was helped in the work by one of the clerical statesmen of the age, Thomas the son of Gilbert Thomas Becket of London, archdeacon of Canterbury and the of London king's chancellor. Thomas is one of the great examples of the fusion of Normans and English. Born in London of Norman parents, he appears throughout his career as a passionate lover of his native land and his native city. He was a favourite with the English people, nor is there a word to show that he deemed himself, or was deemed by them, to be other than their countryman in the fullest sense. King Henry and Chancellor Thomas worked hard for eight years to restore the rule of law. One great difficulty in

¹ See especially the dedication of the *Genealogia Regum* by Ethelred of Rievaulx to Henry II. The king's pedigree is there traced up to Adam, without any reference to his Angevin father or to his Norman grandfather.

their path was the new doctrine of the immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction. These years were a time of comparative peace, broken chiefly by a war (1159) with Lewis of France for the succession of Toulouse. This war was, as we shall presently see, of great importance in a constitutional point of view; and in it the chancellor's functions, ecclesiastical and civil, did not hinder him from showing himself in the third character of a stout man-at-arms. At last, on the death of Archbishop Theobald (1162), Henry committed the fatal mistake of raising his great minister to the see of Canterbury, and the further mistake of expecting the new archbishop to remain his minister. The step was in every way new; other bishoprics had been used as rewards for temporal services; the primacy had been reserved, if not always for saints, at least for men whose character was not prominently worldly. Most archbishops had been monks. And though, both before and after the Conquest, archbishops of Canterbury had been rulers of the realm in more characters than one, no archbishop had ever held a post in the king's service like that of chancellor. The see was forced upon Thomas; but, once archbishop, he put on the character of his new office in all its fulness. As a mere deacon holding secular office, he had been the king's most trusty servant; now become priest, bishop, archbishop, he threw up his secular post, and became the champion of the ecclesiastical claims in their most extravagant shape. Quarrels soon arose between him and the king, quarrels which neither king nor primate carried on in the spirit of Anselm and Henry I. Thomas showed himself violent and provoking; Henry showed himself mean and spiteful. The first great quarrel arose out of the ecclesiastical claims; for Thomas, in his new position, tried to shelter even the most guilty churchman from any punishment at the hands of the temporal courts. The king caused a body of ordinances, known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, to be drawn up, which professed to state the law as it stood under Henry I. before the anarchy. They were certainly not, as the ecclesiastical party called them, innovations of his own; but it was only natural that they should seem innovations to the ecclesiastical party. There was to be no appeal to any power out of the realm without the king's special leave. As a natural consequence, the clergy were not to leave the realm without the king's licence. The ecclesiastical courts were no longer to shelter offenders against the laws of the land. Advowsons were declared to be lay fees. The baronial character of the estates of bishops and abbots was distinctly asserted, and on this followed, as a logical consequence, the rule that those estates should pass into the king's hands during a vacancy. Elections of prelates were to be made in the king's chapel, with his consent. Another provision was added, not wholly new, and which hardly touched the general question, but which still marks the growth of the new ideas. The villain was not to be admitted to holy orders without the consent of his lord. The ecclesiastical legislation of Henry II. was, in fact, only a little more than a codification of the practice of Henry I.; it was only a little less than a fore-stalling of the legislation of Henry VIII. It contained innovations on the practice of England before the Norman Conquest; but they were the innovations of Flambard, not of Henry himself. But the attempt was premature. Thomas, in a moment of weakness, assented to the Constitutions, and then withdrew his consent. Henry, thus far in the right, put himself in the wrong by raking up all kinds of forgotten and frivolous demands against the archbishop. Thomas fled from England and found shelter in France. It was the interest of Lewis to support any enemy of Henry. A weary time of dispute and intrigue followed, in which Thomas was but feebly supported by the pope Alexander

III. Henry sometimes threatened to acknowledge the imperial antipope; sometimes he forsook his own position; once, men said at the time, he went so far as himself to accept a legation from the pope. At last the first quarrel was patched up (1170). Thomas came back to England only to find a new and distinct ground of quarrel. The king had caused his eldest son Henry to be crowned by Roger archbishop of York, to the prejudice of the rights of the see of Canterbury. New excommunications, new disputes, followed. At last four His knights in the king's service, mistaking a few hasty words of their master, crossed from Normandy to England, and slew the archbishop in his own church.

Thomas really died for the rights of the church of Canterbury, not for any more general principle. But the second years of quarrel, as could not fail to happen, got mixed up in men's minds with the first; and the murdered archbishop was looked on as a saint and as a martyr to the general privileges of the church. The dead martyr was a more dangerous enemy to the king than the living primate had been. We now enter on the third period of Henry's reign, a time of nineteen years, in which Henry had to struggle against foes on every side, but chiefly against foes that were of his own household. His overlord of France, his vassal of Scotland, his own nobles, his wife and his own children, were all arrayed against him. As far as England was concerned, Henry was successful against all. The rebellion of the earls and the Scottish invasion (1174) both failed. On the continent his fate was harder. The death of his eldest son, the rebellion of the youngest, the loss of the city of his birth, utterly broke down his spirit. At the age of fifty-six he died (1189) at Chinon, far away alike from England and from Normandy, a worn-out and broken-hearted man.

The great lawgiver was gone, and his dominions passed Reign of to his rebellious son Richard. This king has in popular Richard belief become one of the heroes of England. That he I.: itsun-should ever have been looked upon as such, that he should by strangers have been so looked upon even in his own time, shows how England had come to be looked on as the head and centre of the vast dominion of her kings. Personally Richard, though born on English ground, was the least English of all our kings. Invested from his earliest years with his mother's Southern dominions, Richard of Poitou had little in him either of England or of Normandy: he was essentially the man of Southern Gaul. Twice in his reign he visited England; to be crowned on his first accession, to be crowned again after his German captivity. The rest of his time was spent in his crusade, and in various continental disputes which concerned England not at all, except so far as she had to pay for them. The mirror of chivalry was the meanest and most insatiable of all the spoilers of her wealth. For England, as a kingdom, all that he did was to betray her independence by a homage to the emperor, which formed a precedent for a more famous homage in the next reign. His reign is an important one in constitutional progress, but as such it was the reign of his ministers and not of himself. One event towards the end of his reign has been often misunderstood. A com-
motion was raised in London (1196) by William the son of William Osbert, known as William with the Long Beard, a fellow-
crusader and seemingly a personal friend of the king's. William professed to be the champion of the poor against the rich. Out of this a romantic story grew that he was the champion of the English against the Normans. The writers of his own time show that he was deemed a martyr by his followers and a traitor by his enemies; but they give no hint that he was the champion of one race against another. Nor do they give us any clue as to his own descent, English or Norman. There is not a word in any writer of the reign of Henry or Richard to make us think

that the distinction between the two races was at all remembered in any hostile sense. Everything shows that all the inhabitants of the kingdom were fast drawing together, in opposition to men born out of the realm, whether in Normandy or anywhere else.

Reign of John.—Richard died, as he had lived, far away from England and Normandy, in a petty quarrel with a Southern vassal (1199).

Constitutional progress had gone on silently in his absence. In the next reign freedom had to be won openly from a tyrant by force of arms. No period of our history, save those of the Conversion and the Conquest, is of greater importance than the seventeen years of John. A popular confusion has to be got rid of with regard to his accession at the death of Richard. John, the youngest son of Henry, was the only survivor of his brothers; but Geoffrey, the third son of Henry, had left a son Arthur. Richard seems at one time to have designed Arthur for his successor. But his last bequest was in favour of his brother; and, even without that bequest, all English precedent was in favour of the brother rather than of the nephew. Arthur does not seem to have had a single partisan either in Normandy or in England. John was received as duke, chosen and crowned as king, without opposition. But on the continent generally the new doctrine of hereditary right had made much greater advances than it had in England. Anjou acknowledged Arthur; and Philip of France was led by an obvious policy to receive his homage for all the continental dominions of his uncle. But Arthur and his followers were soon crushed by the king-duke (1202), and the disappearance of Arthur left little room for doubt that he had been put out of the way by his uncle. The king of the French called into being a new jurisprudence out of the romances of Charlemagne, and called on the twelve peers of France to sit in judgment on their felon brother. Sentence of forfeiture of all lands held of the French crown was pronounced against John. The sentence was carried out by an easy conquest of continental Normandy. The islands clave to their duke, and they have ever since remained possessions of the English crown, keeping their local independence and their ancient laws. On behalf of the duchy John did not strike a blow; but he led more than one expedition to secure or to win back his southern dominions, and the final result was that, of all the continental possessions of Henry and Richard, Aquitaine alone remained to their successors. The relations of England to the continent were thus completely changed. Under Henry and Richard England had been only one, though the greatest, among the endless possessions of her king. Now that Normandy, Maine, and Anjou became provinces of France, Aquitaine became distinctly a distant dependency of England. To the crown of France the gain was beyond words; the king was now a greater potentate than any of his vassals. He had won back those old possessions of the French duchy which had so long cut off its dukes and kings from the sea. To England the loss was the greatest of gains. It broke the last tie which bound any part of the inhabitants of England to any land beyond the four seas of England. If anything was still wanting to wipe out every trace of distinction between the descendants of those who a hundred and forty years earlier had been the conquerors and the conquered,

Loss of Normandy.—The French conquest of Normandy did the work. Every man in England was now an Englishman, and nothing but an Englishman. One question only has to be asked: Why did Normandy, the old foe of France, submit so tamely to a French conquest? The reason seems plain. Normandy was a conquered land. With Henry I. the line of her national dukes had ended. If the French king was a stranger, he was not more a stranger than the king of England and count of Anjou. The duchy really lost nothing by passing from a state which might seem that of

a dependency, to become an integral portion, often a royal apanage, of a kingdom of its own speech. Aquitaine, on the other hand, foreign alike to England, Normandy, and France, found its account in cleaving to the more distant sovereign. The nobles were drawn to France by community of feeling in many ways; but the cities clave to the distant king, who was their ally and protector rather than their master.

The English nation was now united: the smaller mass of the conquerors had been received and assimilated by the greater mass of the conquered. Events now thickly press one upon another, and all of them tended to draw all the sons of the soil closer and closer together. John, like Richard, was born in England; but, like Richard, he was in feeling neither English nor Norman. He surrounded John's himself with foreign counsellors and with foreign soldiers. **quarrel with the pope.**—He presently plunged into an ecclesiastical quarrel which showed the weak side of the ecclesiastical policy of the Conqueror. It needed William himself to carry out William's system. A disputed election to the see of Canterbury gave Innocent III. an opportunity for putting in a nominee of his own, and his choice—it must have been unwittingly—fell on one of the foremost of English patriots, on the first of the noble band who defied pope and king alike on behalf of the freedom of England. The candidate of the king and the candidate of the monks both gave way to Stephen Langton. John had so utterly turned away from him all the hearts of his people that none stood by him, even when the pope took upon him to declare the king of the English deposed from his crown, and to offer that crown to the king of the French. In his despair John became the man of the Roman pontiff, as his brother had become the man of the Roman Caesar. Archbishop Stephen now came back to England. The laws of king Eadward were renewed. When John flew to arms, the barons and people of England, with the primate at their head, swore to bring back the ancient laws, the laws of Eadward, the laws of Henry. Those names are now heard for the last time. John was constrained (1215) to sign the Great Charter; and **The Great Charter.**—from that day Englishmen called for the observance of the Great Charter, as they had hitherto called for the laws of Eadward. By that charter resistance to the royal power was legalized; in the struggle that followed it was the king who was the rebel. John had hardly sealed the charter, when he sent to his overlord at Rome, and the pontiff took upon him to annul the recovered liberties and to denounce suspensions and excommunications against those who had won them. At the head of his foreign mercenaries, the king laid waste his own dominions. The barons in despair chose a new king, and offered the crown to Lewis of France. Such a choice seems to us yet more strange than the **Election of Lewis.**—speedy submission of Normandy to Lewis's father. That the step was most unwise was presently proved; but at the time it was intelligible alike to Normans and to Englishmen. If Lewis was a stranger, so was John. Personally Lewis promised far better than John, nor was it easy to find any other available candidate. If not Lewis himself, yet his wife, came by female descent of the royal stock; and the only likely competitor, the emperor Otto, was at once closely allied with his uncle John and had shown that he could not keep the kingdoms which he had already. But, even before John died, men began to feel that, in inviting a French king, they had invited a French conquest. In a few months (1216) the death of John cut the knot; all English feeling turned to the side of his young **Succession.**—and innocent son. He was indeed a minor, but a minor son of was better than a stranger. Henry III. succeeded as a **Henry III.**—national king, and a burst of national feeling drove the French out of the land. A long and weary time followed, in which the freedom of England was slowly growing up,

till, fifty years later, the time came when it had to be again asserted on the field of battle.

No time is richer than this in legal history. The whole reign of Henry II. was a reign of legislation, and the work was not interrupted even during the time of the great struggle with the archbishop. In the year before the promotion of Thomas to the primacy, king and chancellor had dealt one direct blow at all feudal ideas. In the war of Toulouse the *scutage* was first devised; a money payment was accepted instead of personal military service. The money was of course spent in hiring mercenaries; and it was largely by the help of mercenaries that Henry subdued his rebels in England. But later in his reign, by the Assize of Arms (1181), he regulated the old constitutional force of the country, and enjoined that every free Englishman should be ready to serve with the weapons belonging to his rank. Other incidental notices show us that much legislation was done while Henry still had Thomas to his minister. But the ordinances of which the text is preserved belong to a later time. The reign of Henry is rich in charters to boroughs, several of which are early enough in his reign to bear the signature of chancellor Thomas. And a reference in the Constitutions of Clarendon shows that, thus early in his reign, Henry had begun that great step towards the development of jury trial which is one of the special marks of his reign. By the work of Henry and his chancellor the system of recognition was organized, by which sworn men gave a verdict, but as yet a verdict given from their own knowledge. The great legal writer of Henry's reign, the justiciar Randolph of Glanville, speaks of the recognition as a special gift of Henry to his people, and enlarges on its superiority to the wager of battle. All this comes within the chancellorship of Thomas; and we shall do the chancellor great injustice, if we think wholly of his later ecclesiastical character, and forget his services in the days when he was the chief minister of one of our greatest kings. Of the extant ordinances of Henry's reign, the oldest after the charter issued at his coronation are the Constitutions of Clarendon themselves (1164). The Assize of Clarendon—a wholly distinct document (1166)—and the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170) came during the time of the quarrel with Thomas. On these, after the death of Thomas, follows in 1176 the Assize of Northampton, in 1181 the Assize of Arms, and in 1184 the Assize of the Forest. All these bear witness to Henry's care, even when he was most occupied with other matters, to preserve the peace of the land, and to enable all his subjects to have justice done to them in the king's name. And in all, the mode of inquiry by the oath of twelve lawful men grows at each step. The Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton have a special reference to one of Henry's great measures, that by which the visitation of the country by itinerant judges going regular circuits was finally established. It was not an invention of his own; the visits of the king's judges had begun to take a regular shape under Henry I. But it was Henry II. who organized the whole system afresh after the anarchy. It was he who finally established the specially English principle that justice should be administered in different parts of the kingdom by judges not belonging to the particular district, but immediately commissioned by the king. When the king's judges came and received the inquiries of the local jurors, though the complete modern ideal of a judge and jury had not been reached, yet something had been reached which could grow into that ideal without any one moment of change so great as the changes wrought by Henry himself. By him the jury was applied to all manner of purposes. The Assize of Arms was distinctly a return to the old military system. It gave a new life to the *fyrd*, the ancient militia, which had never gone out of

use, but which had been overshadowed by feudal levies on the one hand and by the use of mercenaries on the other. Each man was to have the arms which befitted the amount of his property. It was by a jury that the liability of each man to be ranked in such or such a class was to be fixed. Even in the Assize of the Forest, an ordinance framed to protect the most exceptional and most oppressive of all the royal rights, the popular element comes in. Sworn knights are appointed in each shire to protect those rights. Lastly, when in 1188 the tithe was levied for the defence of Eastern Christendom against Saladin, the liability of each man to the impost was assessed by a local jury. In all these ways the appeal to the oath of lawful men, as opposed to any other form of finding out truth, was strengthened by every step in the legislation of Henry.

Meanwhile the administrative system which had been Henry's growing up ever since the Conquest took firm root under Henry. We have a contemporary picture of it, drawn by one of Henry's own officials, in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*. This was the work of Richard, treasurer of the exchequer and bishop of London, one of the family of officials founded by Roger of Salisbury. Alongside of this, we have our first strictly legal treatise, as distinguished from private compilations and codes, in the work of the great justiciar Randolph of Glanville. In short, we may say that under Henry the legal system of England took a shape which it has practically kept ever since. The endless changes of the last seven hundred years are rather special amendments of Henry's work than anything which can be said to start altogether afresh from a new point. Strictly constitutional advance rather belongs to the reigns of Henry's sons than to that of Henry himself. Nor is this wonderful. Constitutional advance commonly means the lessening of the royal power, and acts which lessen the royal power do not often issue from the free will of kings. In Henry's time, above all, a time when law and order had to be restored after the reign of anarchy, the momentary need was rather to strengthen the royal power than to lessen it. Legal reforms are often, as in this case, the free gift of wise kings; constitutional reforms have commonly to be wrested from weak or wicked kings. But the legal reforms of Henry supplied an element which largely entered into the constitutional reforms of the next stage. Out of Henry's favourite institution of recognitions on oath grew, not only trial by jury, but also the House of Commons.

By the time of Henry II. the force of circumstances, especially the working of the practice of summons, had gradually changed the ancient assembly of the whole nation into a mere gathering of the great men of the realm. The work which had now to be done, and which, in the space of about a hundred years, was gradually done by a number of instruments, conscious and unconscious, was to call into being a second and more popular assembly alongside of the assembly which had lost its popular character. To use language which belongs to a somewhat later time than that with which we are now dealing, the House of Lords already existed; the House of Commons had to be called into being alongside of it. The details of this great process of constitutional growth must be drawn out by the strictly constitutional historian. All that can be done here is to call attention to the main lines of the process and to its more remarkable landmarks. And it may be well from the very beginning to give the warning that the two Houses of the English Parliament did not arise out of any theoretical preference for two houses over one or three. The number was fixed, like everything else in English history, by what we are apt to call circumstances or accidents. Our whole parliamentary system was eminently one which was not made, but grew. Thus, for instance, it was only gradually established that the barons should be personally summoned

to the same house as the bishops and earls, while the knights should appear only by their representatives along with the smaller freeholders and the burgesses of the towns. It is in the reign of Richard I. that we begin to see the first faint glimmerings of parliamentary representation. The one object of the absentee king was to screw all the money that he could out of the kingdom for which he cared not. The object of his wise ministers, of Archbishop Hubert among the first, was to gain the greatest amount of money for their master with the least amount of oppression towards the nation. Under Hubert's administration, chosen bodies of knights or other lawful men, acting in characters which become more and more distinctly representative, were summoned for every kind of purpose. How far they were nominated, how far freely elected, is not always clear. It seems most likely that in one stage they were nominated by the sheriff in the county court, while at a later stage they were chosen by the county court itself. In other words, the principle of representation was first established, and then the next stage naturally was that the representatives should be freely chosen. Summoned bodies of knights appear in characters which are the forerunners of grand jurors and of justices of the peace. They appear also in a character which makes them distinctly forerunners of the knights of the shire which were soon to come. A chosen body of knights have to assess the imposts on each shire. From assessing the taxes the next stage was to vote or to refuse them. In 1213 the sheriffs are called on to summon four discreet men from each shire, to come and speak with the king about the affairs of the realm. When we have reached this stage, we have come very near to a *parliament*, name and thing.

The Great Charter.

The reign of John, in short, is marked by common consent as the time from which Englishmen date the birth of their national freedom in its later form. From his day men no longer asked for the observance of the laws of Eadward. They asked for the observance of John's own charter, which was deemed to be nothing else than the laws of Eadward in a new shape. By that charter all the great principles of constitutional government were affirmed. They were so fully affirmed as to be in advance of the age; only a few years later men shrank from affirming them again with so clear a voice. Stephen Langton doubtless saw further than other men of his day; but, if in one or two points he claimed more than his generation was ready for, the great mass of his legislation took root at once, and so prepared men for the final acceptance of all a generation or two later. The Charter is the "first" solemn act of the united English nation after Norman conquerors and Norman settlers had become naturalized Englishmen. Of distinction of race or law there is not a word. The one distinction drawn is that between freeman and villain, and even the villain has rights which the Charter protects. It ordains nothing new, except the temporary provisions for its own enforcement, provisions which give a legal sanction to the natural right of resisting a king who rebels against the law. Novel abuses are to be redressed; new means of redressing them are supplied; but the old law of England, the law of Eadward, the law of Henry, stands firm. But it is with the strictly constitutional provisions of the Charter that we are here most concerned. Representation was already fast growing up; but it had hardly yet reached such a stage that it could be ordained in legal form. But rules are laid down out of which, even if it had not begun already, representation in the strictest sense could not fail shortly to arise. The distinction which had been growing up ever since the Conquest, and indeed before, between the *Witan* and the *Landsitting men* now receives a legal sanction. The practice of summons makes the distinction. Certain great men, prelates, earls, and greater barons, are to receive

the personal summons. The rest of the king's tenants-in-chief are to be summoned only in a body. Here we have almost come to a separation of Lords and Commons. But in modern ideas those names imply two distinct houses; and it was not yet settled, it had not yet come into men's minds to consider, whether the national council should consist of one house or a dozen. But it is decreed in so many words that the acts of those who came would bind those who stayed away. On such a provision representation, and not only representation but election of the representatives, follows almost as a matter of course. The mass stay away; a few appear, specially commissioned to act in the name of the rest. The Charter mentions only the king's tenants-in-chief; so far had things been marred and feudalized by the influence of the Conquest. But as the election could only be made in the ancient county court, every freeholder at least, if not every freeman, won back his ancient right. If he could not come himself to cry Yea or Nay, he at least had a voice in choosing those who could do so with greater effect.

The point in which the legislation of the Charter seems to have been in advance of the age was with regard to the power of the purse. The old threefold burthen, the *trinoda necessitas*, seems, in the new feudalized state of things, to have given way to the three cases in which the lord might lawfully call on his man for an aid. These were his own ransom from captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter. This right is allowed to the king; but he could call for money in no other case, unless it was voted to him by the national council. This was the old law, and in quite recent times both Thomas of London and St Hugh, the Burgundian bishop of Lincoln, had, in full assembly, withheld exactions on the part of Henry and Richard. But, though both ancient law and modern precedent were for the clause, men were not ready for the direct assertion of its principle. The clause was left out at the later confirmations of the Charter, and the right was not again fully established till the end of the century. The provisions which were temporary were not the least important. Twenty-five barons were appointed to carry them out, and, to show the advance of municipal rights, among them was the mayor of London. If the king resisted, broke his oath, they were to call the whole commons of the kingdom to their help, and to constrain the rebel king by force. When John again rebelled, his barons and people drew the sword against him, and they were but carrying out the letter of the law.

The main principles of constitutional government had European thus been established; the old freedom had been won back position in a new shape. England was England again. But the European position of England had altogether changed. The final outcome of Norman and Angevin rule in England had been to make England an European and a continental power, holding two Gaulish dependencies, the duchy of Aquitaine and the insular Normandy. But the vast extension of the Angevin dominions before they were thus cut short had brought England into connexion with most parts of Europe. The daughters of Henry II., like the daughters of Eadward the Unconquered, were married to princes in distant lands, in Castile, Sicily, and Saxony. This last marriage, that of Matilda with Henry the Lion, gave the old connexion between England and Germany a special Connexion. During the dispute with the archbishop, Henry was more than once tempted to forsake the obedience of Alexander III., and to accept the pontiffs who were successively set up by the emperor Frederick. But the Saxon marriage caused kings whose internal policy was distinctly Ghibeline to appear in foreign lands as the allies of the Guelf. Otto IV., the son of Henry the Lion and Matilda, was constantly at the court of his uncles, and he received

The cru-
sades.

from them earldoms and promises of kingdoms. It was in alliance with him that Englishman, German, and Fleming stood side by side when all three were overcome by the French king at Bouvines. In other parts of the empire, we find Henry seeking a wife for his son John in Savoy, and bringing a saint from Grenoble to rule at Witham and at Lincoln. But more than all, England, as a power, began at this period to take a direct share in the crusades. Individual Englishmen of both races had fought in earlier crusades, and had entered the service of the eastern emperors. But Henry himself took the vow of a crusader, and Richard carried that vow into effect. In foreign lands the Poitevin count appeared as an English king, and his followers, of whatever race or speech, were looked on as Englishmen. The fame of England was thus spread through all lands; yet it was in the reigns of Richard and John that the crown of England was humbled as it never was before or since. Richard became the man of the emperor for his kingdoms; John became the man of the pope. That he also offered to become the man of the Almohade Commander of the Faithful reads almost like a piece of satire; but the evidence on which the story rests cannot be lightly cast aside.

Conquest of Ireland. Within the island world of Britain the power of England rose for a moment under Henry II. to a greater height than it had ever risen at any earlier time. Or we might say that another island world, less only than Britain itself, was brought into relation with the world of Britain, as the world of Britain was brought into relation with the world of Europe. The first Angevin king of England became the first English lord of Ireland. The connexion between the two islands had been growing close for a long time. Shadowy tales are told of a dominion exercised by Eadgar and by Cnut on the eastern shore of Ireland. It is more certain that, under the two Williams and under Henry I., first the Danish settlers, and then the Irish themselves, entered into spiritual relations with the see of Canterbury which could hardly fail to grow into temporal relations with the crown of England. One Irish king was, if not the vassal, at least the attached friend, of Henry I. One of the first acts of Henry II. was to obtain a bull from the one English pope, Hadrian IV., granting him the dominion of the island of Ireland. But the conquest of the new realm was begun only by private adventurers in 1169. For one moment, in 1171, the conquest seemed to be a reality. The Irish princes became the men of Henry, who presently granted the kingdom of Ireland to his son John. But in truth all that was done was to begin that long and dreary tale of half-conquest and local warfare which gave Ireland five centuries of greater wretchedness than England had endured in the first five years of Norman dominion. As if from a feeling how unreal the claim was, the kingly style granted to John was dropped by John himself; and, till the reign of Henry VIII., the king of England took from his precarious Irish dominion no higher title than Lord.

Relations with Wales; On the Welsh frontier the endless warfare went on; but this cannot be called a period of conquest. The armies of Henry II. suffered at least one defeat at the hands of the Britons; and the contemporary writer John of Salisbury ventures to regret that England had not in his day a leader like Harold to guard her frontier. Under John we find the first connexion by marriage between the ruling houses of England and Wales. A natural daughter of John was married to the Welsh prince Llywelyn. From this time the position of the Welsh princes changes, and they begin to play a certain part in the internal affairs of England. On the Scottish frontier Henry II. took back the earldoms of Northumberland and Cumberland, which had been yielded to David and his son. Presently the share taken

by William the Lion in the revolt of the English barons was avenged in 1174 by his defeat and captivity, and by his acknowledgment of a supremacy of an altogether new kind on the part of the English overlord. For the first time, Scottish lords, as well as Scottish kings, did homage to Henry; and, for the first time also, Scottish castles were placed in his hands. But when the chivalrous Richard was selling everything, he sold back these newly acquired rights. The relations in which the kingdom of Scotland, the earldom of Lothian, and the territorial fief of what we may now best distinguish as Scottish Cumberland, stood to the English crown fell back to their former state, to form materials for a great controversy a hundred years later.

With regard to language, this period is one in which the use of Latin becomes universal in all public documents. There are still a few English writs of the early days of Henry II., and the first known French document comes from the hand of Stephen Langton in the year of the Great Charter. The truth is that the men of this time were so familiar with the use of all three languages, English, French, and Latin, that it is rarely indeed that any writer thinks it needful to mention which of the three a man spoke at any particular moment. But it is clear that, by the end of the 12th century, English was understood and spoken by all classes. It is equally clear that a fashion now set in in favour of French merely as a fashion. Richard was altogether non-resident, and could have had little influence on such matters. But John, and after him Henry III., kept a foreign court in England. Though born in the land, they were far more strangers than Henry II. had been. Thus, at the very moment when French had lost its position as the natural speech of one class of the inhabitants of England, it came to the front again as a mere courtly speech, foreign to all. In short, in regard to language, as in regard to matters of fashion generally, the Norman period was succeeded by a French period. But neither French nor English was at this time the tongue of solid literature, as distinguished from writings which are merely popular or merely courtly. Such writings were severally English and French. But all the learned writings of a learned age were in Latin. Neither in English nor in French is there any original English history of this time, unless we except the rhyming chronicles of Wace and Benoit de Sainte More, which are writings essentially Norman, though incidentally bearing on English matters. Our Latin materials for the history of this time are abundant. We have the so-called Benedict of Peterborough; we have Roger of Howden and Gervase of Canterbury; we have Ralph de Diceto and the critical William of Newburgh. The quarrel between Henry and Thomas gave rise to an endless crop of letters, lives, and documents of all kinds. The expedition of Richard I. finds its place among the histories of the crusades. And, while history was thus abundant, legend was not wanting. The actual life of Geoffrey of Monmouth belongs to the days of Henry I. and Stephen; but it was in the second half of the century that his writings began to have a lasting influence. His wild fables of Arthur and legends earlier British kings seem at the outside to have preserved of a few distorted scraps of genuine West-Welsh history. But they gave birth to a vast legendary literature, Latin, French, and English, which has done more perhaps than any other one cause to make Englishmen forget that they were Englishmen. And, beside history and legend, there was also at this time no lack of Latin literature of a more general kind, such as the writings of John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, and the often misunderstood Walter Map or Mapes. Among many others these may pass as some of the chief; but the literature of this age, of all classes, is overflowing. Many of these writers were real scholars,

well versed in both sacred and profane learning. In Giraldus we see something higher still. He was vain, spiteful, and careless of truth. But, as we see in William of Malmesbury and William of Newburgh the beginnings of historical criticism, so in Giraldus we see the first approaches to something like scientific observation alike in language and in natural history.

Transi-
tion in
architec-
ture.

In the history of art this age is one of the greatest turning-points. It is the time of transition between the round and the pointed arch, between the Romanesque and the so-called Gothic style. The richer and lighter Norman style of Roger of Salisbury was through the reign of Henry II. gradually getting still richer and still lighter. The pointed arch, first introduced in the vaults, then in the main arcades, gradually spread itself into every part of the building. The change in the form of the arch was at first unaccompanied by any change in detail; the Romanesque ornaments continued in use. Gradually they were changed for a system of ornament which better suited the new constructive forms. By the first years of the thirteenth century, the change was complete; a style all but peculiar to England, quite peculiar to England and Normandy, a style marked by the use of untraceried lancets as windows, combined with the use of purely Gothic detail, was fully developed. The stages of the change may perhaps be best studied in the churches of Canterbury and Lincoln. Along with the development of architecture, there was an even more remarkable development of sculpture. The carvers of the eleventh century and of the first half of the twelfth could hardly represent the human figure; and when they attempted foliage, as in capitals, it was rude and inartistic. The later years of the twelfth century produced capitals almost rivalling the old Corinthian types. The next generation struck out more original, but equally perfect, forms of beauty. The sculpture, strictly so called, of the thirteenth century, if it never shook itself free from a certain amount of conventional stiffness, if its artists had neither the modern artist's anatomical science nor the old Greek's familiarity with the human figure, was at least a vast advance on works of the times immediately before them. English sculpture indeed leaped in the thirteenth century to a point of excellence which it found hard to keep.

Period
1217--
1340.

The next period in English history may be measured in different ways, according to the point of view from which that history is looked at. The English nation has now taken its later form. It has assimilated its Romance conquerors, and in so doing it has received a certain Romance infusion in language, laws, and manners. The connexion with Normandy has made England an European power. The separation from Normandy has made England again an English power. The nation has now to struggle against a new form of foreign invasion. Englishmen, of whichever race, have to hold their own against the Poitevin and the Savoyard. They have to wage the long struggle of the thirteenth century at once against the king at home and against the pope beyond sea. This time is marked by the reign of Henry III. But the time of struggle is also a time of constitutional progress, and under Edward I. the law and constitution of England put on the essence of their later form. Here then, in a purely constitutional view, is one of the landmarks of our history, a landmark to be placed alongside of the Conquest and the Great Charter. But our former landmarks, the Conquest, the accession of Henry II., the reign of John, were not merely constitutional landmarks, but landmarks in the history of England as an European power. This last the legislation of Edward I. can hardly be said to be. The next great European landmark is the beginning of the long wars between England and France. From the reign of John to the reign of

Edward III., the foreign relations of England hold a secondary place as compared with her constitutional progress. There are frequent wars with France; but they are rather the wars of the duke of Aquitaine than of the king of England. Under Edward III. a wholly new state of foreign relations begins. The rivalry between England and France, which had grown out of the older rivalry between Normandy and France and which had survived the separation of Normandy from England and its union with France, now becomes, for a hundred years and more, the leading feature in English history, one of the leading features in European history. In this European aspect, the period which follows the claim of a French prince to the crown of England comes to its natural end when a king of England claims the crown of France. We take then our present start from the day when Lewis was driven out of England, and we next draw our breath when Edward III. invades France.

The reign of Henry III. was, down almost to our own Reign of day, the longest in our annals. The first forty years of it Henry III. are, on the whole, the dreariest time in our history. No time of so great a length has so few events which stand out as prominent landmarks. First comes the minority of Henry, the time when, notwithstanding the vigour of the great Earl Marshal, England was largely ruled by papal legates. The homage of John had, according to feudal principles, made the pope the guardian of his minor heir; and it was not the policy of Rome to let that guardianship be a mere name. The Charter is confirmed over and over again; but, as we have seen, with the loss of some of its most important clauses. In 1227 the king declares himself of age; presently he gets rid of his great minister Hubert of Burgh; he fills the land with Poitevins and other kindred of his mother; he drives his nobles, his brother Earl Richard at their head, into discontent, and some of them into rebellion. The new struggle of Englishmen against strangers has begun. A new phase opens when help comes from the quarter from which it could least have been looked for, when Englishmen find a leader against strangers in one who was himself by birth a stranger. In 1238 Simon of Montfort first appears; he receives the king's sister in marriage, with the earldom of Leicester to which he had an hereditary claim. Suspected at first as a foreigner, the earl grows into the truest of Englishmen. A reformer from the beginning, he gradually widens his basis, till he becomes, above all men, the leader of the people. Meanwhile the king's marriage with Eleanor of Provence brings a second shoal of strangers to feed on the good things of England. A border war is waged against France with small good luck. In 1259 that war is ended by a treaty, by which Normandy is given up for ever, and the English king keeps nothing on the continent except part of the Aquitanian heritage of the elder Eleanor. Meanwhile, during part of this time, Aquitaine is placed under the rule of Earl Simon, a ruler beloved of the cities and hated of the nobles. Meanwhile pope and king are draining the wealth of the nation; but their very extortions help the growth of freedom. Parliament after parliament meets to make grants indeed, but in making grants to protect and to assert its powers. In 1256, in 1257, new entanglements, new forms of extortion arose, while Earl Richard, the one Englishman who was ever called to the throne of the Caesars, passed into Germany to receive his almost nominal kingship. The crown of Sicily was offered by Alexander IV. to the king's younger son Edmund. More money is demanded, more money is granted; but each grant leads to a fresh demand, and at last the spirit of nobles and people is thoroughly roused. Forty-two years after the accession of Henry, we reach the first great landmark of his reign, the famous Provisions of Oxford.

Provisions of Oxford.

The barons' war.

Accession of Edward I.

By these provisions the royal power was practically put in commission, very much as it had been by the Great Charter in the latter days of John. It is specially to be noticed that at this stage the king's eldest son Edward, afterwards King Edward I., appears on more than one occasion on the popular side. He and Simon were for a while fellow-workers. But Henry, like John, rebelled against the provisions which cramped his power, and about the same time Edward was reconciled to his father. The matters at issue between the king and his people were now submitted to the judgment of the king of the French, St Lewis himself. But Lewis, if a saint, was also a king. By the mise of Amiens (1274) he annulled the Provisions of Oxford, as overthrowing the royal authority; but at the same time he decreed that the nation should keep its ancient liberties. To men who held that the Provisions of Oxford were, like the Great Charter, simply a re-enactment of ancient liberties, such an award seemed inconsistent on the face of it. There was now no hope but in arms. The civil war now begins; Earl Simon, a stranger by birth, is the leader of the barons and people of England. King Richard of Germany, who once seemed destined to hold the place which Simon had come to hold, was now fighting on the side of his brother and fellow-king. So were the two kings' sons, Edward of England and Henry of Germany. Kings and kings' sons were overthrown at Lewes (May 13, 1264), and the royal authority passed into the hands of the earl. By him, early in the next year, was held the great Parliament, the first to which representatives of the boroughs were summoned along with prelates, earls, barons, and knights of the shire. But quarrels presently arose between Earl Simon and his fellow barons. Edward, kept for a while in ward with his father, escaped and gathered an army. In the fight of Evesham (4th August 1265) Simon was overthrown and killed, and was canonized, not by the Rome which he had always withheld, but by the popular voice of England. The war lingered at Simon's castle of Kenilworth, and, as in the days of Hereward, in the marches of Ely. Peace was at last made (1267); and the terms on which it was made, and the generally conciliatory character of Edward's policy towards the vanquished, already showed how much he had learned from the uncle who had fallen before him, but whose work he was destined to bring to perfection. The peace of the last few years of Henry's reign seems wonderful after the storms which had filled up the greater part of it. Edward could leave the land in safety to go on the crusade; and, when his father died (1272) in his absence, his succession to the crown was at once recognized and his peace proclaimed. To say that he was the first king who reigned without election is almost a question of words. At no time in our history would there have been, in such a case as this, any chance of opposition to the eldest son of the last king. What really shows how fast the new ideas of kingship had advanced is the fact that Edward reigned for nearly two years without coronation. Henry died November 16, 1272. The reign of Edward was held to begin with his proclamation four days later; the doctrine that the king never dies is a later device still. Edward was then in Sicily, nor was his return a hasty one. He passed leisurely through several parts of Europe; he suppressed disturbances in his duchy of Aquitaine, and was crowned seventeen days after his arrival in England (August 19, 1274). Nothing could show more clearly than this how fast the office conferred by election and coronation was passing into the possession handed on by simple hereditary succession.

The reign of Edward which thus began is one of the most memorable in the whole course of English history. It is more than an accident that he was the first king since the Conquest who bore one of the ancient kingly names.

Under him we feel at once that the work is done, that all traces of conquest, all traces of distinction of races, have passed away. We have again an united English nation, under a king English in name and in heart. For the first time since the Norman came, England has a king whose whole policy is thoroughly English, whose work seems in so many ways a falling back on the work of the old native kings, specially of the king whose name he bore. For the first time since the Conquest, we have a king who is neither surrounded by foreign favourites nor has his policy directed to foreign objects. As duke of Aquitaine, Edward could not avoid wars and controversies with France; but wars and controversies with France were in his days something altogether secondary. His objects were those of the old West-Saxon kings, to be the lawgiver of England, and, as far as might be, to make England co-extensive with Britain. Still, like some other kings, Edward has been misunderstood through not attending to the chronology of his reign. His Scottish warfare, which is perhaps the first thing which is suggested by his name, takes up only the last nine years of a reign of thirty-five. He had been king nineteen years before the controversy as to the Scottish crown arose. So in the earlier part of his reign the Welsh warfare, which in the popular conception stands alongside of the Scottish warfare, has very much the air of an episode in a time mainly given to internal legislation. The reign naturally falls into two divisions. In the first, from 1272 to 1291, internal affairs are most prominent, though it also takes in the conquest of Wales and some important dealings with France. In the latter part, from 1291 to 1307, Scottish affairs are, or seem to be, predominant. And yet it is during this time that the greatest constitutional step of all is taken, and that parliament distinctly assumes its later form.

The immediate occasions of the Welsh war arose out of the disputes of the last reign. The Welsh prince Llywelyn, who still held the north-western part of Wales by the title of Prince of Aberffraw and Lord of Snowdon, had been allied with Simon; his subjects had shared in the earl's warfare, and he was himself betrothed to the earl's daughter. Disputes arose out of Llywelyn's refusal to meet the English king and do his homage. In 1276 he was declared to have forfeited his fiefs, and in the next year he was constrained to surrender the eastern part of his territory and to do homage for the rest. In 1282 a revolt began, in which David, the brother of Llywelyn, who had been hitherto in Edward's favour and was enriched with English honours, seized the castle of Hawarden and massacred all who were in it. The revolt was put down; the land was speedily conquered; Llywelyn died in war; his brother was put to death as a traitor. The part of Wales which had thus far kept its separate being as a vassal state was now forfeited to the overlord. Throughout a great part of the land English law was introduced. Shires, with their system of administration, were formed; boroughs were founded; castles were built to keep down the malcontents. The principality was designed to form a separate apanage for a younger son of the English king; but, as Edward, the first English prince, succeeded to the crown by the death of his elder brother, the title of Prince of Wales has since commonly been borne by the eldest son of the English king. The Welsh revolted again, even in Edward's own time; but their revolt was only for a moment. Later revolts were of importance only when the malcontents contrived to connect themselves with English rebels or with foreign enemies of England. The general tendency of things was to closer union between the kingdom and the principality, down to the complete incorporation of Wales with England in the sixteenth century.

Fourteen years passed between the conquest of Wales and

Edward's first warfare with Scotland. In this interval much of the legislation of Edward's reign went on. He visited Gascony, and confirmed his power there; and in 1290 he freed England from the presence of the Jews. The next year began those negotiations with Scotland which led to war between the two kingdoms of Britain, to the momentary conquest of Scotland, and to its final independence.

Position of the several possessions of the Scottish kings.

Rightly to understand this great controversy, we must look back to the older relations in which the various possessions of the Scottish crown stood to the crown of England. These were threefold. Between Scotland proper and England the relation was that degree of dependence, whatever it might be deemed to be, which arose out of the old commendation to Edward the Elder. The special burthens imposed by Henry II. had been withdrawn by Richard. Over Scotland proper the utmost claim that could be made was that of a mere external supremacy, a supremacy older than the feudal law and undoubtedly carrying with it none of the recently devised feudal incidents. Scottish Cumberland, on the other hand, was a territorial fief in the strictest sense, though again a fief older than the later feudal jurisprudence. Lothian or northern Northumberland was in strictness an earldom within the English kingdom, just as Northumberland in the latest sense was when that earldom too came for a while into the hands of the Scottish kings. Here then, in strictness, were three distinct relations for three different parts of the Scottish dominions. But it had never been the interest of either side to define the claims very strictly. As long as the two kingdoms were at peace, as they had been through a large part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the English king had been satisfied to receive the homage of the Scottish kings, without defining very strictly for what territories or on what terms it was rendered. In any case, English interference in the internal affairs of any part of those dominions was unknown. The distinction between the different tenures of Scotland, Strathclyde or Cumberland, and Lothian, passed out of sight. It was remembered on the English side that some kind of homage was due from all. It was remembered on the Scottish side that the kingdom of Scotland at least was no territorial fief of the crown of England. But while the relations of the two kingdoms were in this uncertain state, the whole feudal jurisprudence had grown up, and neither side could any longer look on the matter in its strict historical bearing. The different tenures of different parts of the Scottish dominions were forgotten on both sides, and the question finally took the shape, Are the Scottish dominions, as a whole, a fief of the English crown or not? It was hardly possible that the question should take any other form; yet such a form altogether confused ancient rights and distinctions. In claiming the ordinary superiority of a feudal lord over the whole Scottish dominions, Edward claimed more than his historic right over the kingdom of Scotland. He claimed less than his historic right over the earldom of Lothian. But the confusion was natural and unavoidable. It was only according to the ordinary workings of human nature, that the full feudal claims should be asserted on the one side, and that, on the other side, the only question should seem to be between accepting or denying them in their fulness. But it is eminently characteristic of Edward's mind that, while his evident policy was to seize every opportunity for bringing the whole of Britain into a more perfect union, he should take care to be guided throughout by the rules of at least a formal justice.

His first attempt to unite the kingdoms was by the obvious means of a marriage between his son Edward and

the Scottish queen Margaret. This scheme was put an end to by the young queen's death. Then came the disputed succession, a dispute which Edward was in 1291 called on to decide. Such an opportunity was not to be lost; Edward demanded to be first of all formally recognized as superior lord of the crown which he was called on to dispose of. He was so recognized; the claims of the competitors were fairly heard before a mixed commission; and the judgment given was strictly according to the laws of hereditary succession, as they were now beginning to be understood. The question between John Balliol and Robert Bruce was a question between primogeniture and nearness of kin. That question was in truth settled by the decision in favour of Balliol. The crown of Scotland was assigned to the candidate to whom it would have passed by the later law either of England or of Scotland. The decision in truth created that later law. The new king John at once entered into a relation of homage which involved a more complete dependence on England than any Scottish king had ever before acknowledged. But, though it was to Edward's manifest interest to have three weaker vassals rather than a single powerful one, he at once rejected the demand of Bruce and Hastings that the kingdom should be divided. It must be remembered that all three competitors, Bruce no less than Balliol and Hastings, though they held Scottish estates and came by female descent of the Scottish royal family, were essentially English barons, who felt no kind of degradation in a renewed homage to their own king. But it is plain that they did not carry with them the general feeling of what we must now begin to call the Scottish people. The older names of things are now strangely reversed. The English of northern Northumberland, so long under Scottish rule, had adopted the Scottish name, and had learned to feel a national patriotism, distinct from, and even hostile to, southern England. They were the Scots from whom the English kings had to endure so stubborn a national resistance. The true Celtic Scots, the men of the highlands and islands, had in truth but little to do with the matter. Whenever they had any share in the disputes of the time, dislike to the king of Scots, the nearer enemy, commonly drove them to the English side.

In 1292 John of Balliol received the Scottish crown as a vassal of England. A claim which we may be sure was without precedent, but which was strictly according to the rules of the feudal jurisprudence which had grown up, was before long brought to bear upon him. From the courts of the vassal there was, according to that jurisprudence, an appeal to the courts of the lord. Scottish subjects, dissatisfied with the justice which they got in the courts of King John, appealed to the courts of King Edward. Just as in the case of the arbitration, an opportunity was thrown in Edward's way, of which it was not in human nature to refuse to take advantage. John, having acknowledged himself a vassal, refused to do what was now held to be a vassal's duty. He was presently found to be negotiating against his lord with that lord's foreign enemies. That war followed was not wonderful; that, when John renounced his allegiance, he was held to have forfeited his fief was according to received feudal notions. The fief was forfeited; the kingdom was conquered; the separate kingdom of Scotland was abolished; it was incorporated with England, and was meant to have some share of representation in that parliament of England to which Edward had just given its perfect form. In 1304 the whole island of Britain, so far as its most northern parts could be said to conquest be under the obedience of any one, was under the obedience of the English king.

In all this Edward simply acted as any man would act in his view of the case. He carried out the law as he understood it. There is thus far nothing to wonder at, nothing

William Wallace. to blame. On the other hand, that the mass of the Scottish people—defined as above—should resist his claims was as little to be wondered at, as little to be blamed. Each side acted according to the ordinary workings of human nature in their several positions. The real greatness of William Wallace is shown in the fact that he was essentially a

popular leader, one who kept up the heart of a nation whose natural chiefs had forsaken it. On the other hand, even setting aside the charges of special cruelties, William Wallace could not fail to seem, in the eyes of Edward and of every Englishman, a rebel who had despised the offers of mercy which were accepted by every one else. That an English court condemned him as a traitor was in no way wonderful, in no way blameworthy; that Scottish patriotism revered him as a martyr was as little wonderful, as little blameworthy.

This first war of Edward with Scotland thus began with the taking of Berwick in 1296, and ended with the taking of Stirling in 1304. Meanwhile Edward was engaged in disputes and warfare with France, which began at nearly the same time as the Scottish war. The points in controversy between France and England supply a striking and instructive parallel to the points in controversy between England and Scotland.

Analogies between the Scottish and French disputes. As the king of Scots was the man of the king of England, so was the duke of Aquitaine the man of the king of the French. In both cases the vassalage was older than the new feudal jurisprudence. But the doctrines of that jurisprudence now began to be pressed against Edward himself. A quarrel arose between Gascons, subjects of Edward, and Normans, now subjects of Philip of France. The quarrel grew into a war which was waged by the subjects of the two kings without any commission from their respective sovereigns. Edward, summoned to appear in the court of his lord to answer for the doings of his subjects, did not deny his obligation, though he appeared only by deputy. Presently his duchy was declared forfeited, by a process which in England at least was deemed unjust; and it was in the end recovered only by a negotiation and arbitration and a double marriage. In this war, as in earlier French wars, England had the alliance of Germany and of Flanders. And, as the same years saw the beginnings of the long alliance between Scotland and France, we may say that we have come to the beginning of European arrangements which lasted till very modern times.

War of Robert Bruce.

Death of Edward I. In the next year, 1307, the cause of Bruce seemed again altogether hopeless, when things were changed by the death

of Edward on his march to Scotland. With the single exception of the execution of Wallace, the whole of Edward's acts of severity in Scotland come within a single twelve-month, from July 1306 to July 1307. After the death of the great king and the accession of Edward II., the war naturally lingered; it was interrupted by truces; and a series of successes on the part of Robert Bruce were crowned in 1314 by the overwhelming defeat of the English at Bannockburn. Then comes, from 1315 to 1318, the attempt to establish Edward Bruce as king of Ireland. For ten years follows a time of truces and of occasional invasions

on both sides, till, after Edward had been deposed in 1327, a peace between Scotland and England was concluded in the next year, by which the independence of Scotland was fully acknowledged. The old claims, of whatever kind or over whatever territory, must be looked on as being from this time definitely given up. Scotland, in the sense which the word then bore, a sense which, with the exception of the fluctuating possession of Berwick, is the same which it bears still,¹ must be looked on from henceforth as a Kingdom absolutely independent of England. To carry on the analogy already drawn between the relations of Scotland to England and those of Aquitaine to France, the treaty of Northampton in 1328 answers to the treaty of Bretigny thirty-two years later.

The change in the fortune and character of the war with Scotland which followed when Edward II. succeeded Edward I. was only part of the general change which naturally followed on such a change of sovereign. The ruler, lawgiver, and conqueror had passed away, to make room for a son who inherited none of these characters. Legislation and conquest came to an end; constitutional progress becomes indirect. Edward II. was ruled by favourites; that his earliest favourite, Piers Gaveston, was a foreigner from Gascony doubtless tended to increase the usual dislike to favourites; but the fact was no longer of the same political importance as the predominance of foreign favourites had been in earlier times. There was no longer any fear of England again becoming the prey of the stranger. Still the reign of Edward II. is, in some respects, a repetition of the reign of Henry III. The national dislike to the favourite led to an opposition to the king, which in 1310–1311 brought about the practical transfer of the royal power—in imitation, it would seem, of the Provisions of Oxford—to a body of prelates and barons, called the Ordainers. The almost immediate recall of Gaveston, in defiance of the new ordinances, led to a new Barons' War, in which the king's cousin, Earl Thomas of Lancaster, appears rather as a parody than as a follower of the great Simon. We now reach the beginning of a series of political executions which have no parallel in earlier days, but which from this time disfigure our history for many centuries. The first blood shed was that of Gaveston himself, in 1312. It was avenged ten years after by the execution of Thomas of Lancaster. Meanwhile the strife between the king and his barons had gone on. A second time, in 1318, the royal power was transferred to a council. Then came the choice of new favourites, the Despensers, father and son. They were at least Englishmen, bearing a name which had been glorious in former civil strife. But they were no less hated than the stranger Gaveston. In a moment of recovered power on the king's part follows the execution of Earl Thomas, a martyr in the belief of his party no less than Simon himself. Presently Edward has to meet with foes, not only in his own house but in his own household. Dark and mysterious causes drew on him the deadly hatred of his own wife, and gave him a rival in his own son. In the revolution of 1326, the queen is the leader; the favourites die in their turn the death of traitors. The year 1327 opens with the practical assertion of the highest right which the national council in its new form had inherited from the earliest times. By a solemn vote of the parliament of England, the king was deposed, and his own son Edward was placed on the throne. In earlier times the deposition of a king in no way implied his murder, any more than the fall from power of a great earl or prelate implied either his murder or his legal execution. But the days of blood had now set his m^{ur}der; before the end of the year the deposed king died by

¹ That is, as regards the English frontier. The relations between Scotland and the Scandinavian islands do not concern English history.

Reign of Edward III. a foul assassination. The new king was still a minor, and the first years of his reign were the reign of his mother Isabel and her favourite Roger Mortimer. Another revolution was needed to break their power. In 1330, with the execution of Mortimer and the imprisonment of Isabel, the real reign of Edward III. begins. And within a short space the struggle with Scotland has again begun, to be merged in a few years in the long abiding struggle between England and France.

In a constitutional point of view, as well as in many others, the period which we have just gone through may be deemed the most important of all periods in English history. It is the time during which our nation, our laws, our language, finally assimilated whatever was to be assimilated of the foreign elements brought in by the Norman Conquest, and finally threw off whatever was to be thrown off. At the beginning of the period we saw the English nation debating between an Angevin and a French king. At the end of it England, as England, is a great European power, waging war on the continent for the conquest of France. So it is with everything else. It is during this time that most of the things which go to make up the national life put on their later form. Above all things, this was the case with the great council of the English nation. It is for constitutional historians to trace the minuter details; the main outline may be traced in the assemblies of the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.

Name of Parliament. The name of the assembly had hitherto been fluctuating. During this period the name of *Parliament* became finally established. The name is a translation of an Old-English phrase. The Conqueror is said in the English Chronicle to have had "very deep speech with his Witan." This deep speech, in Latin *colloquium*, in French *parlement*, was the distinguishing feature of a meeting between king and people; in the end it gave its name to the assembly itself. The constitution of the assembly, as defined in the Great Charter, did not absolutely imply representation; but it showed that the full establishment of representation could not be long delayed. The work of this period was to call up, alongside of the gathering of prelates, earls, and other great men specially summoned, into which the

Origin of the Commons. ancient Witenagemot had shrunk up, another assembly directly representing all other classes of the nation which enjoyed political rights.

This assembly, chosen by various local bodies, *communitates* or *universitates*, having a quasi corporate being, came gradually to bear the name of the *commons*. The knights of the shire, the barons, citizens, and burgesses of the towns, were severally chosen by the *communa* or *communitas* of that part of the people which they represented. We thus get the two houses of Lords and Commons, of which we have seen foreshadowings getting more and more clear from the days of the Conqueror onwards. But it was only gradually fixed that the members of the national council should sit in two bodies, and not in one or in more than two. The notion of local representation, by which shires and boroughs chose representatives of their own communities, had to some extent to strive with another doctrine, that of the representation of *estates* or classes of men. The thirteenth century was the age when the national assemblies, not only of England but of most other European countries, were putting on their definite shape. And, in most of them, the system of *estates* prevailed. These in most countries were three—clergy, nobles, and commons. By these last were commonly meant only the communities of the chartered towns, while the *noblesse* of foreign countries answered to the lesser barons and knights who in England were reckoned among the commons. The English system thus went far to take in the whole free population, while the estates of other

Doctrine of estates. countries, the commons no less than the clergy and nobles, must be looked on as privileged bodies. In England we had in truth no estates; we had no nobility in the foreign sense. Such a nobility was inconsistent with the institution of peerage, which gradually grew out of the practice of personal summons. The English peerage is strictly official. Two official classes, bishops and earls, have always kept their right of personal summons. With regard to others, both lay barons and churchmen under the rank of the bishops and chief abbots, it is plain that in the early parliaments the king summoned very much whom he would. It was only gradually that the right of summons was held, first to be vested for life in every man who had once been summoned, and afterwards to be hereditary in his descendants. Thus was formed the House of Lords, consisting of certain lay members succeeding by hereditary right, and of certain heads of ecclesiastical foundations. The office of the peer, the office of legislator and judge, passes by hereditary succession in the one case, by ecclesiastical succession in the other. The holder of the hereditary office was gradually clothed with various personal privileges, but his children remained unprivileged members of the general body of the commons. So far as nobility exists at all in England, it is confined to the person of the peer for the time being. But in truth there is in England no nobility, no estate of nobles, in the continental sense of those words.

Nature of the peerage. Yet the continental theory of estates so far worked in the development of our parliamentary system that the "Three Estates of England" became a familiar phrase. It was meant to denote the lords, the commons, and the clergy in their parliamentary character. For it is plain that it was the intention of Edward I. to organize the clergy as a parliamentary estate, alongside of the lords and commons. This scheme failed, mainly through the unwillingness of the clergy themselves to attend in a secular assembly. This left, so far as there were any estates at all, two estates only, lords and commons. This led to the common mistake—a mistake of respectable antiquity—of fancying the three estates to be king, lords, and commons. The ecclesiastical members of the House of Lords kept their seats there; but the parliamentary representation of the clergy as an estate came to nothing. So far as the clergy kept any parliamentary powers, they exercised them in the two provincial convocations. These anomalous assemblies, fluctuating between the character of an ecclesiastical synod and of a parliamentary estate, kept, from Edward I. to Charles II., the parliamentary power of self-taxation. For a long time lords and commons taxed themselves separately. So did the clergy; so sometimes did other bodies. It was only very gradually that the final constitution of parliament was settled. That the barons should sit with the bishops and earls, that the citizens and burgesses should sit with the knights, were points which gradually settled themselves. And more than once things looked as if, besides separate assemblies of the clergy, we might have had also separate assemblies of merchants and of lawyers. The great fact is that, while at the beginning of the thirteenth century the name and the constitution of the national assembly were still unsettled, at the beginning of the fourteenth century we had a regular parliament of Lords and Commons. The chief point which still remained unsettled was the position of the estate of the clergy.

This seems to be the general result of the constitutional growth of the thirteenth century, as traced out by our great constitutional historian. Leaving the minuter details, we may here mark some of the chief steps in the progress. During the reign of Henry III. assemblies were constantly held, and their constitution is often vaguely described. But in a great many cases phrases are used which, however

Popu-
lar ele-
ment.Parlia-
ment of
1265.
Repre-
sentatives
of the
boroughs.Parlia-
ments of
Edward
I.

vague, imply a popular element. We read of knights, of tenants-in-chief, of freemen, sometimes even of freemen and villains, sometimes, more vaguely still, of "universi," "universitas Anglie," and the like. In some cases we are able better to interpret these vague phrases. For instance, in 1224 each shire sends four knights chosen by the "milites et probi homines." Whether these knights were or were not to vote along with the magnates, they were at all events to transact business with them. We must always remember that in these times formal voting in the modern sense is hardly to be looked for. In 1254 we have a distinct case of two knights summoned from each shire by royal writ. In the Oxford parliament of 1258 four knights are ordered to be chosen in each shire, who are to report to another parliament within the same year. At that parliament they seem to appear by the title of "Communitas Bacheloris Anglie." It may be doubted whether this is strictly a case of the knights acting as part of the parliament. Still every instance of the kind must have helped to strengthen the growing doctrine of representation. From this time the attendance of elected knights seems to be fully established, and along with the knights we find in many cases distinct representatives of the clergy. It is in Earl Simon's parliament of 1265 that we first find distinct representatives of the boroughs. Each county sends two knights, each city or borough two citizens or burgesses, and the cinque ports four each. But this same parliament shows how fluctuating the practice of summons still was. The earl, strong among the clergy, strong among the people at large, was much less strong among the great men of the realm. Besides summoning the citizens for the first time, he summoned a crowd of churchmen, regular and secular, greater than appeared in any other parliament. But he summoned only five earls, including himself, those namely whom he could trust. We should call such a body a packed parliament; but for a long time every parliament was a packed parliament. That is to say, some barons, some abbots, were always personally summoned, some towns were always called on to send representatives; but the barons, the abbots, and the represented towns were by no means the same in every parliament. This kind of irregularity is always found till institutions have finally stiffened into some particular shape. Our whole law and constitution rests far more on precedent than on formal enactments, and in unsettled times precedents are slow in establishing themselves.

The parliament of 1265 was the model parliament, the assembly whose pattern, in its essential features, set the standard which was in the end followed, and which has lasted till our own time.¹ But the pattern which it set did not become the invariable rule till the great parliament of 1295. In the earlier parliaments of Edward I. the knights and citizens are often mentioned; but, on the other hand, we meet also with the same vague descriptions as in earlier times. But in 1295 Edward definitely adopted the model which Simon has set him, and the summoning of knights, citizens, and burgesses, though with great irregularity as to

the places from which representatives were summoned, has ever since been the rule. It was thus under Edward I. that parliament finally put on the essentials of its present form. But we must still allow for irregularities in practice. It does not follow that every enactment was always passed with the consent of all the classes of which the parliament was made up. A doctrine had come in that the king was the legislator, that the votes of the parliament, or of any part of it, were petitions which he could accept or reject, or again that he might legislate on a petition from one house or branch of the assembly apart from the others. The national council had now won back its ancient constitution as an assembly of the freemen of the realm, either personally or by representation. But it was only step by step that it won back the full powers of the ancient Witenagemot. There are some indeed which it still shrinks from exercising directly, some which it shrinks from exercising at all.

The reign of Henry III. was a reign of constant parliamentary action, but it was not a time rich in legislation in the strictest sense. The most direct case of change in the law during Henry's reign was the abolition of the ordeal at its beginning. This led incidentally to further changes in judicial procedure, and it is one of the chief landmarks in the development of the jury system. But it is in itself not so much independent legislation as the application to England of a decree of a General Council of the church. In short the parliaments of Henry III. are less famous for changing the law than for refusing to change it. The famous saying "Nolumus leges Anglie mutari" dates from the council of Merton in 1236, when the barons refused to agree to the proposal of the prelates for assimilating the law of England to the civil and canon law in the matter of children born before wedlock. By the former systems of jurisprudence, the subsequent marriage of their parents admitted them to the rights of legitimate birth. But the barons chose to maintain the harsher rule of the common law of England.

But, if the reign of Henry III. was not a time rich in parliamentary legislation, it forms an important stage in the growth of our parliamentary life. The chief work of that reign was that the first steps were taken towards the practical establishment of the doctrine set forth in the omitted clauses of the Great Charter, the doctrine, in modern phrase, that the power of the purse belongs to parliament. In Henry's day England and her parliament had to wage a never-ending strife against her two enemies, king and pope. The main duty of the nation was to withstand the extortions of both alike. The king was always asking for money; the conditions of a grant commonly were that the charters should be again confirmed and be better observed. And gradually another demand arises, that the great officers of state shall be appointed, if not by parliament, at least with the assent of parliament. But demands like these, demands for the removal of aliens and the like, are all demands for the reform of abuses and the execution of the old laws; new laws are never asked for. The Oxford Provisions of 1258 show the ideas of reform which were then entertained; it is not legislation, it is reform of bad administration, even at the cost of transferring the king's authority to other hands, which is asked for. Simon himself, the greatest of constitutional reformers, was not a legislator. His Parliament is famous, not for anything that it did, but for what it was. Nor after Simon's fall do we meet with much legislation strictly so called. The ordinances of Kenilworth and Marlborough are ordinances for the settlement of the kingdom, ordinances for the better observance of the Charter and of the statutes of 1259. They are not legislation in the strictest sense, the enactment of absolutely new laws.

¹ In the great political poem which forms the manifesto of the patriotic party are two lines which have been often quoted:—

"Igitur communitas regni consulatur,

Et quid universitas sentiat, sciatur."

But what follows shows that the duties of a popular assembly were held to be, not to enact new laws, but to declare the old ones, and to procure their better observance:—

"Cui leges proprie maxime sunt nota,
Ne cuncti provinciae sic sunt idiotae,
Quin sciant plus ceteris regni sui mores,
Quos relinquunt posteris hii qui sunt priores.
Qui reguntur legibus magis ipsas sciunt;
Quorum sunt in usibus plus peritis fiant,
Et quia res agitur sua, plus curabunt,
Et quo pax adquiritur sibi procurabunt."

Legisla-
tion of
Edward
I.

Confir-
matio
Carta-
rum.

Parlia-
mentary
power of
taxation.

Use of
French
in public
acts.

On the other hand, the reign of Edward I., like the reign of Henry II., is emphatically a time of legislation strictly so called, as well as of constitutional progress. At no time were so many memorable statutes passed. Edward's first great act, the first Statute of Westminster, in 1275, has been described as "almost a code by itself." But it was followed almost yearly by enactment upon enactment. The statute *de religiosis* in 1279 forbade the alienation of lands in mortmain without the consent of the superior lord. Ten years later, after a mass of legislation in intermediate years, came the statute *quia emptores*, which forbade subinfeudation. The holder of land could no longer grant it to be held of himself; he could alienate it only so as to be held of the higher lord by the tenure by which he held it himself. Other statutes regulated the local administration, the range of the ecclesiastical courts, almost every detail of English law. At last, in 1297, the famous *Confirmatio Cartarum* was wrung from the king; the power of arbitrary taxation was surrendered; no tax is any longer to be levied by the king without parliamentary sanction. That is to say, those clauses of the Great Charter which were left out in the confirmations under Henry III. were now restored and put in force. As in all other things in these ages, we must allow for what seems to us amazing irregularity of practice. It does not follow that, because a certain course was ordained by law, therefore the law was always carried out. But the principle was established, and it could always be appealed to in case of any breach of the law. By the end of Edward's reign, a national assembly, composed of much the same elements of which it is composed still, was acknowledged to possess what is practically the greatest of parliamentary powers.

The extreme legislative activity of this reign is one of many signs that the immediate effects of the Norman Conquest had now quite passed away. A thoroughly united nation, which had forgotten the foreign origin of certain classes of the nation, could bear to have new laws enacted, to have old institutions put into new forms. But the particular form which the great constitutional triumph of this reign took looks both forward and backward. It looks forward, as showing that we have reached what is really modern history. The parliamentary power of the purse is the ruling principle of all later constitutional struggles. But it also looks backward. An ancient Witenagemot possessed the power of the purse, like all other powers. But in those days the power of the purse was a power of secondary importance. In early times taxation never holds the same prominent place in politics which it does afterwards. But the rule of a series of kings in whose eyes kingship was rather a possession than an office, in whose eyes the kingdom was an estate out of which they had to squeeze the greatest possible income, had made it the most needful thing of all to check the king's power of taking his subjects' money. From this time each parliamentary struggle takes the form of a bargain. The king will redress such and such a grievance, if he receives such and such a grant. By constantly pressing this new power, parliament, and above all that house of parliament in which the power of the purse came to be specially lodged, has gradually won back the powers of the older assemblies. It no longer in form makes war and peace, or elects and deposes kings. It does not even in form elect or depose their ministers. But the body which can grant or refuse the means of carrying on the machinery of government has gradually come to have, in an indirect way, the powers of government once more in its own hands.

Another sign that the remembrance of old wrongs and old distinctions of race had passed away is supplied by a feature of these times which at first sight might seem to prove the contrary. The reigns of the first two Edwards

are exactly the time when the French language was most universally in use as the language of public acts. From this time the laws of England begin to be written in French. The truth is that the predominance of French at this period is no direct tradition of the days of the Norman Conquest. It is simply a sign of the fashion which made French to be looked on as the most polite, as it certainly was the most widely spoken, of Western languages. It was merely a fashion; Edward and his nobles knew and spoke English thoroughly well.¹ But the fact that such a fashion could take root showed that the use of the French language had ceased to call up any memories of the conquest of England by men whose tongue was French. If the use of French called forth any hostile feelings on the part of Englishmen, it was now, not as the speech of a forgotten conquest in their own land, but as the speech of a rival nation beyond the sea. And when French had come to be used simply as a matter of fashion, its supremacy was doomed; in the course of the fourteenth century, English, modified as it was by the indirect effects of the Conquest, gradually won back its old place as the dominant speech of England.

This age, so great in our political history, is of equal patriotic importance in the intellectual and religious development of church-men. It was an age when difference as to theological dogmas was still unknown in England, but when a strong national opposition was growing to the exactions and oppressions of the see of Rome. In the thirteenth century there is no sign of any revolt against the national Church; the nation and the national Church are one in opposition to the foreign enemy. The most remarkable feature of the reign of Henry III. is the union of all classes, barons, clergy, and commons, in the common struggle against pope and king. The series of patriot prelates which begins with Stephen Langton is carried on in Archbishop Edmund the saint—in Robert Grosseteste, saint, scholar, and philosopher—in Walter of Cantelupe, a statesman of a Norman baronial house. The first signs of any jealousy felt towards the national clergy do not begin till the great national strife is over, and till some at least of the English prelates had given in to the new-fangled teaching at Rome. When, at the papal bidding, the English clergy refused for a moment to contribute to the needs of the English state, the great Edward found the means to put them beyond the pale of English law.

The intellectual activity of the thirteenth century, the great creative and destructive century throughout all Europe and civilized Asia, was not small in England. It was the age of the friars. As in the twelfth century the Cistercians had appeared as a reform on the Benedictines, friars so now the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the other mendicant orders, began a far more thorough reform of the monastic system. The Cistercians in their wildernesses might practise an ascetic discipline for the good of their own souls; but they did little for other men. The rest of the nation knew them chiefly as diligent growers of wool. But the friars, carrying the vow of poverty to the extremest point, rejecting corporate as well as personal property, fixed themselves by choice in the most squalid quarters of the towns. They were confessors and preachers; presently

¹ When Walter of Hemingburgh (i. 337) records that Edward I. spoke to the Turkish ambassadors in English, it must not be taken, as it has sometimes been misunderstood, as if it meant that Edward's speaking of English was something exceptional. It would have had this meaning, if Edward had been speaking to an Englishman of low degree who was not likely to understand French. But when Edward speaks English to Turks, and has his words interpreted to them by some one who could translate from English into Turkish or Arabic, it shows how familiarly English was spoken by Edward himself and by those about him. So again, in the famous dialogue between Edward and Roger earl of Norfolk, the play on the earl's name *Bipod*, which is found both there and elsewhere, has no force in any language but English.

**Colleges
in the
univer-
sities.**

they became scholars also, and they had a large share in the increased intellectual activity of the universities. Oxford and Cambridge were now established seats of learning, thronged by crowds of masters and scholars. Up to this time masters and scholars had lived where they could and how they could. In the course of the thirteenth century colleges began to be founded. That is, by the bounty of some founder, societies of masters and scholars were brought together as corporate bodies, holding a house for their dwelling-place, and lands or other revenues for their maintenance. The first beginnings of this system were seen in Merton College in Oxford and Peterhouse in Cambridge. The growth of these colleges, which in the end came in a manner to swallow up the universities, is the most distinguishing feature of the English universities, as distinguished from those of other lands. But, though the foundation of the colleges and the influence of the friars in the universities were both fruits of the same movement, it must be remembered that they were wholly distinct fruits. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were not monastic foundations, except in a few cases where a great monastery established a college in one of the universities for the education of its own younger members. Otherwise the colleges were strictly secular, and religious vows carried with them a forfeiture of membership. The colleges lived on ; the intellectual as well as the religious life of the friars was short. They presently fell away from their first love, and became yet more corrupt than the older orders which held a higher temporal position. But, while the first life of the friars lasted, it was brilliant indeed. They were encouraged by Robert Grosseteste ; the friar Adam Marsh was the chosen adviser of Earl Simon. The friar Roger Bacon was the wonder of his own day, a master of knowledge beyond his day, and one who paid the penalty of thus outstripping his fellows.

Suppres- sion of the Tem- plars.

The thirteenth century saw the growth of a new kind of monastic order in the form of the friars. The early part of the fourteenth century saw the fall of one of the great military orders which had arisen in the enthusiasm of the crusades. The Templars, the victims of Philip the Fair and his puppet Pope Clement V., were suppressed in England as elsewhere; but it is something that, even in so bad a time as the reign of Edward II., England had no share in the torturings and murderings which marked the suppression of the order in France. The property of the Templars was for the most part granted to the rival military order of St John, which kept it till the general dissolution of monasteries.

**Histo-
rians of
St Al-
bans.**

he cannot be classed on this score either with William of Malmesbury or with William of Newburgh. But he stands at the head of all our annalists as a vigorous, outspoken, narrator of contemporary history, not only in England but in the world in general. He is a bold champion of the popular side, a representative of the English Church and nation against pope and king alike. But it should be noted that all the monastic annalists take the popular side, with the single exception of Thomas Wykes of Oseney, the one royalist chronicler of his day. The civil wars called forth a mass of literature in all three languages. The praises of Earl Simon are sung in French and in Latin ; and the English tongue now comes forth with a new mission, as the vehicle, sometimes of satire, sometimes of panegyric upon the great ones of the earth. The Englishman's right of grumbling

is immemorial, and from the thirteenth century onwards his grumbling has very commonly taken the shape of out-spoken rhymes in his own tongue. But, in an historical and political point of view, the most important work of the time of the civil war is the great political poem in Latin rhyme which sets forth the platform of Earl Simon and the patriots. A clearer and more vigorous assertion of popular principles has never been put forth in any age. English had hardly yet reached the dignity of being employed in such a document as this ; but the native literature was advancing during the whole of the thirteenth century. Besides devotional works in prose and verse, it was used English in long continued poems on various subjects early in the writings. century. The Ormulum of Ormin is religious ; the Brut of Lazamon is legendary. It shows how the tales of Arthur had, even in the minds of Englishmen writing in the English tongue, supplanted the history of their own people. Towards the end of the century our language was put to a better use, in the form of rhyming chronicles, such as those of Robert of Gloucester and the English version of Peter of Langtoft. For a successor to the Peterborough Chronicler, for an English history in English prose, we have still a long time to wait.

In the department of art, the pointed arch, with the appropriate details appropriate to that form, was now thoroughly established. In the time of Edward I. the long narrow window of the earlier part of the century began to be exchanged for the large window with tracery, different forms of which lasted as long as mediæval architecture lasted at all. But alongside of development in this way, the sculpture of the early part of the century gradually gave way, even early in the fourteenth century, to flatter and less bold forms. In ecclesiastical architecture a new type of church, long, narrow, and simple, quite unlike the picturesque outlines of the older minsters, came in with the friars. Houses began to be larger and more elaborate in plan ; but the great change was in military architecture. The massive donjons and shell-keeps of the Norman type grew under the Edwards into castles of vast size and complicated arrangement, planned with great skill according to the military needs of the time. The castle of Caernarvon, begun by the first and continued by the second Edward, shows what is called the Edwardian type of castle in its highest perfection.

By this time the art of warfare in England had seem- Warfare.
ingly changed altogether from what it had been before the Normans came. And yet the change was after all more seeming than real. In the Scottish wars the English array of cavalry and archers, matched against the Scottish spearmen, seemed to show that the English had altogether adopted the tactics of their Norman conquerors. And so, as regards the weapons in use, they had. But an English army still kept its ancient character of having a national infantry as its main strength. It was the preservation of England as a military power that this was the case. We are now coming to the days of chivalry, the days of brutal contempt Chivalry. for all classes of mankind outside the favoured pale, the days which, in warfare, went far to put mad personal enterprise instead of rational military calculation. England was not wholly untouched by these follies; but she was far less deeply touched by them than their native land of France. The difference showed itself when the two nations were matched English together in a long and deadly struggle. The French were and French in the end successful in war, because England had undertaken a task beyond her powers or the powers of any other armies. nation, the task of subduing and holding a country greater than herself. But the English were invariably successful, even with much smaller numbers, in all the great battles. The cause lay in the different constitution of their armies; and the difference in the constitution of their armies lay

deep in the difference of the political condition of the two countries. In France political privilege was the exclusive possession of the *noblesse* and the chartered towns. In England freedom was the birthright of all above the villain, and even the villain had many ways of reaching freedom open to him. France therefore had a gallant cavalry in her *noblesse*; for infantry she had either foreign mercenaries or an unwarlike rabble. In an English army the infantry, furnished by the mass of the freemen, formed its main strength, and, more than any other arm, won the great battles. In the course of the fourteenth century, the chivalrous type of warfare received a series of deadly blows dealt by a trained infantry of burghers or yeomen. The Flemings at Courtrai, the men of the Three Lands at Morgarten, the men of the more extended League at Sempach, the Scots at Bannockburn, the English at Crecy, are all instances of the same law. Edward III., pre-eminently the chivalrous king, helped to give chivalry its death-stroke.

The French wars.

Character of Edward III.

Causes of the war.

Edward's claim to the French crown.

Heredity succession in France.

Of his reign the most prominent feature was the war with France in which that death-stroke was dealt. It is a war which may be looked at from two sides. On the part of the king himself, it was less the warfare of an English king than the warfare of a French prince seeking the French crown. On the part of the English nation it was distinctly a national war. The French influence on England, as distinguished from the earlier Norman element in England, the influence which had been going on ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century, reached its height in Edward the son of the Frenchwoman Isabel. The follies of chivalry, follies so conspicuously French as distinguished from either English or Norman, were now in all their glory. We have reached the days of Froissart, chronicler of knights and ladies. We instinctively feel that Edward III. is less of an Englishman than Edward I. But the nation is purely English. If anything was needed to wipe out the last feeble memory of old distinctions, it was the warfare which Englishmen waged in what was now the French province of Normandy. But, in common justice both to Edward and to his people, it must not be forgotten that, though the French war was in form a war waged to win the crown of France for an English king, it was a war which neither king nor people could well have avoided. Edward was goaded into the war by the ceaseless attempts which the French king made on his duchy of Aquitaine, and by the help which the French king gave to the Scottish enemies of England.

In 1328 the French throne became vacant by the death of Charles IV., the youngest son and last male descendant of Philip the Fair. Edward claimed the crown in right of his mother, the sister of the deceased king. The claim found no support in France, and the crown passed to Philip of Valois, the first cousin of Charles, and the next in succession to the male line. By this decision, just as by the decision of the dispute for the crown of Scotland, a principle was settled, a principle which ever after made the French law of succession different from that of England, Scotland, and Spain. During the 341 years which had passed since the election of Hugh Capet, every king of the French had been succeeded by his own son, and in several cases the succession had been made yet more certain by the coronation of the son in the lifetime of his father. It thus came about that both the notion of hereditary succession as opposed to election, and the notion of direct male succession as opposed to any other rule of succession, had, by this time, taken firmer root in France than in any other kingdom in Europe. The result of a genealogical accident was therefore supposed to spring from an ancient law of the kingdom. As a new jurisprudence had been called up out

of the romances of Charlemagne to insure the forfeiture of The sup-John, so a new rule of succession was called up out of the posed ancient Frankish codes to bar the claim of Edward. We Salic law. now hear for the first time of the imaginary Salic law, which was held to shut out females from the succession to the French crown. According to modern English law, neither Edward nor Philip was the heir; there were females nearer to the crown than either of them. But Edward's doctrine was that, though a female could not herself inherit, yet her son could inherit through her. He claimed as the male person nearest of kin to the late king. Philip claimed in the simpler character of the next in the male line, passing by females altogether. The question was new; but, as the French crown had never passed either to or through a female, the claim of Philip naturally seemed more in accordance Succession of Philip.

When Edward's claim to the French crown was rejected, he did homage (1329) to his rival for his Gascon duchy, though with some reservations which might keep controversy alive. Matters were hastened by a new Scottish war. The English lords who had held and lost estates in Scotland were, by the treaty of Northampton, to receive them again. This article had not been carried out, and in 1332 the disinherited lords made an attempt on Scotland under Edward Balliol, son of the former king John. Once by their own forces, and a second time by English help, they succeeded in placing their candidate on the Scottish throne. He rewarded his allies by ceding southern Scotland to England, and renewing the old dependent relation for the rest of the kingdom. The state of war between England and Scotland thus began again, and with far less show of reason on the English side than there had been in the days of Edward I. But the Scottish war led to consequences still more important than itself. Philip, ever on the watch for opportunities against Aquitaine, gave help to the Scots (1337), as his predecessor had done in the earlier war. It appears that Edward now for the first time called himself King of France, though the regular use of the title did not begin till three years later. As in former wars with France, Edward formed alliances with the Flemish cities and with the emperor Lewis; and it was to satisfy the scruples of the Flemings, whose land was a French fief, that he finally took the title of King of France.¹ Then followed the first part of the War of The Hundred Years, a struggle of twenty years, broken once or twice by truces. This stage is famous for the naval victory of Sluys in 1340, for the more famous land fights of Crecy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356, and for the capture of Calais in 1347. The captivity of King John of France at Poitiers led to negotiations, and this first stage of the war ended with the peace of Bretigny in 1360. By its terms Edward renounced all claim to the French crown and gave up his French title. On the other hand, all his possessions on the continent, both his hereditary dominions and his recent conquests, Aquitaine, Ponthieu, and Calais, were released from all homage to the French crown. Calais may be said to have been incorporated with England, and it was afterwards

¹ The usual Latin title of the French kings had always been national and not territorial: "Rex Francorum," not "Rex Francie." But, as the territorial style was now fully established in England, Edward called himself "Rex Francie et Angliae." The territorial style was finally adopted by the French kings when the French crown passed to a king of Navarre. The style then became "Rex Francie et Navarre," till the ancient title was revived in 1791.

represented in the English parliament. Aquitaine, now become independent of France, as Scotland had become independent of England, was granted by Edward to his famous son Edward the Black Prince, who kept his court at Bourdeaux, now the capital of a sovereign state.

The long alliance between France and Scotland against England had now fairly set in, and the Scottish war went on alongside of the French war. In 1346 the king of Scots, David Bruce, invaded England and was taken prisoner, as John of France was ten years later. In the same year as this last event Edward Balliol surrendered his claim to Edward of England, who presently invaded Scotland in the new character of its immediate sovereign. In 1357 David was released, and was described in the treaty as King of Scotland. In later documents however the title was not given either to him or to his successor Robert, the first of the Stewart kings. A desultory and occasional warfare long went on, and the claims of the English kings, either to the old superiority or, by the cession of Edward Balliol, to the Scottish crown itself, are ever and anon put forward. England had now, in the form of Scotland and France, a standing enemy on each side.

The peace of Bretigny was not long kept. The English rule in Aquitaine was, speaking generally, acceptable to the cities; but the French connexion was more to the taste of the nobles. The prince of Aquitaine presently embroiled himself in the affairs of Spain, supporting Pedro the Cruel of Castile against his brother Henry. In 1367 he won the splendid but useless victory of Navarete or Najara; but the cost of the expedition led to injudicious taxation in Aquitaine. Though the principality no longer owed homage to the French crown, those who deemed themselves aggrieved appealed to the French king as superior lord. Charles V., who had succeeded John in 1364, accepted the appeal, and summoned the prince of Aquitaine to his court. A new war began, which, often carried on with much languor, often interrupted by truces, but not ended by any formal peace, lasted till the treaty of Troyes in 1420. The peace was clearly broken by the French, and Edward again took up the title of King of France. But fortune now distinctly turned to the French side. The most striking event of the war was the recovery and massacre of Limoges by the prince of Aquitaine in 1370. The prince now came to England to end his days more worthily as a patriotic statesman. The war went on, till in 1374 all was lost save Calais, the great southern cities of Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and a few other points in the south. The last few years of Edward's reign were a time of truce.

The change from the reign of Edward III. to that of Richard II. is in some points like the change from the reign of Edward I. to that of Edward II. The leading events again touch the internal rather than the external history. The internal history of the reign of Edward III. is of the highest importance. But it is of an importance wholly constitutional and social. It is not marked on the surface by any striking internal events. In the reign of Richard we have over again the same kind of internal events which mark the reign of Edward II., but with the addition of a great social struggle to which we have seen no parallel in earlier times. But, if there is much in common in the two reigns, there is a marked difference between the two men. Richard, if foolish and extravagant, was not weak; he had distinct political aims; he seems to have seriously designed the establishment of a despotic power in the crown. His accession marks another stage in the growth of the doctrine of hereditary succession. Richard, the minor son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather without opposition, without any public mention of any claims on the part of his uncles, the surviving sons of

the late king. In fact the dissatisfaction which was shown at a vague rumour that the young king's eldest uncle John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, had designs on the crown, shows how men's ideas on such matters had changed, not only since the days of Alfred, but even since the days of John. In the reign which thus began foreign affairs become quite secondary. The wars both with France and Scotland go on, but they go on for the most part languidly; occasional raids alternate with truces. But the very beginning of Richard's reign saw an actual French invasion of England, in which the Isle of Wight was ravaged and Hastings burned. The French war was ended, as far as this reign is concerned, by Richard's second marriage with Isabel of France in 1396, which was accompanied by a truce for twenty-five years.

The first marked internal event of Richard's reign was the result of political, social, and religious causes which had been busily at work during the reign of Edward. The immediate occasion of the famous outbreak of Richard's time was a poll-tax which was laid on by parliament in 1380. The peasant revolt of the next year followed. The spirit shown by the young king in the famous story of the death of Wat Tyler has often been dwelt on, as if it were something exceptional. But Richard did not lack spirit at any time; and at this time his spirit was chiefly shown in making promises which were not, and could not be, carried out. The revolt was put down, and the rest of the internal history of the reign consists of disputes, not so much between the king and the people or the barons in general as among his uncles, his favourites, and his ministers. One of Richard's favourites, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, deserves notice, less on his own account than as one who, sprung from a merchant family at Kingston-on-Hull, rose to the height of power. Though he himself fell from power and died in obscurity, yet he was in the end the founder of a ducal house. We thus see that the contempt for trade which had lately come in among the other follies of chivalry was, after all, not very deep set. Richard's other chief favourite was Robert Vere, of the house of the earls of Oxford, whom he raised to the rank of marquess of Dublin, and at last to that of duke of Ireland. The year 1386 saw the fall of the favourites; and the impeachment of the earl of Suffolk by the Commons Impeachment marks a constitutional stage. This time the accused escaped with a slight punishment; but, as in the times of Henry III. and Edward II., the royal authority was transferred to a council under the duke of Gloucester. The next year the king attempted a revolution; but a new impeachment followed, on which both the favourites were condemned to death as traitors in a parliament known as the Wonderful and the Merciless; but they escaped beyond sea. In 1389 the king, by a sudden stroke, won back his power. For a while his rule was constitutional and seemingly not unpopular; but he gradually aimed at despotism. In 1397 he procured the overthrow of his uncle the duke of Gloucester and the chief of the nobles of his party, contriving that all that was done openly should be under legal forms. Duke Thomas died in a mysterious way. His chief adherent, the earl of Arundel, was beheaded. In the next year, on occasion of a judicial combat between Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and the king's cousin Henry, duke of Hereford, the son of John of Gaunt, the king arbitrarily banished both disputants, but promised them the possession of their estates. But in breach of this promise, when John of Gaunt died in 1399, Richard seized on the inheritance of his son. He then chose this very inopportune moment to go personally to settle the disturbances of Ireland. During his absence Henry came back; Richard's Richard, on his return, found himself generally forsaken, deposition, and he was presently deposed by parliament. The election

Claim of Henry IV. of Henry in his place was perfectly regular according to ancient precedent. But two things again mark the growth of the new ideas. Not only, as in the case of Edward II., was the deposed king made to resign, but Henry himself, in claiming the crown, did not rely solely on his perfectly good parliamentary title, but mixed up with it a vague claim by hereditary right. He was "descended by right line of blood coming from the good lord King Henry III." This phrase makes it needful to explain a little more fully the state of the royal succession, which becomes of such importance in the next period.

Growth of the hereditary doctrine. Richard himself had, as we have seen, succeeded without opposition, according to the doctrine of representation, though in earlier times the choice of parliament would have rather fallen on one of his uncles. The new ideas were carried yet further when, under Richard, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was declared presumptive heir to the throne. The doctrines both of representation and of female succession were here implied, as Roger was through his mother grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son¹ of Edward III. In earlier times, whatever might have been thought of Richard's own claim, such a claim as this of Roger would have seemed ridiculous while three sons of Edward, the dukes John of Lancaster, Edmund of York, and Thomas of Gloucester, were all living. And in fact the claim of Roger was not put forward at the deposition of Richard and election of Henry; but it was not forgotten, and later events again gave it importance. Henry's own challenge by descent from Henry III. was shrouded in purposed vagueness. He is commonly thought to have referred to a claim of his own yet more strange than the claim of Earl Roger. He was, through his mother, the direct representative of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III., who, according to an absurd rumour, was really his eldest son. Such a claim could hardly be put forward publicly; and Henry's vague words might be taken as meaning only that he was the next to the crown in male succession. But that any claim of the kind should have been thought of, when Henry had a perfectly good right by parliamentary election, shows how the ancient right of the nation freely to choose its sovereign, at all events from among the members of the royal house, was gradually dying out of men's minds.

Reign of Henry IV. The short and troubled reign of Henry IV. has commonly led to forgetfulness of his earlier fame as a gallant and popular prince, a pilgrim to Jerusalem, a crusader in Africa and Prussia. The fourteen years of his reign are almost wholly filled with plots, civil wars, and the endless warfare in Scotland and France. Now again Wales becomes of importance, through the union of a Welsh pretender with the discontented party in England. In the early insurrections, as in that of 1400, the name of the late king Richard was used. The fate of the deposed king was never certainly known; but there seems no just ground for doubting that he either died or was murdered soon after this first revolt. That a pretended Richard appeared, that he was made use of by Henry's French and Scottish enemies, was simply what commonly happens in such cases. The revolt of 1400 was hardly suppressed when it was followed by the more dangerous revolt of Owen Glyndwr, who restored for a while the old independence of North Wales, and acted in concert with the French, the Scots, and the English rebels. In fact, down to his death in 1415, he was never fully subdued. His English allies, the Percies and Mortimers, were defeated at Shrewsbury in 1403; and other plots and revolts, in all of which the house of Percy had a hand, were crushed in 1405 and 1408. At the time of Henry's death,

in 1413, there was a truce with Scotland; but the war in France, which had gone on during the whole of his reign, was being waged with a greater vigour than usual.

In 1406 the crown was settled by parliament on Henry State of France. and his sons; and on his death his eldest son Henry succeeded without opposition. A new era in the French war at once began. France, under its weak or rather mad king Charles VI., was torn in pieces by the factions of Orleans and Burgundy. Henry IV. had, in the latter years of his reign, employed the policy of playing off one party against the other, and had given help to each in turn. The war, which had gone on, though mostly in a desultory way, ever since the return of the Black Prince to England in 1370, now began again in earnest under a king who was one of the greatest of warriors and statesmen. The character of Henry's enterprise is often misunderstood. It is said that, whatever claim Edward III. might have had to the crown of France, Henry V. could have none. It is said that, according to Edward III.'s doctrine, by which the right to the crown might pass through females to their male representatives, the rights of Edward III. had passed to Roger of March. So, as a matter of genealogy, they certainly had; and, as a matter of genealogy, there was doubtless an inconsistency in the use of the French title by Henry IV. and Henry V. But the true way of looking at the matter is that both the peace of Bretigny and the truce made in the latter years of Richard II. had been broken by the French, that the war was going on at Henry's accession, that it was just then being more vigorously pressed than it had been for some time, and that all that Henry V. did was to throw the whole national power, guided by his own genius, into its vigorous prosecution. At his accession, his only continental possessions were Calais and its small territory, and a small part of Aquitaine, including Bourdeaux and Bayonne. In Henry's policy, Southern Gaul, which had been so nearly lost, becomes secondary. He puts forward the treaty of Bretigny, as he also puts forward his claim to the French crown; but his real object seems to have been the conquest of as large a continental territory as possible, but in any case the conquest of Normandy. At this distance of time, we see that such a scheme was neither just nor politic. His own age did not condemn it on either ground. He was checked for a moment, first by a Lollard revolt, then by a conspiracy on behalf either of Richard or of the earl of March. But in 1415 he was able to begin his great enterprise. A negotiation, in which Henry claimed, first the crown of France, then the whole continental possessions of the Angevin kings, and lastly the territory ceded at Bretigny, naturally failed. He then crossed the sea in 1415, took Harfleur, and won the battle of Agincourt. His conquests. The three next years saw his alliance with Duke John of Burgundy, and completed the conquest of Normandy. In 1419 the murder of Duke John by the partisans of the dauphin Charles drove Philip, the new duke of Burgundy, and the whole Burgundian party, altogether to the English side. Paris itself received Henry. Next year (1420), by the treaty of Troyes, Henry gave up his title of King of France. Charles VI. was to keep the French crown for life; Henry was to marry his daughter Katharine, to be declared his heir, and to be meanwhile regent of the kingdom. But the party of the disinherited dauphin still held out, and the war went on in the centre of France, while the rule of Henry was established in the north and south. On August 31, 1422, Henry V. died, revealing the true object of his policy by his last injunction that in no case should peace be made, unless Normandy was ceded to England in full sovereignty. The infant son of Henry and Henry VI. Katharine, Henry VI., succeeded to the kingdom of England successor's and the heirship of France. Two months later, by the death of his grandfather the French king, he succeeded, doma-

¹ Lionel was strictly the third son of Edward III.; but he was the second of those who left descendants. As all the three elder sons of Edward died before their father, John of Gaunt was the eldest surviving son of Edward at his father's death.

according to the provisions of the treaty, to the crown of France. His two kingdoms were intrusted to the regency of his two paternal uncles, England to Humfrey duke of Gloucester, and France to John, the great duke of Bedford. The babe was king at Rouen and Paris, and either king or sovereign lord at Bourdeaux;¹ but in the intermediate land he had a rival in a third uncle, his mother's brother, Charles VII.

Reign of Henry VI.

A time of thirty years follows, in which the English were gradually driven out of France and Aquitaine, till nothing was left of the old heritage except the Norman islands, and nothing was left of the new conquests except Calais and its small territory. Even after Henry was dead, the great regent was far stronger than the French claimant; but several causes, one after the other, joined to break the English power on the continent. The mainstay of England was the Burgundian alliance. This was first put in jeopardy by the marriage of Duke Humfrey, the regent of England, with Jacqueline, countess of Holland and Hainault, and his attempt to get possession of her dominions. Then, in 1429, came the wonderful career of the Maid, Joan of Arc. She raised the siege of Orleans; she led Charles to be crowned at Rheims, a ceremony which gave him a certain advantage over his uncrowned rival. Her intervention turned the tide for a while on the French side; but Charles seemed quite unable to press his advantage, and he did absolutely nothing for the deliverance of the Maid when in 1430 she was taken prisoner, and was the next year burned as a heretic and sorceress. Meanwhile Henry was crowned in England in 1429 and in Paris in 1431. In the next year the death of the duchess of Bedford, sister of the duke of Burgundy, broke the tie between her husband and her brother. At last, in 1435, at the peace of Arras, Philip altogether forsook the English alliance. Almost at the same moment the duke of Bedford died, and

Looses in France from this time the English power in France gradually fell back.

Paris was lost in 1436. Presently comes a time of truces and negotiations; and in 1445, on the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, Maine and Anjou were surrendered. In 1449 Rouen was lost, and the second French conquest of Normandy was completed in the next year. In 1451 the French conquered all that was left to England in the south, Bourdeaux being the last town to hold out. But here the tide once more changed for a moment. The Aquitanian cities found that they had gained nothing by their transfer to the nearer instead of the more distant master. In 1453 John Talbot, the great earl of Shrewsbury, came with an English force, and was welcomed as a deliverer. He was slain at Castillon in July;

Bourdeaux was again taken by the French in October, and the tie of three hundred years which united England and Aquitaine was broken for ever. Less striking in the history of the world, the French conquest of Aquitaine is, in the history of Western Europe, almost as marked an epoch as the Turkish conquest of Constantinople which happened nearly at the same moment. Two great questions were decided by it. The Norman Conquest first made England a continental power; the succession of the Angevins greatly increased her continental position. That position now wholly passed away. England is now again shut up within her own four seas. From this time she constantly takes a part in continental affairs; but she holds no continental possessions save such outlying posts as Calais, Boulogne, Dunkirk, or Gibraltar. Calais she kept for another century, partly no doubt because the

New relations between England and France.

¹ After the peace of Bretigny, Edward III. changed his style of Duke of Aquitaine to Lord. He was "Dominus Hibernie et Aquitaniae." When he again took up the title of King of France, it might have been doubted whether Aquitaine remained a distinct sovereign lordship or was merged in the kingdom.

cessions made by France to Burgundy at Arras cut off Calais from the French territory, and made Burgundy the one continental neighbour of England. Again, the French conquest of Aquitaine is no less an epoch in the history of conquest France itself. It completed the formation of France in the modern sense. Ever since the twelfth century, the French kings had been striving after dominion south of the Loire, that is, after the union of Southern with Northern Gaul. They gained their point for a moment by the marriage of Lewis and Eleanor. They gained it again for a moment by the surrender of Aquitaine to Philip the Fair. They now gained it for ever. The whole relations between England and France were now changed. There were to be many later wars between the two kingdoms, and for a while the old claims of England were always remembered and were now and then asserted. But any serious hope of an English conquest of France, or even of an English conquest of Normandy or Aquitaine, passed away when Bourdeaux opened its gates to the French in 1453. From that day the modern relations between England and France begin.

The period of the Hundred Years' War was the time in which what we may call the growth of England came to an end. The nation in its later shape was fully formed at the end of the thirteenth century. The great lines of its later law and constitution have been already drawn. During the following period law and constitution have to take their perfect shape at home, and the nation, now fully formed, has to take its final position among the powers of Europe. During this time England and the English people became essentially all that they have been ever since. The changes in later times have been great and important; but they have been changes of detail. In the thirteenth century it was still by no means clear what was to be the final shape of English institutions, what was to be the final position of the English people at home and abroad. In the fifteenth century all this had been fixed. The constitution, the laws, the language, the national character, of Englishmen had all taken a shape from which in their main points they were never again to change. The island realm, with the character of islanders impressed upon its people, with its political constitution and its social state differing from that of any other European nation, was by the end of this period fully formed. When we have reached the end of this period, we know what England is. The personal character of the nation is now fixed. Up to this time the history of the nation has been the record of its growth; our study has had somewhat of a physical character. From this time our study is rather biographical; our history ceases to be the record of the growth of a nation; it becomes the record of the acts of a nation after it has taken its final shape.

In a specially constitutional aspect, the reign of Edward III., the central time of the period with which we are dealing, is hardly less important than the reign of Edward I. But its importance is of a different kind. The earlier reign fixed the constitution of parliament; it decreed that in an English parliament certain elements should always be present. It laid down as a matter of broad principle what the essential powers of parliament were. In the later reign, the essential elements of parliament finally arrange themselves in their several places and relations to one another. The powers, rights, and privileges of each element in the state, and the exact manner of exercising them, were now fixed and defined. The Commons are now fully established as an essential element in parliament. It is further established that prelates, earls, and barons are to form one body, that knights, citizens, and burgesses are to form another. That is to say, as the attempt to make the clergy act as a

Relations parliamentary estate came to nothing, parliament now definitely took its modern form of an assembly of two houses, Lords and Commons. A statute of Edward II. in 1322 distinctly asserted the right of the Commons to a share in all acts which touched the general welfare of the kingdom. But a distinction was for a long time drawn between the older and the newer element in the assembly. For a long time the doctrine was that the Commons petitioned, and that their petitions were granted by the king with the assent of the Lords. This position of the Commons

Petitioning power of the Commons. as a petitioning body is of the deepest importance, and looks both forwards and backwards. Looking backwards, it was an almost necessary result of the way in which parliament had grown up. The Lords were, and the Com-

mons were not, representatives by direct succession of the ancient sovereign assemblies of the land. It was for them by immemorial right to advise the king and to consent to his acts. The Commons had been called into being alongside of them; they had no such traditional powers; they could win them only step by step. Looking forwards, the position of the Commons as a petitioning body was a source of immediate weakness and of final strength. For a while they simply petitioned; not only might their petitions be refused, but, if they were granted, they had no control over the shape in which they were granted. If the king granted a petition which involved any change in the law, it was by royal officers that the petition was put into the form of a statute after the representatives of the Commons had gone back to their homes. Such a practice gave opportunity for many tricks. It was a frequent subject of complaint that the petitions which were said to be granted, and the statutes which were enacted in answer to them, were something quite different from what the Commons had really asked for. This evil was first seriously checked in the reign of Henry VI., when the practice was established which still prevails, that of bringing in, instead of a mere petition, a bill drawn in the form which the proposed statute was intended to take. Again, as long as the Commons were mere petitioners at whose request a law was enacted, it might be held that the king was equally able to enact at the request of some other petitioning body. Thus we still find statutes sometimes enacted, without the petition of the Commons, sometimes, for instance, at the petition of the clergy. So again, this same position of the Commons as a petitioning body led to one distinction between them and the Lords which has gone on to our own times. In one chief function of the ancient assemblies the Commons never obtained a direct share. Parliament, like those ancient assemblies, has always been the highest court of justice. But its strictly judicial powers have always been exercised by the Lords only. The Commons, by virtue of their petitioning power, have become denouncers and accusers; but they have never become judges. By virtue of their petitioning power, they began, as early as the reign of

Judicial powers of parliament. Edward III., to denounce the ministers of the king, and to demand their dismissal. In the Good Parliament of 1376, and again in the parliament of Richard ten years later, this power grows into a regular impeachment of the offenders, which is brought by the Commons as accusers before the Lords as judges. Whenever the Commons have taken part in action which was practically judicial, it has always been under some other form. They have exercised a somewhat arbitrary and anomalous authority in defence of their own privileges. They have passed bills of attainder and bills of pains and penalties; but these take the form of legislative acts. Strictly judicial functions like those of the Lords they have never claimed.

Position of the Lords. One effect of the growth of the Commons was to give a more definite position to the Lords. As long as there was only one body, and that a fluctuating body, membership

of the assembly could not be looked on as conferring any definite *status*. None but the bishops and earls had any undoubted personal claim. Some abbots, some barons, were always summoned; but for a long time they were not always the same abbots or the same barons, and the memory of the old right of attendance on the part of the whole free population had not altogether died away. So long as this state of things lasted, no definite line could be drawn between those who were members of the assembly and those who were not. It was only when a new body arose by the side of the old one, a body which confessedly represented all persons who had no place in the elder body, that membership of the elder body became a definite personal privilege. The vague and fluctuating gathering of the great Nature of men of the realm now grew into a peerage of known the peer-members, and possessing defined rights. The very change ^{age.} which made the Lords, as we may now call them, sharers in their powers in every way raised the position of the Lords as a class. The peerage, with its several ranks and its defined privileges, grew up in the reigns from Edward III. to Henry VI. It was gradually established that the king's writ of summons, by which he called this or that man to give his attendance in parliament, conveyed a perpetual right, not only to himself but to his heirs. And now that the peerage has taken this more definite character, we hear of new and more solemn ways of admission to its ranks, such as creations in parliament and by letters patent. New titles of peerage of foreign origin were devised. Edward III. first created dukes, beginning with his own sons. The duchy of Cornwall has ever since belonged of right to the eldest son of the sovereign. Under Richard dukes became more common; under him too the title of marchio or marquess, properly the lord or guardian of a *march* or frontier, came to denote another honorary rank of peerage. Under Henry VI. another new rank of peerage first appears, that of *vicecomes* or viscount, a word which had hitherto meant the sheriff of a county. All these new titles were, as titles, purely honorary; they expressed mere rank, with no rights or duties but such as were common to the whole peerage. The creation of these new titles completed the change in the position of the earls, about whom some trace of their original official character long hung. The earldom now became a mere rank in the peerage, like any other. The new dukes and marquesses were set above the earls, while the viscounts were thrust in between the earls and the barons. But both the old titles and the new kept the same position as ranks in an official peerage, in a body of legislators and judges, the temporal portion of which held their seats by genealogical succession.¹ But no nobility in the foreign sense was, or could be, created. Because the Children peer was raised above other men as hereditary legislator of peers and hereditary judge, therefore his children remained, like common other men, members of the general body of the Commons. ^{era.}

As the growth of the Commons at once raised and defined The the position of the Lords, so the general growth of the power king's of parliament at once defined, and by defining strengthened, prerogative de- the king's prerogative. It now became a question what fined and acts were lawful to the king without the consent of parlia- strength- ment, and what acts needed that consent. It is clear that, ened.

¹ "Genealogical succession," because the phrase "hereditary succession" is, in the older use of the word, applicable alike to the spiritual and the temporal peers, at least as both classes stood till the union with Scotland. In older language "*jus hereditarium*" means a right handed on from one holder to another, whether the successor be the son of the last holder, or a person chosen or appointed to succeed him after his death. In this sense, the seats attached to the sees of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester, are still as strictly hereditary as any earldom or barony. But that name cannot apply to various modern forms of peerage, such as the elective peers of Scotland and Ireland, to the rotatory bishops of Ireland now abolished, to those bishops of England who succeed only by seniority, or to the last newly created judicial peers.

Uncon-
stitu-
tional
practices
of the
kings.

whenever prerogative was defined, it was at once limited and strengthened. But the very strengthening was of the nature of a limitation. A power which was directly or indirectly bestowed by parliament ceased to be a power inherent in the crown. The struggle was therefore a hard one. The kings strove to hold their ground at every point, and to escape from the fetters which the nation strove to lay upon them. When the Commons tried to make the king dismiss evil counsellors or moderate the expenses of his household, when they tried to regulate the oppressive right of purveyance, the king was apt to find a loop-hole in some protest or reservation or saving clause. So the kings strove to keep the power of arbitrary taxation in their own hands by drawing distinctions between customs and other sources of revenue. So they strove to keep the power of legislation without the consent of parliament, by drawing a distinction between statutes and ordinances, and by pretending to a right to suspend the operation of statutes. The claim to legislate by ordinance is closely connected with the way in which all our legislative and judicial bodies arose. The parliament, the privy council, the courts of justice, have all grown out of the ancient assembly. For some while after the Conquest it is not always easy to see whether the words *curia regis* mean the great council of the nation or the smaller council of the king's immediate advisers. The greater and the smaller council were alike fragments of the national assembly, and both alike derived their special shape from the practice of personal summons. If one body so formed had the right of legislation, it might be argued that the other body so formed had it also. So again, as the Commons grew, the form of their petitions, praying that such and such an enactment might be made by the king with the consent of the Lords, seemed to recognize the king as the only real lawgiver. It might suggest the thought that he could, if he would, exercise his legislative powers, even though the Commons did not petition, and though the Lords did not assent. A crowd of loop-holes were thus opened for irregular doings of all kinds—for attempts on the part of the kings to evade every constitutional fetter—for attempts to reign without parliaments, to impose taxes by their own authority, or to legislate with the consent only of their own council or of some other body other than a regular parliament. Every point had to be struggled for over and over again. But by the end of the fourteenth century we may say that the constitution and the powers of parliament were, as far as the letter of the law went, much the same as they are now. But it took three hundred years more to secure the observance of the letter of the law, while the two hundred years that have followed have, by the side of the written law, developed the unwritten constitution.

Actions of parliament as to peace and war. For the peculiar character of that unwritten constitution, for the system by which a crowd of powers which the Commons shrink from directly exercising are now exercised by them indirectly, we have to wait for some ages. In those days a power was either exercised directly or it was not exercised at all. Thus one most important power which was freely exercised by our most ancient assemblies, but which modern parliaments shrink from directly exercising, the power of making peace and war, was in the fourteenth century in a very irregular state. Sometimes parliament claims a voice in such matters; sometimes the king seems to thrust a control over them on an unwilling parliament. That is to say, the kings wished to make parliament share the responsibility of their acts. A parliament could hardly refuse to support the king in a war which it had itself approved. The wars of Edward III., and his constant calls for money, made frequent parliaments needful. Perhaps no other series of events in our history did so much to strengthen and define every parliamentary power. But it was mainly

by the petitioning position of the Commons that all power has thus been drawn into the hands of parliament. Any matter of the might become the subject of a petition of the Commons. It followed that, as their petitions gradually grew into demands which could not be resisted, every matter might become the subject of legislation by the Commons. In their position as petitioners lay their strength. They only petitioned, while the king enacted and the Lords assented. But the humbler position gave them the first word. The enacting power of the king gradually came to be a mere power of refusing to enact, a power which has long ceased to be exercised. The humble petitioners came to be the proposers of everything, and so to be the masters of everything. They had the privilege of the *prærogativa tribus*.

The power of parliament to settle the succession to the crown, that is, the ancient right of election in another shape, comes more largely into play at a later period. We have however one of the greatest instances of its exercise in the deposition of Richard and the settlement of the crown on Henry IV. and his heirs. And twelve years before the ancient doctrine was carried out in practice, it was solemnly declared by Bishop Arundel and Thomas duke of Gloucester, speaking in the name of parliament, that, by an ancient statute, parliament, with the common consent of the nation, had a right to depose a king who failed to govern according to the laws and by the advice of his peers, and to call to the throne some other member of the royal family in his stead. Most certainly there never was such a statute in the form of a statute; but the doctrine simply expressed the immemorial principle on which the nation had always acted whenever it was needful. And the statement that there was a statute to that effect was perhaps simply an instance of the growth of the doctrines of the professional lawyers. Men were beginning to forget that the earliest written law was nothing more than immemorial custom committed to writing. They were beginning to think that, wherever there was law or even custom, it must have had its beginning in some written, even if forgotten, enactment.

After all, nothing better shows the power of parliament than the attempts which were often made by those in power to procure a packed House of Commons. Complaints were made that the sheriffs returned knights of the shire who were not really the choice of the electors, and that they summoned, or failed to summon, boroughs to send burgesses, according to their arbitrary will. Lastly, in the early days of Henry VI., we find the rights of the electors restricted by parliament itself. The constitution of the House of Commons was clearly growing too popular for the ruling powers, and it was thought needful to legislate in the interests of oligarchy. By the statute of 1429 the electors of "small substance and of no value" were disfranchised, and the right of voting was confined to those who had a freehold of forty shillings yearly, a not inconsiderable amount at that time. By another statute of the same reign (1444-45) it is enacted that the knights chosen shall be "notable knights or notable esquires, gentlemen by birth." This enactment is instructive in many ways. It shows, what we find to have been the case almost from the beginning, that the knights of the shire were not always knights in the strict sense. The electors were clearly trying to break down all distinctions of rank and birth, and an attempt is made to enforce these distinctions by law. Happily no definition of "gentlemen by birth" was or could be attempted. This backsliding statute has therefore become a dead letter, as its fellow has no less through the change in the value of money.

The powers of parliament in this age, and the external influences under which parliaments acted, cannot be better illustrated than by a comparison of the last two parliaments

The Good of Edward III. The parliament of 1376, which lived in men's memories by the name of the Good Parliament, had the full support of the prince of Wales. It was able to overthrow the king's ministers, to remove his favourite Alice Perrers from court, and to encumber him with a council. A crowd of petitions of various kinds were presented, some of them insisting on freedom of election. The houses separated; the prince died; all the acts of the parliament were set at nought; most of them were reversed by a packed parliament the next year. Yet even this packed parliament established some wholesome doctrines, and amongst others enacted that no statute should be made at the petition of the clergy without the consent of the Commons. The same alternation of reforming and reactionary parliaments is found under Richard II. There is no surer witness to the importance of any assembly or other institution than the fact that the ruling powers find it convenient to corrupt or pervert it.

John Wickliffe.

Foundation of colleges.

Resistance to the popes.

When we turn to the religious, the social, and the literary aspect of this period, we may be amazed at the way in which the three are all intertwined together, and in which they all gather round a single man. We cannot write the history of the fourteenth century in any of these aspects, we cannot write the history of the fifteenth as affected by causes which had their beginning in the fourteenth, without bringing in the name of John Wickliffe. As a man who was employed in important negotiations with foreign powers, he has earned his place in any minute record even of the outward political history of his time. But it is in these other three branches that he stands out as the foremost figure of his time. But, while he is prominent in all three alike, it is his religious position which is primary. His influence on our social and literary history is secondary, and acts wholly through his religious position. Wickliffe, a renowned schoolman and doctor of Oxford, a well beneficed secular priest, and not unknown in the political world, made himself the centre and the mouth-piece of the great need of his time. The fourteenth century saw the beginning of a cry for a religious reformation in a wider sense than a mere reform of the abuses of the moment. Reforms of that kind have been demanded, promised, and indeed partly attempted, in almost every age. The day of the monks was past when the day of the friars began; and now the day of the friars was past also. They too had fallen from their first love, and the abuses of the mendicant orders formed one of the chief subjects of declamation for the reformers of the time. The bounty of founders now took another form. The foundation of colleges in the universities went on briskly all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Schools and hospitals, chantries and colleges of priests attached to parish churches, were largely founded; but the foundation of monasteries was now rare. The great foundations of William of Wykeham at Winchester and Oxford, followed by those of Henry VI. at Eton and Cambridge, form an era in the history of education in England.

It is singular that this new class of foundations was largely helped by an act of legislation which might well pass for spoliation of the Church. The fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth was a busy time of legislation on ecclesiastical matters. The political strife with the Roman see went on in full vigour, with all the more vigour because the Roman see had in some sort ceased to be a Roman see. In the fourteenth century the popes were no longer the common fathers of Christendom, ruling from the centre of Christendom. They had forsaken Rome for Avignon, a city close to the French border, and where they were the tools of the king of the neighbouring realm. The popes of Rome had been oppressors and

spoilers of England; the popes of Avignon were her political enemies, the allies of her rivals in Britain and on the continent. When, later in the century, Rome and Avignon became the seats of rival popes, England was naturally found on the side of the pope of Rome, France and Scotland on the side of the pope of Avignon. But, whether at Rome or at Avignon, the foreign ecclesiastical power had to be kept in check. A series of statutes designed to check papal encroachments marks the reign of Edward III., and still more conspicuously marks the reign of Richard II. The statute of provisors checked the interference of the popes with the disposal of English benefices. The statute of *præmunire* denounced the heaviest penalties against the unauthorized introduction of papal bulls into the kingdom. Legislation of this kind was indeed only repressing innovations; it was bringing the law back to what it had been in the days of King Edward and King William. Under the house of Lancaster, the spirit of opposition to the papal claims grew fainter, at all events on the part of the kings. In the appointment of bishoprics especially, pope and king found it easy to play into one another's hands, at the expense of the ecclesiastical electors. Meanwhile, from the reign of Edward III. onwards, opposition to the aggressions of the head of the Church abroad grew into a dangerous hankering after the possessions of the Church at home. In the later days of Edward a strong party of the baronage, headed by John of Gaunt, were zealous for ecclesiastical reform, in the sense of confiscation of ecclesiastical property and of the exclusion of churchmen from political office. In the reign of Henry IV. a scheme was proposed in the Commons for the general confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues. This storm was turned aside, but the hand of disendowment fell heavily in the next reign on one class of ecclesiastical foundations, though, as it turned out, greatly to the profit of another class. The new colleges and other foundations were largely endowed out of the revenues of the alien priories. These were monasteries in England which were dependent on greater monasteries in Normandy or elsewhere beyond the sea. During the wars with France these alien houses were looked on as outposts of the enemy, and in the reign of Henry V. they were finally suppressed. By far the greater part of their revenues went to the educational and secular foundations which were growing up at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere. A king and a primate, both of them of a piety unusual in that age, Henry V. and Archbishop Chicheley, were the chief actors in this alienation of ecclesiastical revenues by the secular power.

But changes of this kind were not religious reformation; they were hardly ecclesiastical reform. It is plain that the corruptions of the Church were growing; everything shows the prevalence of a hard, secular, grasping spirit in ecclesiastical relations. The primates of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are, if we except the momentary primacy of Thomas Bradwardine, an inferior race to those of the thirteenth. Men cried, as they had ever cried, for the reform of practical evils, and they now began to go much further. They began to attack the whole ecclesiastical system, and even the received doctrines of the Church. It was held that heresy was a crime at common law; but, as a matter of fact, religious dissent of any kind was rarely heard of in England from the earliest times till the fourteenth century. The most remarkable case in earlier times was in the reign of Henry II., when a company of foreigners, belonging to some of the sects of Southern Europe, succeeded in making a single English proselyte. But the teaching of Wickliffe in the fourteenth century was the beginning of the religious changes of the sixteenth of Wickliffe. Wickliffe, the founder of a sect which suffered much persecution, can hardly be said to have been

persecuted himself. His doctrines led directly to the unlawfulness of the whole ecclesiastical system, and specially to the unlawfulness of ecclesiastical property. Those doctrines he sent forth his poor priests to teach ; but he himself lived and died in quiet possession of the rectorcy of Lutterworth. A reformer, theological, moral, and political, he allied himself with John of Gaunt, as the Puritans did in after times with Robert Dudley, though the duke's schemes of reform were certainly of a more earthly kind than those of the doctor. But this union came to an end when another side of Wickliffe's teaching, one which was doubtless not designed by Wickliffe himself, came into notice. This age was beyond all others the age of social change, or at least of events which led to the greatest social change. Causes which had doubtless been working long before came to a head under the joint influence of a fearful physical stroke and of the new religious teaching.

We may safely set down the great plague of 1349, known as the Black Death, as the greatest of all social landmarks in English history. While the chivalrous king was keeping the feast of the foundation of the Order of the Garter, half the inhabitants of his kingdom were swept away by the pestilence. The natural results followed. We have seen that one of the gradual results of the Norman Conquest was to fuse together the churls, the lowest class of freemen, along with the slaves in the intermediate class of villains. By this time personal slavery had pretty well died out ; but villainage was still in full force. But various causes—among them the frequent emancipation of the villains—had called into being a class of free labourers alongside of the villains. When the plague cut off so large a proportion of the whole people, labour became scarcer, and higher wages were naturally demanded. Parliament after parliament, beginning in the very year of the Black Death, tried, in the interests of the employers of labour, to keep wages at their old rate. The Good Parliament itself did not shrink from this selfish and impossible attempt. The discontent caused by these statutes, the general stirring of men's minds of which Wickliffe and the Vision of the Ploughman are alike witnesses, led, under the preaching of some of Wickliffe's wilder and fiercer disciples,

The Black Death ;

its social effects. to the great peasant outbreak of 1381, the insurrection which has chiefly become famous through the story of Wat Tyler. The young king, undoubtedly outstripping his legal powers, promised freedom to all the villains. This promise the next parliament not unnaturally refused to confirm. Two results followed. Though the villains were not at once emancipated, yet from this time villainage gradually died out, as slavery had already died out. Neither institution was ever abolished by law ; but all the slaves gradually became villains, all the villains gradually became freemen. By the end of the fifteenth century, villainage was hardly known, except here and there on ecclesiastical estates. The clergy had always preached the emancipation of the villains as a good work. Yet they were the slowest of all landowners to emancipate their own villains. In this there is no real inconsistency. The layman might do what he would with his own ; he might dispense with services owing to himself. Those who were at any moment the members of an ecclesiastical corporation might be held not to have the same right to emancipate their villains, that is, to make away with the rights of the corporation itself.

The revolt of the villains.

Gradual dying out of villainage.

Lollardy discredited by the revolt.

the reformers who outstripped him. From this time Lollardy, as the teaching of Wickliffe was called, was under a cloud. It was held to be all one, not only with heresy, but with revolution. Wickliffe himself died in peace ; but for the few years that he outlived the revolt, he lost all political influence and political support. The reign of Richard was hostile to the ecclesiastical order at home and abroad. Yet it produced in 1382 the first statute against heresy, the penalties of which did not go beyond imprisonment. It was regularly passed ; yet the Commons in the next parliament expressly demanded that it should be declared null. The first statute for the burning of heretics dates from the reign of Henry IV., from which time the stake was their legal doom. But the number of heretics to burn was not great. The most famous victim was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, who was hanged and burned under Henry V. on a combined charge of treason and heresy. Thus far the political character of Lollardy shows itself. But through the rest of the fifteenth century, though we ever and anon hear of a martyrdom, religious dissent was so thoroughly discredited as to be of no political importance.

Wickliffe was thus the direct author of a religious change. Language He was indirectly, if not the author, at least the unintentional abettor, of a social and political change. His place in literature; triumph the history of English literature is at least equal to his place in religious and political history. He was the father of English of later English prose writing. Since the sudden close French. of the Peterborough Chronicle, English prose writing had never quite died out, but it had remained something quite secondary by the side of English verse. But in the fourteenth century the English language again won back its own place. Now that the English nation had been formed again in its new shape, it was needful to proclaim the fact to the world by some unmistakable outward sign. That sign was found in the restoration of the national language to its rights as the acknowledged speech of the land, and that restoration was brought about by the same cause which first showed the regenerate English nation in the character of a great European power. It was the French war which completed the triumph of the English tongue. The men who had overcome the French enemy on his own soil could not endure that the French tongue should remain in use on the soil of England even as the speech of fashion. In the course of Edward III.'s reign English displaced French as the speech of education and as the speech of the courts of law. Statutes are still drawn up in French, but speeches in parliament are now in English. The ministers of the crown address the houses, and Henry of Lancaster claims the crown, in the native speech of the land. At last, under Henry V., negotiations were carried on with France by ambassadors who knew not the French tongue. From this time the use of French in public documents, an use which still lingered till the end of the fifteenth century, was as mere a survival as the two or three formulæ which are couched in French still.

Thus after the ups and downs of three hundred years, Changes English was now again the acknowledged speech of Eng- in the land, the one common speech of Englishmen of all ranks. English language. But the ancient tongue, in winning back its ancient place, had greatly changed its ancient character. The two great changes in language which the effects of the Norman Conquest had rather strengthened than begun, the loss of inflexions and the constant introduction of foreign words, had had more and more effect as the speakers of the two tongues grew closer together, as the use of one or the other marked no longer a national but merely a social distinction. The English tongue which thus, in the course of the fourteenth century, won back its place from French, was a form of English which had lost or corrupted most of the

old grammatical forms, which had adopted a crowd of foreign words, and which had even displaced many English words to make way for them. Still the unbroken continuity, the personal being as it were, of the native tongue remained untouched. We may say that in one age French displaced English, that in another age English displaced French. But the English tongue always remained the English tongue. The tongue of Chaucer did not displace the tongue of Beowulf; the elder form of the language changed into the younger by gradual and imperceptible shades. The fourteenth century was one of the great periods of English literature. The devotional vein which had never ceased, the satirical vein which had begun—most likely begun again—in the thirteenth century, flowed together in the fourteenth to form the great work, religious, moral, and social, of William Langland, the Vision of Piers the Ploughman. And after the English poet of the people soon came the English poet of more courtly life and more courtly speech in the person of Geoffrey Chaucer. And alongside of these more famous names we have a considerable mass of verse, political and satirical, on the events of the times. But while a hundred years earlier compositions of this kind were written indifferently in three languages, we have them now in two only; they are written in Latin and in English, but never in French. We have indeed one French chronicle of this time, that which records the deposition and death of Richard; but it is the work of a Frenchman. But it is now that English prose comes to the front in the hands of Wickliffe, in the form of his translation of the Bible and of his countless popular tracts. From his time a series of prose writers has never failed us. The English version of the travels of Sir John Mandeville in the fourteenth century, the theological writings of Bishop Reginald Peacock in the fifteenth, carry on the series from the days of the great master. Prose history in English does not appear in the fourteenth century, and it is of small importance in the fifteenth. But that is the case with our history generally. The old series of the Latin historians of England is but feebly represented in the fourteenth century, and it can hardly be said to be represented at all in the fifteenth. The great school of St Albans comes down to Thomas of Walsingham and Abbot Whethamstead. But we now look in vain at St Albans for successors of Matthew Paris, as we look in vain elsewhere for successors of William of Malmesbury or William of Newburgh.

Summary.

It is therefore not too much to say that, in the course of this period, the period of the Hundred Years' War, England finally took its modern shape. The essence of the constitution, the main points of the law, the dominant language, all took a shape which has since been changed only in detail. In all these things the formation of the England that was to be was brought to perfection in this age. And if the remaining distinctive characteristic of England was not brought to perfection in this age, the first steps to it were already taken. The papal claims were narrowly limited by law; ecclesiastical revenues were alienated by authority of parliament; if strictly religious reformation obtained no legal sanction, yet its seeds were now for the first time sown in the heart of the people. And if this was the age when the main features of English political life put on their present form, it was no less so with the main features of English social life. The distinguishing elements of English society, the peer as distinguished from the continental noble, the country gentleman, the farmer, the free labourer—all of them elements so specially English—all take nearly their present shape during this time. Villainage, if not actually abolished, received its death-blow. The mingling of classes is shown even by the oligarchic statutes which tried in some measure to

hinder it. Esquires had long represented shires as well as actual knights. The rich citizen could buy a landed estate, and in a generation or two his children counted as esquires. The towns were growing in wealth and political importance, but their internal constitutions were getting narrower. The law was administered by nearly the same courts as it is now, and the abundance of lawsuits kept all courts, great and small, fully supplied with business. This growth of the law, the specially English law, statute and common, led to the rapid growth and increasing importance of the class of professional lawyers, men who practised the statute and common law of England, as distinguished from the professors of the law of Rome, civil and canon. Their importance is shown in the fourteenth century, by a petition of the Commons that the practitioners of the law might not be returned as knights of the shire; it was more terribly shown towards the end of that century in the bitter hatred towards the whole lawyer class which was shown in the peasant revolt. But notwithstanding both laws and lawyers, we find that powerful men, to say nothing of the king himself, were often able to interfere with the due administration of the law. But this fault is common to all lands. What is specially English is that, though the law was often broken, yet the law remained to rebuke those who broke it, and to triumph over them in the end.

Thus, on the whole, practical peace and order, as well as constitutional freedom, steadily advanced during this age. Not the smallest sign of its advance is the marked improvement in domestic architecture. The style which ^{Advance} came in with the latter half of the fourteenth century and ^{of domestic} went on in use during the fifteenth, is commonly looked ^{architecture.} on as a decline from the style of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Yet, even as applied to churches, this style is not without its own merits, and it is the characteristic domestic style of England. Up to the end of the thirteenth century, we have but small remains of houses, houses as distinguished from castles and not built within the walls of a town. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries England was covered with houses of all classes, manor-houses, parsonages, houses of substantial yeomen, of wood or stone according to their district, often excellent examples of the architecture of the time, and witnessing to the general state of security in the greater part of the country. We at once contrast them with the houses of the same and of a much later date on the Scottish border and in Ireland, where the esquire and the priest still had to live for safety's sake in the pele-tower. This last is in truth nothing but a continuation of the square Norman keep in a smaller and ruder form. In short, in England security, liberty, and political rights were spread over the whole country. They were not, as in most other lands, confined to the inhabitants either of fortified towns or of private strongholds.

Three hundred and fifty years of struggle had thus made England once more fully herself after the great overthrow of the Norman Conquest. In a formal narrative of English history, our tale would now, as it draws nearer and nearer to our own time, be fittingly told in greater detail at each stage. In a sketch like the present the opposite process would seem to be no less fitting. We now know what England is. She has made herself; she has won her rights; she has now to defend, to secure, when needful to reform; she has no longer any need to create. The only exception is with regard to her religious history. In other respects all that has henceforth to be done is to keep what has already been gained. In the religious department alone, there is still something to be gained, something, if not to be created, at least to be put into a wholly new shape.

This great period of three hundred and fifty years, broken, as we have dealt with it, into several smaller periods, this period of creative struggle, is followed by another great period of about two hundred and fifty years. This is still a time of struggle, but in political matters of mainly defensive struggle, while in religious matters the struggle is still, in a lower sense, creative. This long period again falls into three smaller periods. The first is the time of the civil wars of York and Lancaster, a time during which the fabric of freedom which had been built up with so much toil begins to yield, in outward appearance at least, to the growth of an almost despotic power in the crown. Then comes the time of Tudor dominion, the time which, while it saw the greatest development of royal power, saw also the great religious change which was needed to complete the later character of England. Lastly, there is the time of renewed struggle, political and religious alike, against the feeble despotism of the Stewarts. Of these three periods, the first, answering nearly to the second half of the fifteenth century, has little religious interest. In the second, answering nearly to the sixteenth century, though the political interest is great, the religious interest surpasses it. In the third period, answering nearly to the seventeenth century, the religious and the political interest go side by side. But through the whole both of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is the importance of the religious interest which gives the period its special character. While, in political matters, men are simply striving to preserve or to win back an old freedom, in religious matters they are striving to establish a wholly new freedom.

The Wars of the Roses. Beginning then, as before, with the most prominent outward characteristics of the several periods, the feature which first strikes us is that the hundred years of foreign war are followed by a period of about half the length, the chief feature of which is the great civil strife of the fifteenth century, the strife between the houses of York and Lancaster, commonly known as the Wars of the Roses. It would seem as if the failure of schemes of continental dominion on the part of England had driven Englishmen to spend their energies in biting and devouring one another at home. The fifty years after the final loss of Aquitaine form a time which, especially towards its end, is of much importance in other ways. But this feature of constant civil war, war waged to settle the disputed succession to the crown, is that which gives to the time its most distinguishing character. Wars with Scotland and with France go on very much as before. One year there is a raid; the next year there is a truce. But warfare of this kind is of little importance in a general view of the period. All hope of the conquest or serious dismemberment of either of the hostile countries has passed away. The origin of this great civil strife was to appearance purely genealogical. The claim of Roger earl of March to succeed Richard II., by virtue of descent in the female line from an elder son of Edward III., showed the new doctrines in their extremest form. But all claims on this score had been set aside by the repeated acts of parliament which gave the crown to Henry IV. and his heirs. No title could be better than that of the Lancastrian kings; and, amid the glories of the reign of Henry V., the genealogical fancy which was all that could be pleaded for the other family seems gradually to have been forgotten. But, just about the time of the loss of Aquitaine, a number of circumstances joined together to give a renewed importance to their claims. Those claims had now passed to Richard duke of York, who in the male line represented a son of Edward III. younger than John of Gaunt, but who in the female line represented the elder brother Lionel. The weakness of Henry VI., sometimes growing into absolute imbecility, was

now manifest. His foreign queen and his ministers, the dukes of Suffolk and Somerset, were unpopular on various grounds, specially on account of the losses in France. Duke Richard, on the other hand, was an able and popular nobleman, who had won reputation both in France and in Ireland. As long as Henry was childless, he might be looked on as heir-presumptive to the crown. The only possible competitor was the duke of Somerset himself. Somerset represented a branch of the royal family which was of doubtful legitimacy, that of the natural children of ^{The Bea-}fort. John of Gaunt, who had been legitimated by Parliament, but whose position as regarded the royal succession was not clear.¹ In 1450 a popular insurrection under Jack Cade, who called himself Mortimer, might pass for a sign that the claims of that family were not forgotten. The duke of Suffolk, impeached by the Commons, but not sentenced by the Lords, had been irregularly put to death. Somerset now remained as the unpopular minister, while Richard of York was the leader of a popular opposition. The birth of the king's only son in 1453 took away the duke's hope of a peaceful succession, and in 1455 the civil war began.

The war of York and Lancaster, like the great war with France, with its occasional lulls and truces, must be looked on as really lasting, notwithstanding reconciliations, restorations, and momentary reigns, from the time when the sword was first drawn against Henry VI. to the time when it was last drawn against Henry VII. One thing is to be noted throughout, that, after every revolution, a parliament was always found ready to condemn the defeated side, and to acknowledge the rights of the conqueror. Thus, in the early stage of the war, the duke of York was attainted in 1459. In 1460 the victory of Northampton put him in a Duke position to make good his claim to the crown. A com- Richard promise was brought about by the Lords, which sounds as if Henry it had been suggested by the treaty of Troyes. By their VI. award it was agreed that Henry should keep the crown for life, but that the duke should displace the king's son in the rank of heir apparent. Such an award implied the admission of the new doctrine of absolute hereditary right in its extremest form. At the same time, it saved the personal rights of the crowned king to whom the claimant had sworn allegiance. But this settlement on paper had no practical effect. The queen and the lords of her party disregarded it. In 1460 Duke Richard fell at Wakefield, and his claims passed to his son Edward. The compromise was now set aside on both sides. Henry had joined, or had been made to join, the queen's forces after the victory of Wakefield. The Yorkist doctrine was that, by so doing, he had broken the award, and had thereby forfeited the crown, which therefore passed to Edward. The claims of Edward were confirmed by a kind of popular election in London. After Edward IV. his crowning victory at Towton followed his coronation, and a fresh parliamentary settlement, which declared the victor of Agincourt an usurper. The reign of Edward IV. is now held to begin; but the war was not yet over. Margaret sought help in Scotland and France, and Scottish help was bought by the surrender of Berwick. The war began again in 1463, and this stage of it may be looked on as ended by the Yorkist victory at Hexham in 1464. The next year Henry was captured. But by this time Edward had taken a step which led to the estrangement of his most powerful supporters. His marriage with one of his subjects, Elizabeth Grey, and the growing influence of her family, the Woodvilles, began to offend the house of Neville,

¹ The case of the Beaufort family, earls and dukes of Somerset, is clearly stated by Lingard, iii. 357. The original patent of 1397 did not in so many words except the succession to the crown, but it did so by implication, by making the persons legitimated capable of all dignities short of the crown, but making no mention of the crown itself. In the later copies the crown was expressly excepted.

Restora-
tion of
Henry.

and its head Richard earl of Warwick. After a series of almost unintelligible intrigues and insurrections, Edward was in 1470 driven out of the kingdom by an union between Warwick and the king's own brother, George duke of Clarence. Henry VI. was now taken from prison and again declared king. The crown was settled by parliament on him and his son, with remainder to Clarence. But in the next year Edward came back; Clarence again changed sides, and the crown was secured to Edward by the fights of Barnet and Tewkesbury. At Tewkesbury Edward the son of Henry was killed; the death—we may feel sure that it was the murder—of Henry himself followed. The legitimate male line of Lancaster was now extinct; no descendant of any one of the sons of Henry IV. survived. There were foreign princes descended from John of Gaunt in the female line, and among them the famous Charles duke of Burgundy, who seems, among the other objects of his ambition, to have sometimes dreamed of the English crown for himself. Such claims were not likely to meet with any support in England; and Edward, by a stroke of real policy, won Charles to his side by the hand of his sister Margaret, and found shelter at his brother-in-law's court during his exile. In England the hopes of the Lancastrian party now turned in a new direction, to legitimated descendants of John of Gaunt of the house of Somerset. That house also was extinct in the male line; its representative was Margaret, countess of Richmond. Her young son, Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, was now, in the lack of any better claimant, looked on as the heir of Lancaster. It is needless to say that no genealogical subtlety could be held to give him any share in the royalty which the choice of the nation had conferred on the line of Henry IV. But something of the sentiment of royal descent might be held to have come to Henry in a strange way through his father's mother. She was no other than Katharine of France, the widow of Henry V., who married a Welshman named Owen Tudor, in whose descendants the crown of England passed, by a strange genealogical accident, to the ancient stock of Britain.

Second reign of Edward IV. For the remaining twelve years of his life Edward IV. reigned without any important disturbance at home. But the members of the house of York had already begun to turn one against another. The validity of Edward's marriage, and therefore the legitimacy of his children, was doubtful. Clarence was in any case the next in succession after them, while, by the statute passed during Henry's second reign, he had a claim before Edward himself. In 1478 this dangerous brother was condemned in parliament on a vague charge of treason; and he presently died, though not by any public execution. The latter years of Edward IV. were taken up chiefly with foreign policy and foreign war, both of which were on rather a small scale. A Scottish war from 1480 to 1482 is remarkable for the recovery of Berwick. In continental politics Edward was specially busy. His policy took largely the form of planning foreign marriages for his children, none of which were carried into effect. Even before he was driven out in 1470, he was trying to form alliances against France, especially with Charles of Burgundy. But, though Charles sheltered Edward in his exile, he gave him no real support when in 1475 he actually began an invasion of France. Edward, as well as Charles, was outwitted by Lewis XI. The king and his counsellors went home, without glory or conquest, but with large bribes of French money.

Protectorate and reign of Richard III. The death of Edward in 1483 again, nominally at least, gave the crown to a minor, Edward, the eldest son of the late king. The suspicions which had been vaguely raised against John of Gaunt during the minority of Richard II. became realities in the case of the ambitious uncle of Edward V. This was Richard duke of Gloucester, the

youngest son of Richard duke of York, who was declared protector of the young king. His protectorate was marked by the illegal slaughter of several of the lords of the party of the queen mother. Presently Richard's own adherents claimed the crown for him. The claim was based on the alleged invalidity of Edward IV.'s marriage. Some ventured on the more improbable scandal that neither Edward nor Clarence was really a son of Duke Richard, and that Richard of Gloucester was his only real representative. A more decent argument was found in the attainder of George of Clarence, which, it was held, shut out his children from the succession. An irregular kind of election, which however professed to be made by the estates of the realm, called on Richard to assume the crown. He was crowned instead of his nephew; and there can be little doubt that both Edward and his brother Richard duke of York were made away with, like Arthur in earlier days, at the bidding of their uncle. The ancient custom of England would have spared all these crimes. Richard, who had in other respects many of the qualities of a good ruler, would doubtless have been chosen on the death of his brother. As it was, his crown was at once threatened by Henry of Richmond, who now passed for the representative of the house of Lancaster. The aim of his party was to marry him to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., who now represented the more regular succession of the house of York. Richmond was in banishment in Brittany. The first attempts of himself and his partisans were crushed. At this stage of our history everything turns on marriages and genealogies. The deaths of Richard's queen Anne Neville and his son Edward open a new stage in the tale. John earl of Lincoln, the son of the king's sister Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, was now declared the presumptive heir. But Richard now designed a marriage with his own niece Elizabeth, to which she and her mother seem to have consented. This plan hastened the schemes of Richmond. He landed, raised an army, and, helped by the treachery of the Stanleys and of Henry Percies, he overthrew Richard at Bosworth, August 22, 1485. Henry was crowned, and a parliament settled the crown on him and the heirs of his body, and none other. The new king clearly wished that his claims should be in no way dependent on his intended marriage with Elizabeth. Parliament, on the other hand, was clearly unwilling to give its formal sanction either to a right of conquest or to Henry's strange hereditary claim. Henry, in short, reigned by a parliamentary title, by an election which followed his coronation. In the next year however he carried out his promise of marrying Elizabeth; and, before the end of the year 1486, the birth of his eldest son, who, as the son of the first British king of England, received the name of Arthur, seemed to put the succession on a sure ground.

We are apt to look on Henry VII. as the founder of a Position dynasty, and on his reign as marking the beginning of a new era. Both views are true; but they must not be allowed to put out of sight the fact that, till quite the end of his reign, his throne was as insecure as that of any of his predecessors. The civil wars were not yet ended; in foreign lands Henry was looked on as a mere adventurer, who had won the crown by the chances of one battle, and who was likely to lose what he had won by the chances of another. Hence he was, like Edward IV. in the same case, specially anxious to establish his position among foreign princes. To obtain, as he did at last, an infant for his son, even to give his daughter to the king of Scots, were in his view important objects of policy. But those objects were not attained till after he had strengthened his position at home by successfully withstanding more than one enemy.

The revolts against Henry began early. Before the birth of his son, he had to crush the first insurrection of Lord Lovell. The next year enemies arose against him in

Ireland. There the rule of the elder duke of York had been popular, and the Yorkist party had always been the stronger. A claimant appeared, one Lambert Simnel, who professed to be Edward earl of Warwick, son of George duke of Clarence, the male representative of the house of York. Edward was indeed alive in the Tower, and was shown in public to prove the imposture. Yet Simnel was crowned in Ireland, and was presently supported by John earl of Lincoln, who had been himself declared heir presumptive under Richard. The impostor and his partisans landed in England, and were overthrown at Stoke-upon-Trent. In 1492 another and more dangerous claimant, who professed to be Richard duke of York, the son of Edward IV., and whose real name was understood to be Perkin Warbeck, appeared also in Ireland. His cause was taken up by more than one foreign potentate, by James IV., king of Scots, and by Margaret, the duchess dowager of Burgundy, who, if he was what he pretended to be, was his own aunt. He made more than one attempt at invasion, some of them in company with the king of Scots. Meanwhile, early in 1497, the men of Cornwall rose and marched as far as Blackheath, close to London. There they were defeated; but when, a few months later, Perkin landed in Cornwall, he found enough support there to besiege Exeter. But he shrank from a battle with the royal army; he submitted to the king, and was put to death in the next year, 1499. Immediately afterwards followed the beheading of Edward of Warwick. From this time, for the last ten years of his reign, Henry reigned in safety.

The wars with France still lingered on, and in 1492 Henry had actually undertaken the siege of Boulogne. The enterprise was however ended by a treaty of peace. After Henry's throne was secured by the deaths of Perkin and of Edward of Warwick, his European position speedily rose. In 1501 Katharine of Aragon was married to Arthur, and, on his death in the next year, she was contracted to his younger brother Henry. Earlier in this year, 1502, a treaty of peace was concluded with Scotland, which was followed in 1503 by the marriage of James king of Scots and Henry's elder daughter Margaret. This marks an æra in the relations between England and Scotland. Up to this time, ever since the enterprise of Edward Balliol, there had been constant warfare, interrupted only by truces. Now, for the first time, a peace, strictly so called, was concluded. All claims either to the crown of Scotland or to a superiority over it on the part of England must be looked on as being finally given up. There was still more than one war between England and Scotland before the union of the crowns; but the state of constant warfare broken only by truces now comes to an end.

In 1509 Henry VII. died. His eldest surviving son, Henry VIII., who now united the claims of York and Lancaster, succeeded without a breath of opposition. He was the first king since Richard II. who reigned by an undisputed title; and he was, strangely enough, the last king who was formally elected in ancient fashion in the ceremony of his coronation. With him, rather than with his father, a new period opens; or, more accurately still, the new period opens with the second period of Henry VII.'s reign, after all opposition to his title had passed away. When the first Tudor king felt himself safe, the Tudor despotism began. Under the second Tudor king that despotism allied itself with ecclesiastical change, and the sixteenth century put on its most characteristic aspect.

It was during this period that England came within the range of those general causes of change which were now beginning to affect all Europe. The revival of learning, as it is called, was now spreading from Italy into other lands. The three great inventions which in the course of the

fifteenth century affected the general state of mankind, gunpowder, printing, and the compass, began in the course of the second half of that century to do their work on England also. The Wars of the Roses differ widely, in their military character, from the civil wars of earlier times. The personal displays of chivalry in the field, as well as the older style of fortification, both became useless before the new engines of destruction. But, above all things, it was during this time that, in most parts of Europe, the chief steps were taken towards that general overthrow of ancient liberties which reached its highest growth in the sixteenth century. Europe was massing itself into a system of powers, greater in extent and smaller in number, than heretofore. The masters of these powers were learning a more subtle policy in foreign affairs than those who went before them, and they were beginning to rest their trust at home on standing armies. We have reached the time of Lewis XI. and of Ferdinand of Aragon. While France had grown by the annexation of nearly all its vassal states, and of some states which were not its vassals, the new power of Spain was growing up, to develop in the next period into the gigantic dominion of the house of Austria. Italy, with the mass of its small commonwealths grouped together among a few larger states, some princely, some republican, becomes during this age the battlefield of the rival powers. This new state of things was not without its influence on England, though our insular position saved us from being so completely carried away as the continental nations. The power of the crown grew to a pitch which was altogether unknown at any earlier of the time except under the Conqueror and his immediate successors. Parliaments become more servile; sometimes they are dispensed with altogether. Arbitrary acts on the part of the crown are perhaps not more common than in earlier times; but they take a new character. When law is generally weak and is easily broken, the king's breaches of the law do not seem very different from breaches of the law on the part of other men. When the king has become powerful enough to enforce the law on other men, but fails to observe the law in his own acts, the fault is of another kind. It is no longer general lawlessness, but deliberate arbitrary rule.

It was to this state of things that England was tending during the whole of this time. The stir of civil war of the Wars of the Roses alternated with the repose of despotism. It might almost be said that the two went on side by side; for the Wars of the Roses were not a period of anarchy like the wars of Stephen and Matilda. The crown was fought for by contending princes at the head of great armies; but there was little or nothing of the wasting local and personal warfare of the earlier time. Except where the actual strife was waging, things went on much as usual. The king in possession was obeyed wherever his enemies were not in military occupation. After each revolution a parliament was ready to approve the change, to acknowledge the conqueror, to regulate the succession according to his pleasure, and commonly to attain the defeated prince and his supporters. It marks that the age of revolution was drawing to an end when the famous statute of Henry VII. declared that no man would be called in question for adhering to a king in possession, be his title good or bad. The care taken by every claimant of the crown to obtain a parliamentary acknowledgment of his right was at once a homage paid to the formal authority of parliaments and a heavy blow struck at their moral weight. The parliaments of this time were fast losing the spirit of the elder parliaments. The number of the temporal lords was lessened by battles, executions, and banishments. The spiritual lords had become more thoroughly servants of the crown than at any time since the twelfth century. The lower house had also undergone a change. In one sense

Attempts
of the
kings to
reign
without
parlia-
ment.

its position had risen. The place of representative of a city or borough was now sought for by men who were not actual citizens or burgesses. And, owing to the restrictive statute of Henry VI. and to the change in the constitutions of the boroughs, both knights and burgesses were now chosen by less popular constituencies than those who chose them in earlier times. Yet, low as parliaments had fallen from their ancient standard, they still kept virtue enough for kings to dread them. Every king of this age who deemed himself safe on his throne tried to reign without a parliament. During the first reign of Edward IV., parliament met, formally at least, with one exception, every year. In the latter part of his reign five years passed without a parliament. So it was with Henry VII. Parliaments were frequent while insurrections were frequent. The last eleven years of Henry's reign saw only a single parliament. On the other hand, Richard III., whose throne was not safe during a moment of his short reign, was the least unconstitutional king of this period. He had time only for a single parliament, but that was a parliament rich in legislation, and which passed one great law restraining a special abuse of royal power. Edward IV., in the times when he dispensed with parliaments, brought in a practice of gathering what were called *benevolences*, gifts to the crown which were nominally free-will offerings, but which it was dangerous for the subject to refuse. These benevolences were expressly declared illegal by the statute of Richard. But Richard himself broke his own law; and later kings found it convenient to follow his practice rather than his legislation. And when the statute of Richard was quoted against them, they were not ashamed to plead that the act of the usurper was of itself null.

Compari-
son of
England
with con-
tinental
countries.

This then was the time of trial for England and her liberties. She and they were now full grown, and their strength had to be proved. Her probation went on for more than two hundred years; but now it began. In the end the nation and its liberties proved too strong for the kings. Parliaments were bullied, packed, and corrupted; their sittings were stopped for years together; but they were never abolished. The great laws which secured freedom were often broken, but they were never repealed or set aside. At the beginning of this period the distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy was as clearly drawn out by a minister of Henry VI. as it could be by any modern political writer. And, if the practice did not always conform to the model traced by Sir John Fortescue, the law always did. The old principles of freedom were never so utterly forgotten, never so utterly trodden under foot, that they could not be called to life again when the favourable moment came. In this, it is plain, the history of England differs from the history of France, of Spain, of most continental countries. And certainly one reason for the difference was that they were continental countries, while England is insular. Constant rivalries, constant warfare with immediate neighbours, gave better pretexts for the maintenance of standing armies than could be found in England. The only immediate neighbour of England was Scotland. And the wars with Scotland, though working constant damage to the border shires, were not so dangerous to the kingdom in general that either prince or people would have dreamed of keeping up a standing army on their account. And, after Henry VII.'s treaty, war with Scotland ceased to be the regular state of things. Our kings therefore, without a standing army, could not utterly root out freedom as their continental brethren did. In the worst times they were driven to summon parliaments from time to time, and those parliaments now and then showed traces of the old spirit. Still from this time onward the administration becomes highly arbitrary. The king and his council

Illegal
doings
of the
kings.

were guilty of constant illegal interference with the liberty of the subject. The court of Star-Chamber, an offshoot from the Privy Council and so from the old *curia regis*, though sometimes useful in punishing offenders who were too strong for the ordinary course of law, became a terrible engine of oppression. It is characteristic of the time that judicial Torture torture, unknown at all times to English law, and unknown to English practice at all times before the fifteenth century and after the seventeenth, now began to be freely used. But it was used in every case by a special and illegal exercise of prerogative. No man was ever tortured to extort confession in any of the regular courts of English law.¹

The age which brought in the rack could hardly fail to be a merciless age. In fact the civil struggles of each age had, from the twelfth century onwards, been getting more Frequent and more bloodthirsty. During the Wars of the Roses each execution, each battle, was followed by something that might be called a massacre, by a general slaughter of the leading men on both sides. On the other hand, the slaughter was mainly confined to the leading men. But the murders or executions wrought at every stage of these wars undoubtedly had a political effect in lessening the numbers of the old nobility to a degree which mere slaughter in battle could never have done. In this age too began the general practice of attainder by Act of Parliament. That is, a man is placed by a legislative act in the same position as if he had been convicted after a regular trial. This Acts of process was now freely used, not only against the living, attainer but sometimes against the dead. The main object in the latter case was of course the confiscation of the estate of the attainted person. It at first sight seems singular that the man who stands out as the foremost actor in the cruelties of this time was the man who was also foremost as a scholar and patron of learning. This was John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, who in the one character was bewailed by Caxton, while in the other he gained the popular surname of the Butcher. But Tiptoft brought his learning from Italy; he was in fact the first-fruits of the Italian Renaissance in England. And the Italian Renaissance, if it was a school of taste and learning, was hardly a school of either justice or mercy. Arbitrary power cruelly exercised can easily exist alongside of learning and refinement. This truth England began to learn in the present period. It learned it yet more thoroughly in the next.

The Italian studies of the earl of Worcester were certainly not shared by many of the contemporary nobles. Yet before this time, Humphrey duke of Gloucester had appeared as a patron of learning, and the foundation of colleges in both universities went on through the whole of the fifteenth century. But the new learning, as it was called, that wider The new field of study of which Greek learning was the most easily learning recognized outward badge, hardly took root in England till quite the end of this period, under Henry VII. Caxton had already begun to print under Edward IV., at a time when the native literature of England had sunk lower than it ever sank before or after. Yet signs were not wanting that the practice of writing, and writing in English, was now widely spread. The Paston Letters, which let us into the inmost life of a knightly family of Norfolk, are worth any amount of courtly Latin. But they are hardly literature. Mediæval art too now entered on its latest phase immediately before its final overthrow. The architectural style of The this time loses the aspiring lines of earlier times, and gives Tudor architecture instead a lavishness and intricacy of ornament, such as we see at St George's at Windsor and in Henry VII.'s chapel

¹ Torture strictly so called, torture to bring the prisoner to confess, was never known to English law. It must not be confounded either with the painful form of death which formed the penalty of treason, or with the *peine*—more accurately *prison*—*forte et dure*, the pressing to death, which was the fate of those who refused to plead.

at Westminster. But the architectural details are still for the most part pure. It is in tombs and woodwork that the *Renaissance* details first creep in, and that hardly till the reign of Henry VIII. But, just at the end of this period and the beginning of the next, English domestic architecture reached its highest perfection. Houses had now quite outstripped the alternatives of the period immediately before, when the choice lay between the fortress and the simple manor-house. In the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, we come to palaces, as distinguished from castles. Vast houses arose, where fortification was quite secondary or in truth had come to be a mere survival, and where we see the true English style just before it became corrupted. From Haddon Hall the series goes on, till in days which chronologically belong to our next period, we get such piles as Cowdray, Hampton Court, and the unfinished castle of Thornbury. These are buildings of the reign of Henry VIII.; but the architectural periods cannot be made exactly to fit in with the more obvious divisions of our history. The buildings of Henry VIII.'s reign must be classed with those of the fifteenth century, rather than with those of the latter half of the sixteenth. The *Renaissance* did not affect architecture, as distinguished from furniture and decorations, till the time of Edward VI.

While two of the three great discoveries were causing a revolution in the worlds of warfare and literature, the third, the compass, was no less doing its work in its own region. Under Edward and Richard the commerce of England advanced swiftly. From the north-western seas it was now spread over the whole Mediterranean. At no time did it make greater advances than under Edward IV., who was a considerable merchant in his own person. In Henry VII.'s days the New World was thrown open to the adventurers of the Old. As far as mere discovery went, England had, before the end of the fifteenth century, her full share in the work through the American discoveries of Sebastian Cabot. But, as far as England was concerned, it was as yet mere discovery. The time for English settlements beyond the ocean, or even for English enterprise in those distant waters, had not yet come. The path towards them was shown, and that was all.

We have seen that the civil wars really end, and that the time of unrestrained Tudor domination begins, in the middle of the reign of Henry VII. His later rule was the rule of a despot, who strove as far as might be to reign without a parliament. His desire to be independent of his people led to that rule of grasping avarice which has caused his rule to be chiefly remembered for the endless shifts by which his greed of money was satisfied. His reign is important chiefly as leading the way to the more brilliant time which followed, a time which can be understood only if we throw ourselves into the point of view from which men looked upon it at the time. The next king, Henry VIII., began his reign in two characters which at once marked it off from any reign since that of Henry V., we might almost say from any reign since that of Edward III. After a long time during which the strength of England had been wasted in deciding in arms between rival pretenders to the crown, England had again a king whose title was undisputed, and who led Englishmen to conquest beyond the sea. That was the first aspect in which Henry VIII. appeared to England and to Europe. The real historical characteristics of his reign are different. The special features of his reign are the working of a despotism of a very peculiar kind, and the application of that despotism to work a great ecclesiastical revolution. But, though this last is the special characteristic of the age and the reign of Henry, yet it did not become a characteristic of his reign till he had

already been many years on the throne. The acts which Chrono-his name first suggests to the popular mind, the suppression of monasteries and the beheading of wives, do indeed effectually distinguish his reign from any other; but they are features which belong to the latter years of his reign only. They no more make up the whole of Henry's reign than the Scottish wars make up the whole of the reign of Edward I. During the greater part of Henry's reign the characteristic feature of the time seemed to be the unusually high place which England held in the general affairs of Europe.

There was much in the general character of the age which helped to give England this special European importance. It was a transitional age; new ideas had come in, but the old ideas had not been wholly forgotten. The powers of Europe were now beginning to put on some approach to the shape and the relations to one another which they kept down to very modern times. We have come to the beginning of the long rivalry between France and the house of Austria. France had, on different grounds, hereditary enmities both with the empire and with the houses of Burgundy and Aragon. The pretensions of the French kings to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan were the chief cause of the long struggles in Italy in which all the neighbouring powers had their share. Henry stood apart, and was eagerly sought by all as ally or as arbiter. Here is a wholly new state of things, the beginning of that wider system of European policy which deems that no European state is wholly without interest in the affairs of any other. We are on the road to the days of the doctrine of the balance of power. On the other hand, the old enmity between England and France had not died out, nor had the old grounds for that enmity been forgotten. The memories of the days of Edward III. and Henry V. are at this time strangely mingled up with political ideas which might be a century or two later. Henry is called in as the arbiter of Italy and of Europe. He is the defender of the pope and the enemy of the Turk. He dreams of the empire for himself, and of the papacy for his great minister. Negotiations and changes of side are endless. Wars and alliances Of the two successive kings of France, Lewis XII. and Francis I., he is alternately the friend and the enemy. He has wars with both; yet he becomes the brother-in-law of Lewis and the sworn brother of Francis. When the empire and the powers of Castile, Burgundy, and Aragon were all united in the person of Charles V., the old alliance between England and Burgundy, and the far older alliance between England and the empire, united Charles and Henry for several years against Francis. Henry's very failure to obtain the imperial-crown seems not so much to have embittered him against the successful candidate as to have turned his thoughts towards the crown which he professed to claim by hereditary right. From 1519 to 1525, Henry and his imperial nephew seemed steady friends. From about this time till quite the end of Henry's reign, foreign affairs are almost sunk in the surpassing interest of events at home. But, as those events depended on the divorce of the emperor's aunt, the friendship of England at this stage leaned to Francis against Charles. But, amidst all these shifting of friendship and enmity, the only real warfare in which England either did or suffered anything was waged with the two old enemies, France and her firm ally Scotland. The two periods of really active warfare under Henry come at the two ends of his reign. From 1512 to 1514 was a time of war, a time of victory on the part of England. The one year 1513 saw the defeat of the invading Scots at Flodden, and the conquest of Terouanne and Tournay by the king of England in person, with the emperor-elect as his ally, almost as his mercenary. All this within the space of a few weeks seemed to bring back the most triumphant days of Edward

III. Again in 1522 and 1523 Scotland and France were both successfully invaded. Eighteen years later, in 1541, the Scottish wars began again; two years later England and the empire were again allied against France and Scotland. In 1544 England was again successful over both enemies: while the king in person took Boulogne, his brother-in-law burned Edinburgh and laid waste Scotland, as far as came under his power, with a barbarity which can certainly not be laid to the charge of Edward I. It is certain that England in the end gained nothing by either the negotiations or the warfare of the reign of Henry. But they are enough to account for the fact, which to us seems so strange, that Henry was, on the whole, popular during his life, and that his memory was cherished after his death. He was the last native king who in his own person waged war, and that successful war, on the mainland. His victories were useless; but they were victories; and, as such, they fed the national imagination. After the dreary time of the civil wars, England again stood forth as a great power, a conquering power, a power in some sort greater than it had ever been before. To the conqueror much was forgiven in the way of wrong doing at home. More still was forgiven to the king who at last accomplished the work which Henry II. had begun but was not able to finish.

Character of Henry's despotism.

The traditions of arbitrary power and unscrupulous shedding of blood had been handed on to Henry by his predecessors, as far back as his Yorkist grandfather. It was the peculiar direction which was given to despotism and slaughter in the latter part of his reign which was wholly his own. The darkest side of Henry's character came more and more into prominence in his later years; but his rule was arbitrary, and on occasion bloody, from the beginning. He could from the beginning put men to death, either to gratify a popular cry or to shield himself from purely imaginary dangers. Empson and Dudley, the ministers of his father, had fully deserved the hatred of the people; but their execution, almost the first act of Henry's reign, could be justified on no possible ground of law. In the midst of Henry's French wars, in 1521, Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was put to death, rather because his royal descent was deemed to make him dangerous than on account of any proved crime. But, in these and in all Henry's acts, we see that attention to formal legality which is the special characteristic of his reign. At no time, unless during the first years of the Conquest, was so much wrong done under legal form, and the Conqueror at least did not send those whom he despoiled to the scaffold. It would be going a great deal too far to say that all Henry's acts could be justified by the letter of the law of England; but it may be fairly said that he could always plead either law or precedent. For his worst acts he was always able to show at least some pretence of legal sanction; his tyranny never became a reign of mere violence. In his days law emphatically became unlawful. Parliaments legislated as he thought good; judges and juries gave such judgments and verdicts as he thought good; and, when their action was too slow, parliament was ready to attain, even without a hearing, any one whom the king wished to destroy. When Henry's mind turned to ecclesiastical change, parliaments and convocations alike were ready to shape the creed of the nation according to the caprice of its ruler. That such a tyranny could in this way be carried out, never by mere force, often under strictly legal forms, makes the character both of the man and of the time a study of special interest. It is a time which specially deserves and needs an historian.¹ Here nothing more can be done than to trace its most general features.

¹ The historian has been found—though the history is not generally accessible, and is not complete—in Mr Brewer, who has traced the story of a large part of Henry's reign in the Prefaces to the Calendars

The ecclesiastical work of Henry's reign was not religious reformation in the sense in which those words would have been understood by Wickliffe or Luther. Henry now and then, in the endless shifting of his course, looked in the direction of the German Reformers, but it was rather for political than for religious ends. One or two of his theological productions at one stage do indeed show a slight Protestant tendency on one or two points.² But this was only for a moment; Henry's later legislation went towards the establishment of the most rigid orthodoxy, according to the Roman type, in all matters of dogma. To the end of his days Henry and his prelates, Cranmer conspicuously among them, took care to send to the flames any who swerved in the least degree from the received doctrine of transubstantiation. Henry's scheme was to carry out in its fulness that scheme after which earlier kings had so often striven, the complete emancipation of England from the power of the Roman see, and the transfer of the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown. In this he did little more than put into a more distinct shape the authority which the Conqueror had exercised, and which Henry II. had striven to win back. The ancient kings had allowed the authority of the pope to be exercised only so far as they thought good; Henry threw it off altogether. The acts of 1534, which swept away the Roman supremacy, were the climax of the legislation which had been begun in the Constitutions of Clarendon, and which had been carried on in the statutes of Provisors and of *pre-munire*. A few special points of Henry's legislation which were likely to give special offence lasted only during his own reign and that of his son. Such were the title of Head of the Church, and that personal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters which Henry claimed to exercise either by himself or through his vicar-general. Such again were the commissions from the crown which were taken out by bishops under Henry and Edward. These things formed no essential part of the royal supremacy. They were abolished under Mary, and they were not re-established under Elizabeth. The essence of the change which Henry wrought was the abolition of all foreign jurisdiction within the island realm. And it must not be forgotten that, though the Roman bishop was chiefly aimed at, the Roman emperor was aimed at also. It was not without reason that the ancient imperial style of England now reappears. Since the Conquest the use of that style had been rare, and the instances of its use always mark some special need of the time. Its increased frequency under Henry marks a special need of his time. When the imperial power was in the hands of Charles V., and when Charles V. was an enemy, it was not without reason that it was declared that the kingdom of England was an empire, and that its crown was an imperial crown. Separation from the see of Rome was not meant to carry with it any change of doctrine, or to imply any breach of communion with the Churches which remained in the Roman obedience. It was strictly a scheme of ecclesiastical independence, and no more. But the acts of Henry put on a peculiar character from the circumstances which led to his ecclesiastical changes, and from the way in which many of them were carried out. And, when ecclesiastical change had once begun, it could not fail to ally itself with other influences, however little such alliance formed any part of the scheme of Henry himself.

In strictness of speech, the English Reformation, if by those words we understand changes in doctrine and ritual, is quite distinct from Henry's assertion of the ecclesiastical nature of State Papers. The general character of Henry is well sketched by Hallam, who prophesies beforehand against some modern delusions. As for instance, in the "Book of Articles," and the "Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man," put forth in 1536. Here is a certain amount of wavering as to the number of sacraments. That is about the whole advance in a Protestant direction; the six articles of 1541 enforce the Roman theology on pain of death.

independence of England. In idea the two things stand quite separate. Practically the two form two stages in a great series of cause and effect. The system of Henry has been epigrammatically described as Popery without the Pope. And the experience of a few years showed that Popery without the Pope was a visionary scheme. But the various stages which are often confounded under the one name of "the Reformation" must be carefully distinguished. There was not in England, as there was in some foreign countries, a particular act of a particular year which might fairly be called "the Reformation." In England, if the formula "The Reformation" has any meaning at all, it means the whole period of ecclesiastical change which was spread over a time of about forty years. It was a time of constant change, of change backwards and forwards; its result was that, by the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, there was an established state of things wholly different from the established state of things which there had been in the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. But in the development of the ecclesiastical constitution of England, just as in the development of her political constitution, there was no moment when an old state of things was altogether swept away, and when a wholly new state of things was set up in its place. The ecclesiastical development was far swifter, far more violent, than the political development, but the two were essentially of the same kind. Both were brought about by the gradual working of causes and their effects. As the political development of England was something wholly unlike the violent change of the French Revolution, so the ecclesiastical development of England was wholly unlike the violent change of the Reformation in the Swiss Protestant cantons.

The English Reformation then, including in that name the merely ecclesiastical changes of Henry as well as the more strictly religious changes of the next reign, was not in its beginning either a popular or a theological movement. In this it differs from the Reformation in many continental countries, and especially from the Reformation in the northern part of Britain. The Scottish Reformation began much later; but, when it began, its course was far swifter and fiercer. That is to say, it was essentially popular and essentially theological. The result was that, of all the nations which threw off the dominion of the Roman see, England, on the whole, made the least change, whilst Scotland undoubtedly made the most.¹ In England change began from above. But there is no reason to doubt that the acts with which the period of change began received the general approbation of the nation. It is plain that there was no general desire among Englishmen for strictly theological change. The old Lollard teaching, which had never quite died out, began to be of increased importance in the early days of Henry. There can be little doubt that

The English Reformation begins from above.

Effects of the new learning. This revival of strictly theological dissent was part of the same general movement which gave life to the new learning. But the men of the new learning, the English friends of Erasmus, Colet and More, with their patron Archbishop Warham, were not, strictly speaking, theological reformers. They aimed at general enlightenment and at the reform of practical abuses and superstitions; but they designed no change in dogma or ritual. Their more strictly intellectual movement merged in the wider theological movement; but in the beginning they were so far distinct that the author of *Utopia* showed himself in the strangely incongruous character of a persecutor. The small party of theological reform undoubtedly welcomed the changes of Henry, as being likely

in the end to advance their own cause; but the mass of the nation was undoubtedly favourable to Henry's system of Popery without the Pope. For three hundred years the pope had been the standing grievance of Englishmen, and they were now rejoiced to get rid of him altogether. They were glad too to get rid of gross practical abuses, to reform the corruptions and oppressions of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to bring the clergy thoroughly under the power of the law. But they were attached to their old religious customs and ceremonies, and they had no love for new dogmas. In all this Henry and the mass of his people went heartily together. There were of course dissentients on both sides, men who wished for no change at all and men who wished for far greater changes. But there can be no doubt that the mass of the nation was satisfied with what their king gave them, ecclesiastical independence without theological change. On these points, the great body of Henry's statesmen and prelates were of one mind. Cranmer and Gardiner accepted and carried out the same position system. We can discern then, as at all other times, two of Cranmer and Gardiner parties with opposite tendencies; but they are merely opposite tendencies; there is no open breach. We are tempted to think that there was from the beginning an organized Catholic and an organized Protestant party.² But this is the idea of a later time. The mass of the nation and the great body of the leading men were substantially of one mind. There was a party favourable to more change and a party favourable to less, but both accepted the degree of change that was given them. A few zealots were embowelled for denying the supremacy; a few zealots were burned for denying transubstantiation. The great body of the nation, the great body of its representatives and its leaders, accepted transubstantiation and the supremacy together. Nor is there any need to charge either Cranmer or Gardiner with hypocrisy. No broad line was yet drawn, such as was drawn afterwards. Men obeyed and administered the ecclesiastical law, though they might wish it to be in some things different, just as men in all ages have obeyed and administered the temporal law, though they may have in some things wished it to be different. In truth Cranmer and Gardiner alike were trying to work a system which could not be permanently worked. They were trying to reconcile two things which could not be permanently reconciled. At last it became clear that Popery without the Pope would not work, and that men must take one side or the other. When it came to this, men in the position of Cranmer and Gardiner had to choose a side, and they chose opposite sides. Still, among all changes, under Henry, under Edward, under Mary, under Elizabeth, the mass of the nation conformed to every change. Again there is no need to charge them with hypocrisy. They obeyed the law, whether wholly approving it or not. A few on each side had consciences so susceptible that they deemed it their duty to defy the law. Among the mass of the nation some might be inclined one way and some another; but they felt no call to court martyrdom on either side.

For it must be borne in mind throughout that as yet the Religious idea of religious toleration, though it had presented itself to the mind of More as a matter of philosophical speculation, was unknown in Europe in any practical shape. Everywhere the dominant party, whichever it might be, forbade, and that in most cases under pain of death, the practice of any religion except that of the dominant party. Those who clave to the old religion forbade the practice of the new; and the professors of the new doctrines, the moment they had the power, forbade the practice of the old. So in England, through the whole period of Reformation,

¹ On the whole, because, in some points of sacramental doctrine and ritual, the Lutheran Churches, especially in Sweden, have made less change than the Church of England has. But nowhere did the general ecclesiastical system go on with so little change as it did in England.

² These names are used, without any attempt at theological accuracy, as those which will most generally be understood, to point out the two opposite tendencies which at this stage were no more than tendencies.

the existing system, whatever it was, was the only system that was allowed. Every other form of worship was forbidden under penalties, heavier or lighter. And there was always some form or degree of theological error which sent its professors to the flames. And, besides burnings for heresy, as heresy was understood at each successive stage, this period of English history is especially distinguished for the cloaking of what was really religious persecution under the guise of punishment for political offences. During the reign of Henry, every man who would now be deemed a conscientious Catholic was liable to die the death of a traitor. Every man who would now be deemed a conscientious Protestant was liable to die the death of a heretic. Under Edward and Elizabeth the standard of belief was changed, so changed that only a few extreme sectaries were now in danger of the flames. But the difference simply was that the line was drawn at a different point. Those who went beyond that point were burned by those who a few years before might have been burned themselves.

Administration of Wolsey. For twenty years after his accession, Henry was famous, not only for strict orthodoxy of dogma, but for special devotion to the Roman see. He had received a learned education, and he believed himself to be a special master of theology. His writings in that character, as a defender of Roman doctrine against Luther, won him in 1521 the title of Defender of the Faith, which by a singular irony was conferred by Leo X. Through all this first period of his reign, the series of ecclesiastical statesmen still goes on. For fourteen years, from 1515 to 1529, ecclesiastical statesmanship was in truth at its highest pitch in the person of Thomas Wolsey, archbishop, cardinal, and chancellor. During the administration of this famous man, we are instinctively reminded of the joint rule of an earlier Henry and an earlier Thomas; but the fate of the two great chancellors was widely different. No English minister before Wolsey, and few after him, ever attained so great an European position. He dreamed of the popedom, while his master dreamed of the empire. In his home administration Wolsey carried out the policy which had become usual since Edward IV., and summoned parliament as seldom as possible. On the other hand, his administration of justice won the highest general confidence, and his hand was far from heavy on the maintainers of the new religious doctrines. On the whole his position is rather European than English. He is the minister of Henry in his earlier character as warrior, conqueror, and arbiter of Europe. He is more like the great cardinals who ruled in other lands than anything to which we are used in England. The purely English work of Henry's reign was done by the hands of men of another kind. The era of the lay statesmen now begins in the mightiest and most terrible of their number, Thomas Cromwell. From this time the highest offices are still occasionally held by churchmen, even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. But the holding of office by churchmen now becomes exceptional; lay administration is the rule.

Henry's marriages. There is no need to go through the endless tale of Henry's marriages, divorces, and beheadings of wives, except so far as they have a political or ecclesiastical bearing. The mere number of Henry's wives is unparalleled in our history, and has not many parallels in any history; and the king was, to say the least, unlucky, who, out of six wives, found himself obliged to divorce two and behead two others. But, even in these matters, the peculiar character of Henry's tyranny stands forth. Everything is done with some show of legal form. When he wishes to get rid of a wife, or to exchange one wife for another, the first is divorced or beheaded by some process which has at least the show of legal authority.

"Non nisi legitime vult nubere."

Of all Henry's doings in this way, the long story of the Effects of divorce of Katharine of Aragon is the first, and the most remarkable in its historical bearings. We may pass by the details and points of controversy; but it is plain that the validity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine was on any showing doubtful, and that doubts had been from time to time raised on the point before the great controversy arose. It is further plain that it was most desirable for the kingdom to have an heir whose legitimacy could not be called in question. It is also plain that it is quite in the character of Henry, if he wished to get rid of Katharine and to marry Anne, to seize upon every shadow either of political expediency or of canonical subtlety which might help him to put a fair show on the course to which his own fancy led him. What he did he would do with some shadow of legal right, even though such shadow of legal right was to be had only by devising a new jurisprudence, by upsetting the relations of Church and State as they were then understood, by jeopardizing the relations of his kingdoms with foreign powers, and by shedding any amount of innocent blood, provided always that it could be shed in legal form. It is enough for our purpose that Henry's wish to put Anne in the place of Katharine led to the endless disputes as to the validity of Katharine's marriage, and, as its first great result in England, to the fall of the great cardinal in 1529, followed by his death in the next year. Events now follow fast on one another. In 1531, by one of the meanest tricks that ever king played, the whole estate of the clergy was held to have fallen into a *præmunire* by admitting the legitimate authority of Wolsey, which he had exercised with the king's full sanction. Their pardon was bought only by an enormous subsidy, and by acknowledging the king as Supreme Head on earth of the *Title of Church of England*, a form of words now heard for the *Supreme Head* first time. In 1532, when all hope of a favourable sentence from Rome had passed by, Henry is believed to have privately married Anne. In 1533 the death of Archbishop Warham made room for the promotion of Thomas Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, a promotion which was still made by papal authority. The first act of the new primate was to hold a court which declared the marriage of Katharine null and the marriage of Anne lawful. Then came the great legislation of the year 1534, by which the papal authority was wholly abolished, while the *Abolition Act of Submission* on the part of the clergy subordinated of papal all ecclesiastical legislation within the kingdom to the royal *authority*. The succession to the crown was settled in favour of the issue of Anne, to the exclusion of the issue of Katharine, and the punishment of treason was denounced against all who refused to swear to the succession so ordained. The title of Supreme Head of the Church, already voted by the clergy, was now bestowed by parliament, and full ecclesiastical powers were annexed to it. These powers were allowed to be exercised by deputy, and in 1535 Cromwell was made vicegerent for the king in ecclesiastical matters, with precedence in the ecclesiastical convocation over the metropolitan himself. On the other hand, a strict statute was passed for the suppression of heresy. The scheme of Henry was now fully established; the religion of England was Popery without the Pope.

It was only in an indirect way that such a change as this Indirect could give any encouragement to the professors of the re-formed doctrines. It was only in a still more indirect way of the change that it could tend to the establishment of religious toleration or the acknowledgment of liberty of conscience. Still, however indirectly, the first steps were now taken towards change in the received doctrines of the Church, and towards the toleration of dissent from those doctrines. So great a change could not fail to lead to further changes, and the next six years of Henry's reign were a time in which all

the influences at work were in the direction of further change. It was the time of the administration of Cromwell, and of the highest influence of Cranmer. The new state of things was ushered in by the beheading of Sir Thomas More and of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

No greater mockery of all the forms of justice was ever done in any age or in any land. But the execution of these two worthies calls for a special notice on account of the great constitutional point which it involves. They were called on to swear both to the succession to the crown, as settled on the issue of Anne, and also to the preamble of the act which declared the marriage of Katharine invalid. This latter oath involved a theological proposition of which their consciences disapproved; to the succession they were perfectly ready to swear. That is to say, More, the great thinker of his generation, utterly cast aside the whole figment of hereditary right. In his view the children of Henry and Anne would be illegitimate; but, in his view, it was within the power of parliament to settle the crown on the king's illegitimate children or on any persons whatsoever. To the succession therefore, which was all that was of any practical moment, he would swear; to a proposition which he held to be doctrinally false he would not swear. On these grounds Henry sent his wisest and greatest subject to the scaffold.

Cromwell's reign of terror, as it has been well called, now sets in. It is specially remarkable for the constant use of acts of attainder, acts sometimes passed without giving the accused person the opportunity of making any defence. Not that in Henry's reign a defence went for anything, even when the regular forms of trial by a man's peers were observed. It was deemed for the king's honour that those whom the king accused should be convicted, and the Lords or the jury convicted accordingly. In more than one case, entries were found in Cromwell's papers, directing that such and such a person should be "tried and executed." Meanwhile new treasons and other crimes were invented. Martyrs were made on both sides; the supposed traitor and the supposed heretic were sometimes drawn to death on the same hurdle. Two of the martyrdoms of this period deserve special notice. In one case at least, but seemingly in one only, the penalties of heresy were held to attach to the denial of the king's supremacy. For this crime a friar, Forrest by name, was burned with special circumstances of brutal mockery. On the other side, the case of Lambert in 1538 well illustrates both the new jurisprudence and the peculiar position of some of the actors at the time. The men who were afterwards burned themselves were the foremost in burning others. Lambert was denounced by Taylor and Barnes, and condemned by Cranmer, for the denial of transubstantiation. He appealed to the king in his character of Head of the Church. Henry heard the cause in person, and, when his own arguments and those of Cranmer failed to convince the heretic, he was sentenced to the stake by the voice of Cromwell.¹ About the same time a general persecution took place of all who were guilty of having the blood of kings in their veins. Margaret countess of Salisbury was the daughter of George duke of Clarence, the mother of Reginald Pole. Pole was in theology the very opposite to Henry. As the system of Henry was Popery without the Pope, so Pole might be said to be inclined to the Pope without Popery. With a distinct leaning to the Reformers on some strictly theological points, he was a zealot for the papal supremacy. On this point, and on all the

¹ A modern writer thus comments on the death of Lambert:—"In a country which was governed by law, not by the special will of a despot, the supreme magistrate was neither able, nor desired, so long as a law remained unrepealed by parliament, to suspend the action of it." This singular argument forgets, among several other things, the royal prerogative of mercy.

practical points which flowed from it, Pole was a vigorous disputant against his royal kinsman. But he was beyond the sea, safe from the grasp of Henry, Cromwell, or Cranmer. The head of his aged mother, sentenced to die by act of attainder, paid the penalty of his crime.

This last deed of blood was specially Henry's own. The attainder of the countess was indeed passed while Cromwell was still in power, but she was not put to death till after his fall. But the deaths of particular persons seem but a small matter beside the great revolution which Cromwell wrought over the whole face of the country by his great work of the suppression of the monasteries. This work in-

Suppres-
sion of
monas-
teries.

deed incidentally supplied him with not a few personal victims. That the power of the state was supreme, as over everything else, so over ecclesiastical foundations, no man in England could doubt. Monasteries had been suppressed on occasion from the earliest times. Special attention has been already called to the suppression under Henry V.; and during Henry's own reign Wolsey had suppressed a

Earlier
suppres-
sions.

considerable number of small monasteries to supply endowments for his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. A general suppression of all the monasteries in the kingdom was clearly within the power of parliament, and strong reasons might have been brought for such a course. We must however remember that at this stage Protestant objections to the monastic life do not apply. Henry, while destroying the monasteries, enforced the obligation of the chief monastic vow. But it might well be argued that the number and wealth of these institutions were excessive, that they had ceased to fulfil their original purposes, that on any showing they needed a sweeping reform, and that possibly reform could not be carried out without suppression. For the measure itself then much might be said.

The way in which it was carried out was characteristic of Henry VIII. Mere violence was inconsistent with his character; something of the form of law must be had. In 1536 the smaller monasteries were regularly suppressed by

Distinct
suppres-
sions of
greater
and lesser
monas-
teries.

act of parliament, a course against which nothing can be said. But the greater monasteries were surrendered one by one into the king's hands by their actual occupants, an act of most doubtful legality. Where a surrender was refused, as at Reading, Colchester, and Glastonbury, the abbots were ordered, according to Cromwell's formula, to be "tried and executed" on such charges as were thought good. In these cases, by a strange construction of law, the monastery was held to fall by the attainder of its abbot.

Execution of
abbots.

The suppression was justified by the reports of visitors, which in most cases charged the monks with crimes of various kinds. No one will believe that such a report was either wholly true or wholly false; but it is to be noted that monasteries which were reported to be wholly blameless, and for whose preservation the visitors themselves pleaded, were suppressed with the rest. It is to be further noted that, where abbots and priors surrendered easily, of whatever crimes they had been accused, their compliance was rewarded either with considerable pensions or with church preferment.²

State of
the monas-
teries.

Of no monastery in England was a worse character given than of the priory of Christ Church at Canterbury, that which was attached to the metropolitan church. Yet, when that church was refounded as a secular chapter, Henry and Cranmer chose most of the canons and other officers of the church out of the body of men who had just before been branded with the blackest crimes. In the suppression under Henry V., nearly the whole of the confiscated revenues was applied to works of general

² Thus the last abbot of Peterborough became the first bishop, and the prior of St Andrews at Northampton, who, in the act of surrender, had drawn a dark picture of the doings of himself and his monks, became the first dean.

Crom-
well's
Reign of
Terror.

Burning
of Lain-
bert.

Behead-
ing of
Lady
Salis-
bury.

Squandered of the monastic property.

Henry's foundations.

usefulness, chiefly to the great educational foundations which were then rising. In the suppression under Henry VIII., by far the greater part of the vast revenues of the monastic houses was squandered or gambled away among Henry's courtiers. Churches and churchyards were granted to private men, to be destroyed or desecrated at their pleasure. The tithe which the monasteries had taken to themselves, to the great wrong of the parish priests and their flocks, was now seized with their other property, and was granted away to lay rectors. Cranmer, who gave up several estates of his see to the king, did not scruple to receive grants of lands and tithe for the enrichment of his own family. Only a small portion of the monastic revenues was saved for public purposes of any kind. A little was spent on the defence of the coasts. Of a magnificent scheme for the foundation of new bishoprics, a small part only was carried out in the foundation of six slenderly endowed sees. Those cathedral churches which had been served by monks, and which therefore came into the king's hands with the other monasteries, were, with the exceptions of Bath and Coventry, refounded as churches of secular canons. Henry also gained the reputation of a benefactor in both universities. At Oxford his claim rests on several suppressions and refoundations of the college which had been begun by Wolsey, and on his charging the chapters of Oxford and Westminster with the maintenance of certain professors. At Cambridge the like reputation was gained by rolling several small colleges into one large one. The statutes of Henry's various foundations, drawn up in some cases by his own hand, breathe a spirit of piety and zeal worthy of Alfred or St Lewis. Here again there is no need to suspect conscious hypocrisy. It only makes the character of Henry a more wonderful moral study. Besides the suppression of monasteries, a great deal of wealth, to be squandered in the like sort, was brought in by the destruction of shrines and by the seizure of the movable ornaments of many churches which were not suppressed. On the other hand, most of the inmates of the suppressed monasteries¹ received pensions, small in many cases, but enough for their maintenance; and these pensions seem to have been honestly paid. With the usual long life of annuitants, some of them still received their pensions in the reign of James I.

The foundations and refoundations just spoken of went on to the very end of Henry's reign. An Act of 1545 placed the secular foundations, the colleges and hospitals, at his mercy; and he destroyed, refounded, or left untouched, according to his pleasure. But the two great suppressions, the suppression of the greater and of the lesser monasteries, were all done under the rule of Cromwell, and in his time came their immediate political results.

It is not easy to say what was the general feeling of the nation towards the suppressed monasteries. It doubtless differed widely in different places, according to the character of particular houses. It is certain that in 1536 the whole north of England rose in revolt on occasion of the suppression of the lesser monasteries. This revolt, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, was distinctly a religious movement; but it was a political movement as well. We seem to have gone back to the days of Edward the Confessor, when we find the northern insurgents demanding that no man north of Trent should be compelled to appear in the ordinary course of justice anywhere but at York. They demanded also the holding of a parliament at York, which Henry promised, but neglected to summon. The revolt began again, and it was suppressed with a large amount of hanging, beheading, and burning of the abbots, lay lords, ladies, and others who were concerned. A Lord President and Council

of the North were now appointed to keep that dangerous region in order.

But after all, in Henry's reign it is the marriages, the divorces, and the beheadings of his several queens which form, if not the causes, at least the occasions, of the greatest changes. Henry's dissatisfaction with one marriage had led to the fall of Wolsey and the rise of Cromwell; his dissatisfaction with another marriage led to the fall of Cromwell himself. England and Europe had been turned upside down in order that Henry might marry Anne Boleyn. Three years after her marriage, she was got rid of by the twofold process of a divorce pronounced by Cranmer which declared the nullity of her marriage, and of a conviction for adultery by the House of Lords which implied its validity. Anne Boleyn was beheaded, and the next morning Henry, acting, as we have been told, from the severest principles of public duty, married her maid Jane Seymour. It was now made treasonable to assert the validity of Anne's marriage, as before it had been treasonable to deny it. Anne's daughter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, as Katharine's daughter Mary had been declared illegitimate, and the crown was settled on the issue of Jane only. The new queen, by unusual good luck, died, Jane Seymour, neither divorced nor beheaded, at the birth of her only child, Henry's only legitimate son, the future Edward VI. Except as regards the succession of the crown, all this is little more than an episode. Henry's fourth marriage was of greater political importance. Katharine, Anne, and Jane had been at least his own choice. Anne of Cleves was chosen for him by his vicegerent. Her marriage was part of a political scheme for an union between Henry and the Protestant princes of Germany against the emperor. Cromwell, it is plain, went further than the king approved in advances towards these heretical allies, and the queen whom he found for Henry among them found no favour in Henry's eyes. Cromwell had in fact chosen his time badly for any advances in a Protestant direction. While his negotiations with the German princes were going on, the statute of six articles was passed by the parliament of 1539, which enforced the old belief under the deadliest penalties. The marriage took place at the very beginning of 1540. In the course of the year Cromwell was created Earl of Essex, arrested, attainted without a hearing, and beheaded. In Fall and the interval between his attainder and his execution, the execution marriage which he had brought about was annulled by convocation, and on the day of his beheading Henry married his fifth wife, Katharine Howard.

The administration of Cromwell, remarkable as it is in other ways, derives its greatest constitutional importance from the new relations between crown and parliament which now begin. Wolsey, after the example of Edward IV. and Henry VII., had shrunk from meeting the assembly of the nation. Under his rule parliaments were summoned as seldom as might be. Cromwell, on the other hand, never feared to face parliament. From the time of his accession to power till the end of Henry's reign, parliaments were constantly held. And from this time, a practice which had been already followed sometimes rose into special importance. The king's powers of prorogation and dissolution of parliament now come into notice. The early parliaments met; they did the business for which they were summoned, and then they went home again. The prolongation of the life of the assembly beyond the time of its session was not thought of. Each meeting implied a new election of the House of Commons. But it was gradually found that a parliament which suited the king's purposes might be kept in being by prorogations from one session to another. This practice began to be of prorogation used under Henry VI. and Edward IV., in which last reign the practice became usual; under Henry VIII.

¹ All perhaps, except the nuns of the lesser monasteries, who were sent away with only a gown apiece.

it became systematic. Some of his parliaments lived in this way for four successive years. Cromwell was thoroughly master of the art of packing and managing parliaments, an art to which the succeeding reigns added the practice of summoning members from a crowd of petty places, with the express object of securing subservient returns. The parliaments of Henry's time passed, though not always without opposition, whatever the king wanted, even to the act which gave the king's proclamation, with certain exceptions, the force of a statute. But in the fact that parliaments for a while became so slavish lay the hope of the final revival of freedom. It was under the despotism of Henry exactly as it had been under the despotism of the Conqueror. There was no need to abolish institutions which could so easily be turned to work the despots will. There was no need seriously to encroach upon their formal powers. The institutions and their powers thus remained, to be again quickened into full life in the seventeenth century, as they had before been quickened in the thirteenth century. Had Henry met with a stronger parliamentary opposition, our liberties might have passed away, like the liberties of the lands which went to make up the monarchies of France and Spain. Parliaments went on, because parliaments voted whatever the king wished. Juries went on, because they convicted whomever the king wished. But, because they were allowed to go on, a time came when parliaments learned to pass measures which kings did not wish to have passed, and when juries learned to acquit men whom kings wished to destroy. In this way, as William the Conqueror in one age, so Thomas Cromwell in another, may be looked on as the indirect preserver of English freedom.

Dealings with Scotland. After the fall of Cromwell the reign of Henry loses much of its interest; or at least the interest is, as at the beginning of his reign, again transferred to the wars with France and Scotland. But these wars, with their momentary successes, are of little importance, except that in the course of the Scottish war we see the beginning of the train of events which sixty years later united the English and Scottish crowns. James V. of Scotland, it must be remembered, was Henry's nephew, the son of his sister Margaret. According to genealogical notions, he was next in succession to the crown after Henry's own children. The prospect of this contingent succession was dangled by Henry before the eyes of James. And when James died, leaving an infant daughter, the famous Queen Mary, Henry's schemes now took the form of a marriage between her and his son Edward. This was exactly the same scheme which had been proposed by Edward I. when Scotland had an earlier child queen. In neither case did the scheme bear immediate fruit. The marriage of Edward and Mary formed one of the terms of a momentary peace between England and Scotland in 1543. But the war began again, and was carried on, in connexion with the reforming party in Scotland, both during this reign and during the early years of the next, with the avowed object of bringing about the marriage. It is needless to say that the marriage was never carried out. But Mary came to be, on other grounds, a claimant of the crown of England, and her son came to possess it.

Later years of Henry.

Katharine Howard.

During these later years of Henry, no commanding figure stands out like those of Wolsey and Cromwell. Henry himself, towards the end of his reign, lost much of his energy. Martyrdoms on both sides still went on, though, as compared with the slaughter of later times, they were rare on both sides. There is yet no open change; but the gap between the two parties gets wider and wider. Katharine Howard, married in 1540, was beheaded early in 1542. In the next year Henry married his last wife, a third Katharine, commonly called Katharine Parr, but who was

then the widow of Neville Lord Latimer. Her leaning was ^{to the new doctrines, and at one time she was in danger on} Katharine Parr. to the new doctrines, and at one time she was in danger on their account. On the whole, the tendency was now in favour of change. Things seemed to sway backwards and forwards between Bishop Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk on one side and Cranmer and Edward earl of Hertford, a brother of Queen Jane Seymour, on the other side. At the moment of Henry's death the reforming party had the greater influence. The last who were sentenced to die in his time were Norfolk himself and his son the famous earl of Surrey. The son perished; the father was saved by the king's death. But though the reforming party had politically the upper hand, no step was taken as long as Henry lived in the direction of strictly religious reformation.

The most important question during these later years was the settlement of the succession. By a statute passed in 1544, the crown was to pass to Henry's three children in order, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Both the king's daughters had been declared illegitimate; but now, without any reversal of their illegitimacy, they were placed in the succession to the crown. On no theory could Mary and Crown Elizabeth both be legitimate; the law had declared that entailed neither of them was. The point is of importance, because in truth neither Mary nor Elizabeth reigned by any right of birth, but by a purely parliamentary title. But the statute went on further to bestow on Henry a power which never was bestowed on any other king before or after. In default of the issue of his own children, the crown was to pass to such persons as he might himself appoint by his last will, signed with his own hand. By his last will he exercised this power by leaving the crown in remainder to the issue of his younger sister, Mary the French queen, who, after the death of Lewis XII., had married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. He thus passed by the queen of Scots and the other issue of his elder sister Margaret. The provisions of this will become of great importance at a later time; and it shows on what small accidents great questions may depend, that it is matter of controversy whether the will was signed by the king's own hand, according to the statute, or whether it was merely signed with a stamp.

In this memorable reign then, though no strictly religious reformation was wrought, yet a step was taken which made religious reformation inevitable. One marked feature of the fully developed English character was now added. England was from this time, with a momentary interruption, the enemy of the Roman see. But the reign of Henry helped in another way towards the welding together of the whole isle of Britain. Wales was now fully incorporated with the kingdom of England. It was brought wholly under English law and was fully represented in the English parliament. Ireland too was brought into more complete submission than it had ever been before, and in 1542 Henry exchanged his title of Lord of Ireland for that of King, or, as an Irish Act words it, "King and Emperor of the realm of England and of the land of Ireland." Ireland was a dependent kingdom; still from this time it was a kingdom attached to the crown of England, and by making it such a distinct step was taken towards the union of the British islands.

Ireland a kingdom. On the reign of Henry followed the reigns of his three children in succession, according to the order laid down in the statute of 1544. The marked historical feature of these reigns is that they are the time of strictly religious reformation. It was found that the middle system of Henry could not last, that the English Church and nation must throw in its lot with one side or the other in the great controversy of the age. Under Edward the religious reformation was wrought. Under Mary, first the work of Edward, and then the work of Henry, was undone, and the authority of the Roman see was again admitted. Under

Reign of Elizabeth the work both of Henry and of Edward was done again. Her reign, four times the length of the two reigns of her brother and sister, is the time when the religious position of England took its final form. The national Church was organized in its essential features as it still remains. And, before the end of her reign, the two parties, those who thought change had gone too far and those who thought that it had not gone far enough, had ceased to be mere parties within the same body. They had become distinct bodies of separatists on either side of the national Church. The reign of Elizabeth saw the beginnings of the Roman Catholic body on the one side and of the Protestant dissenters on the other. As yet both dissentient bodies existed only as objects of persecution. A main feature of the later religious history of England has been the steps by which, first the Protestant dissenters, and then the Roman Catholics, have been admitted to full equality with the members of the national Church.

The political history of these reigns, domestic and foreign, is of high importance, but it depends in a large measure on the religious history. It was mainly owing to

Relations with France and Spain. Beginning of religious and political parties.

Reign of Edward V.

Somerset.

Northum- berland.

Edward's will.

queen Mary, Jane was in the line named by Henry in case of the failure of his own children; but her immediate promotion was due to her being the wife of a son of Northumberland. Jane, proclaimed by the council, was rejected by the nation, and Mary, whose parliamentary title was undoubtedly, was raised to the throne by a popular movement. Accession of Mary. Northumberland of course paid his forfeit with his head; but the execution of Jane herself, not at the time, but after a later revolt in which she had no share, was an act of needless harshness.

England under Edward altogether fell from the great European position which she had held under Henry. The chief foreign events of the time are the war with Scotland, the Relations useless and barbarous havoc done by the protector, and the with peace both with Scotland and with France by which Boulogne was restored. But the real character of the reign is marked by its ecclesiastical changes, changes which are largely mixed up with a social revolution which was now going on.

The strictly religious changes began with the promulgation Religious changes.

of a Book of Homilies in the first year of Edward. It marks the state of things at the time that one of these homilies, which are still to this day set forth by authority to be read in churches, was the work of Edmund Bonner.

The homilies were followed in 1548 by a form for the administration of the communion in English, and in 1549 by the publication of the complete English Prayer-Book and an act allowing the marriage of the clergy. This first

The Prayer-Book of Edward marks the first stage of the religious English Reformation. It is a purely English stage; the influence

of Rome has been cast aside; the influence of continental Protestantism has not yet come in. But some of the foreign English Reformers were before long invited to England, and their presence soon made itself felt.

In 1552 the Prayer-Book was revised in a more distinctly Protestant direction. Before this, in 1551, a Book of Articles of Religion, forty-two in number, were put forth. The Prayer-Book and the Book of Articles represent two sides of the Reformed English Church.

The Prayer-Book, chiefly formed out of ancient service-books, remained, even after the changes of 1552, a link with the older state of things. The Articles, even after some changes in the time of Elizabeth, form a manifesto on behalf of the new state of things and a link with the Reformed Churches in other lands.

The Prayer-Book and the Articles have ever since been severally the watchwords of two parties within the Church. It is

not too much to say that there has ever since been a party which has loved the Prayer-Book and endured the Articles, and a party which has loved the Articles and endured the Prayer-Book.

By the end of Edward's reign, the English Church stood by itself, retaining the old fabric of ecclesiastical government, with a service-book chiefly drawn from ancient sources, but with a system of doctrine breathing the spirit of the more thorough-going Reformers of the continent. Had Edward lived, further changes would probably have followed. As it was, the reaction under Mary opened the way for the final settlement under Elizabeth.

The position of the prelates who clave to the old system during Edward's reign should be carefully noticed. They neither resigned their sees nor refused obedience to the new law. It does not appear that any bishop declined the use of the first Prayer-Book.

Gardiner and Bonner were The bishops under Edward.

imprisoned and deprived of their sees on various pretences, as were several bishops later in the reign for refusal to comply with various orders, some of which certainly had no parliamentary authority. A large body of the prelates and others were dissatisfied with the changes that were made; but there was not only no separation, there was no disobedience to the law. More than one bishop who appears as a persecutor in Mary's reign had gone considerable lengths under Edward. And, as there was little non-con-

Burn-
inga.Suppres-
sion of
colleges.Church
plunder
of the
courtiers.The
grammar
schools.
Legisla-
tion of
Edward.The
western
rising.Reign of
Mary.The first
queen
regnant.

formity, there was little persecution in this reign. The Lady Mary, protected by the emperor, continued the private use of the old service. The heresy statutes were abolished; yet Cranmer found means, under cover of the common law, to send to the flames one Englishwoman and one stranger who ventured to go further in the way of novelty than himself.

But, besides ecclesiastical reform, this reign was beyond all other times the time of ecclesiastical spoliation. It was even more distinctly so than the reign of Henry. The suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the shrines, were at least acts of policy. But in Edward's reign the

possessions of the Church were simply thrown to be scrambled for by the courtiers. One of the first acts of the

reign, the suppression of those colleges, chantries, and the like, which Henry had spared, was at least done in legal form.

But, during the rest of Edward's time, Somerset, Northumberland, and the rest simply seized on whatever they thought good. The nearest approach to legal form in such cases was the show of an exchange by which a valuable estate was exchanged for a paltry rectory. And, as far as the courtiers were concerned, everything went to enrich private men. The one act in which the public good was at all thought of came from the king himself. Edward, of his own act, applied a part of the revenues of the suppressed colleges and chantries to the foundation of that great system of grammar schools which still bear his name.

The legislation of this reign presents some good points. Many of the newly created treasons of the late reign were abolished, and two witnesses were made necessary on trials for that crime. The act which gave the king's proclamation the force of a statute was repealed. On the other hand, there was the severe Statute of Vagabonds, which went beyond even the old Statute of Labourers. This reign too was marked, like those of Richard II. and Henry VI., by popular revolts. One grievance was the throwing land out of tillage and taking it into pasture. This was laid specially to the charge of the grantees of the monastic lands, who were found to be in most respects harder landlords than the monks had been. Risings of the lower people took place, both in the eastern counties where the Reformed doctrines were popular, and in the West where the religious changes were disliked. The western insurrection broke out on the first use of the new Prayer-Book. The insurgents demanded the continuance of the old service and a partial restoration of the monasteries. This last demand perhaps points to the state of feeling into which the various currents for and against the monastic orders had at last settled down. The popular belief clearly was that, in the former state of things, there had been more monasteries than enough, but that the country had not gained by sweeping them away altogether. It was eminently characteristic of the time that this revolt of Englishmen was put down by the help of German and Italian mercenaries.

The reign of Edward was followed by another reign, yet shorter than his own, but not less memorable. The nine days wonder of Jane's reign was followed by the five years of Mary. It is singular that, though the crown of England had so often passed to claimants whose descent was wholly in the female line, yet England had never before seen a crowned queen. The empress Matilda was never crowned, and she bore no higher title than Lady. The novelty gave rise to some cavil, and it was found needful at a later stage of

Mary's reign for Parliament to declare that a queen of England possessed all the rights and powers of a king. This first female reign was the time which finally settled the religious position of England. There can be little doubt that throughout Edward's reign the mass of the people were still attached to the system of Henry, that they

did not wish for the religious changes of Edward's reign, Effect of but that they had not the slightest wish to bring back the Mary's spiritual dominion of Rome. They were for the mass, but not for the pope. The reign of Mary taught them that the middle system would not work, that one side or the other must be taken, that the mass could not be had without the pope. Furthermore, men learned to connect both mass and pope with a political alliance which they hated, and with a persecution different both in kind and in degree from anything which England had before seen. As for Mary The herself, it is as impossible to deny her many personal middle virtues as it is to deny her share in a persecution which, impracticable. whoever may have been its advisers, she at least did nothing to stop. But her personal position had much to do with the course of events, religious and political. She was the Personal only person in the realm who was bound, not only to the position ancient faith and ritual, but also to the supremacy of Mary. Rome. The supremacy of Rome was inseparably connected with the validity of her mother's marriage and the legitimacy of her own birth. As it was, she was simply queen by act of parliament. She naturally wished to be queen as the legitimate daughter of her father. And, if she was bound to Rome, she was no less bound to Spain. The emperor had been her firm and her only friend, whose influence had secured her life and her freedom of worship. Another sovereign might have restored the ancient worship with the assent of the greater part of the nation; but, with Mary as queen, the restoration of the ancient worship meant spiritual submission to Rome and political subserviency to Spain; and in this the nation was not prepared to follow her.

The ecclesiastical changes of Mary's reign began at the beginning. She caused the old services to be used on several occasions before their restoration by law, and, by virtue of the ecclesiastical supremacy which she inherited from Henry and Edward, she caused the bishops who had been deprived during the late reign to be restored to their sees. Foremost among these was Stephen Gardiner, bishop Stephen of Winchester, who became the queen's chancellor and chief Gardiner. adviser. There seems reason to think that his share in the persecution has been greatly exaggerated. It is certain that his conduct in secular matters was that of a patriotic, and even a constitutional, statesman. A parliament shortly met, which declared the validity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine and the legitimacy of their daughter's birth. The ancient worship was restored, and some special enactments of the two late reigns were repealed; but the ecclesiastical power of the crown was in no way touched, restored. and nothing was said of the restoration of the papal authority. The middle system of Henry was thus restored, but only for a moment. The next great question was that of the queen's marriage. Gardiner and her English advisers favoured her marriage with Edward Courtenay, earl of The Devonshire, whose parents had been among the victims of queen's Henry, and who was descended from one of the daughters marriage, of Edward IV. But Mary's fixed purpose from the beginning was to marry her Spanish kinsman Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt and the duke of Suffolk, father of the imprisoned Jane, took arms to hinder the marriage; but their enterprise led only to their deaths and to those of Jane and her husband. More interesting in the history of our institutions is the fact, almost unparalleled in these times, that one of the accused persons, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was acquitted by the jury that tried him. His life was saved; but he remained for a while in prison, and the jurors, according to a custom which was not left off till more than a century later, were fined. In the next year, 1554, the queen's marriage with Philip, already king of Naples, took place. This first husband of a reigning queen was made king of England and of Mary's other kingdoms for her life. In the

next year, by the abdication of Charles V., Philip succeeded to the Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian possessions of his father. The difference between the position of Philip and that of Charles is to be noticed. Charles V. was emperor; alliance with an emperor was simply the continuation of a policy older than the Norman Conquest. But Philip was not emperor; his policy was not imperial but Spanish. The marriage made England for a moment, in an European point of view, a mere tool of Spain. At home it no doubt strengthened the movement for complete reconciliation with Rome, and for the persecution of those who, after being dominant in the last reign, were deemed heretics in this.

Reconciliation with Rome.

In the year of Mary's marriage Reginald Pole, now cardinal, came back to England as legate, and the Lords and Commons of England knelt to receive his absolution for the national schism. He confirmed by papal authority various acts done during the time of the separation, and it does not appear that the ordinations of bishops and priests which had been made during Edward's reign were ever called in question. And, to quiet a doubt which made many minds uneasy, the actual owners of church lands were confirmed in their possession. An act of parliament followed, by which the papal authority was restored as it had stood before the changes of Henry. Gardiner and Bonner, the strenuous opponents of the pope in Henry's days, and Thirlby, who had gone a long way with the changes under Edward, were now bishops of a Church in full communion with Rome. That is doubtless, they had seen that, at all events with a Spanish king consort, the middle system could not be kept, and that those who clave to the mass must accept the pope with it. From this time we have two distinct religious parties, the party of the pope and the party of the Reformation. These last were now deemed heretics, and the old heresy laws were

The persecution began, and it lasted till the end of Mary's reign. It differed from the two-edged persecution of Henry's reign in two points. Henry's victims of either faith were comparatively few, and they were mostly persons of some importance. In the three years of the persecution of Mary, more victims were burned than in all the reigns before and after put together. And it was a persecution which, as far as the laity were concerned, fell mainly on victims whom Henry would have scorned to destroy, on the poor, the halt, and the blind. No layman of any distinction suffered; but on the Reformed clergy the hand of the destroyer fell heavily. Five bishops perished. Of these were Ridley and Latimer—true martyrs on one side, as More and Fisher on the other—Hooper, the professor of a straiter sect of Protestantism, and the less famous Farrar of St David's. The primate followed the next year. He had been lawfully condemned to death for his treason in the usurpation of Jane; and his execution under that sentence, though it would have been a harsh measure, would have been a small matter compared with many an execution of the days of Henry. He was spared, probably in mercy; but he was spared only to bring on Mary and her government the deeper infamy of burning one who had recanted his heresies. The persecution was throughout more the work of the council—by whom Bonner was blamed for slackness—than of the bishops. No one was more zealous for slaughter than William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, one of the new men who conformed to every change, and who died in honour under Elizabeth. After the burning of Cranmer, and not till then, though the see had been for some while vacant by his deprivation, Pole succeeded to the see of Canterbury, the last archbishop in communion with Rome.

Burning of Cranmer.

The last days of Mary showed the impolicy of the Spanish match. Strange to say, one of the first acts of Philip, so pre-eminently the Catholic king, was a war with

the pope, Paul IV., in his temporal character. Henry of France broke his truce with Spain, and encouraged English traitors to attempt the betrayal of Calais, and to make an actual landing in England. Mary declared war in 1557, and English troops shared in the victory of St Quintin. But at the beginning of the next year, the last of Mary's reign, the French took Calais, and England ceased to be a continental power. She has won back that character in later times by the momentary possession of Dunkirk and the more lasting possession of Gibraltar; but the last relic of the conquests of Edward III. now passed away, as the last relics of the inheritance of Eleanor had passed away 105 years before. For a few months Mary bore up against sickness and neglect, against sorrow and national discontent. On November 17, 1558, she died, and the cardinal followed her, having been for a few hours the subject of Elizabeth.

This last fact brings us to the great reign which ends the Reign of period with which we are now dealing. Under Elizabeth Eliz- that which was wanting to complete the character of England and of Englishmen was added. The religious character of the nation was now fixed; and its religious character had no small share in fixing its political position at home and abroad. The national Church retained so much of the Position middle system of Henry as to hold in some sort a middle of the place between Rome and the Protestant Churches of the continent. But this middle position at no time extended to more than strictly religious points of doctrine, discipline, and ceremony. As a nation, as a power, England has been essentially Protestant from the time of Elizabeth. But the fact of the middle position of the English Church led to the formation of religious bodies at home which parted off from it in opposite directions. And from Elizabeth's day onwards the party of further religious reform has also been the party of political freedom. The Puritan party, it must be Begin-remembered, had no more notion of toleration than any nings of other party of those days. Its object, like that of every the Puritan party. other party, was not the mere toleration, but the exclusive establishment, of its own system. But, on the one hand, every change, every debate, helped to bring about religious toleration in the end. And, as the Puritan movement was largely a movement against arbitrary authority, it was necessarily a movement in favour of freedom. But in England a movement in favour of freedom did not mean the establishment of anything new, but the restoration of what was old. It meant the carrying out of existing laws which Tudor despotism had trampled under foot. In any new legislation that might be needed, it meant the falling back on the old constitutional principles which had been always acknowledged, if not always carried out in practice, from Edward I. to Henry VI. Politically the struggle of the seventeenth century, which had its root in the controversies of the sixteenth, was the repetition of the struggle of the thirteenth. Even in the religious element in both cases there is a likeness. Earl Simon and his friends did not swerve from the received orthodoxy of their day; for the time for strictly religious controversy had not yet come. But they were none the less the Puritans of their own day. A revived spirit of independence marks the parliaments of Elizabeth, and marks them in proportion as the Puritan element grows stronger. Elizabeth loved arbitrary power as well as any sovereign that ever reigned; but she knew that one condition of holding any power was to know how to yield, and, when she yielded, she yielded gracefully.

Whatever may have been Elizabeth's personal religious Ecclesi-convictions, there can be little doubt that the middle system astical of Henry was that to which she was herself inclined. But changes. she found that its complete restoration was impossible. If it had ever been possible, it was impossible now, after the reconciliation with Rome and the persecution. Her reform

The
prayer-
book.

Opposition
of the
bishops.

was therefore obliged to be, not a return to the system of her father, but a return, with some modifications, to the system of her brother. The second service-book of his reign was taken as the standard; but some changes were made, the first of several successive changes, all of which have been in the direction of a return to the first book. It was Elizabeth's policy to make her new system as little offensive as might be to those who still preferred the old state of things. She refused the title of Head of the Church which was offered to her by parliament, and which had been borne by Henry, by Edward, and by Mary up to the reconciliation with Rome. She caused some passages in the prayer-book, which were specially offensive to the papal party, to be left out. The forty-two articles of Edward were not enforced in the earlier years of her reign, and when they were enforced, they were cut down to thirty-nine. One favourite doctrine of the Reformers, the lawfulness of marriage in the clergy, Elizabeth could never be brought to sanction by any legal enactment. The practice was simply winked at during the whole of her reign, and was not legalized till the reign of her successor. On the other hand, the anti-papal legislation of Henry was restored in its substance; but the refusal of the oaths, which under Henry had carried with it the pains of treason, in Elizabeth's first legislation carried with it only loss of office. But we are met at the very beginning with the fact that the changes under Elizabeth, less violent in every way than the changes of Henry and Edward, met with a much more decided opposition from the bishops than the changes of Edward and Henry had met with. Prelates who had gone all lengths with Henry, who had gone a considerable way with Edward, refused the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth. One only of the existing bishops conformed, Kitchen of Llandaff, who had kept his see through all changes. The reason doubtless was that the rest had seen the hopelessness of the middle system, that they had chosen their side with the papacy, and that they could not either in conscience or in decency change again. The mass of the clergy conformed; so did the great body of the laity, including some of the lords who had voted in parliament against all Elizabeth's changes. In the early years of Elizabeth, though there were two discontented parties in opposite directions, and though some still practised the old rites in secret, there was no open separation either way. Elizabeth always professed that she did not force the conscience of any one, but that the English service was established by law; and that the law must be obeyed. And there doubtless were still many who were ready to conform without approving, just as they were ready to obey the law on any other subject, even though they might wish the law to be altered. It has even been said that, when Pope Pius IV. made overtures to the queen, he offered to admit the use of the English service-book on condition of his supremacy being acknowledged.¹ Such a compromise would have put the English Church in the same position as the bodies known in the East as United Greeks and United Armenians, who admit the papal authority, but keep their own national usages. But the pontiffs before and after Pius, Paul IV. and Pius V., dealt with Elizabeth in another fashion. In their eyes, and in the eyes of all the extreme supporters of papal claims, she was not only schismatic and heretic, but an usurper of the English crown.

On this last point much of the history of this reign turns, both domestic and foreign. According to English

law, nothing could be better than Elizabeth's parliamentary title, a title quite independent of the canonical legitimacy of her birth. But, according to the papal theory, she was illegitimate, and, according to the hereditary theory, her illegitimacy excluded her from the crown. On this showing, the lawful queen was Mary of Scotland, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, was the wife of the dauphin, soon afterwards Francis II., king of France. Francis and Mary took the titles of king and queen of England and Ireland; and Mary, whether at the court of France, on the throne of Scotland, or in her prison in England, was the centre of all the hopes and all the conspiracies of the Roman party. This is not the place to go through her story, closely connected as it is throughout with English history. As regards the succession, it is clear that, by the will of Henry VIII., the claim of the house of Suffolk was undoubted. But it was a kind of claim which needed a claimant of position and ability, like Richard of York in former times, to assert it. The house of Suffolk, on the other hand, was under a cloud, through a series of low or doubtful marriages. Their claim therefore passed out of notice. The queen obstinately refused to name any successor, or to allow any successor to be named; and all claims might be looked on as set aside by an act which made it treasonable to maintain any one to be the lawful successor except the queen's own issue. In this state of things, men's minds naturally turned to the Scottish line, which had at least hereditary descent in its favour. After the death of Mary the religious objection no longer applied, and James, her Protestant son, succeeded on Elizabeth's death, without the slightest opposition from any party. The house of Stewart however came in without any shadow of parliamentary title, and directly in the teeth of the parliamentary title of the house of Suffolk, if the will of Henry VIII. is to be looked on as valid and unrepealed.

The quiet of the first eleven years of Elizabeth's reign was broken in 1569 by a rising in the North in favour of the old religion. This was not a mere popular movement, in the like the western and eastern revolts of Edward's reign. Its leaders were the greatest nobles of northern England, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It was, in short, the Pilgrimage of Grace over again. The insurrection was put down with a good deal of bloodshed, but not till mass had been again sung in Durham abbey. In the next year, 1570, the bull of excommunication and deposition pronounced by Pius V. changed all Elizabeth's relations at home and abroad. From this time the English Roman Catholics, from a party dissatisfied with change, become a distinct and a persecuted religious body. In the next year the Puritan movement for further change in the church took a more definite shape in the motions of Strickland in the House of Commons. About the same time the first separate Puritan congregations began to be formed. From this time the queen and her ecclesiastical system had to struggle with enemies on both sides, and to deal out persecution in different measures against both. A terrible engine for this purpose was the special creation of the reign of Elizabeth, the Court of High Commission. The queen, as Supreme Governor of the Church, appointed commissioners, clerical and lay, to exercise the somewhat undefined powers of her office. Alongside of the Star-Chamber a kindred power arose, to bring men's souls and bodies into submission. And meanwhile a few men who ventured on specially daring speculations, and whose tenets were condemned alike by Roman, Anglican, and Puritan orthodoxy, were still sent to the flames. The Roman martyrs were many; but in their case religious and political disputes were hopelessly mixed up. Conspirators against the queen's life or crown could not be allowed to escape on any pretence of religious duty. On the other hand, acts of simple religious

¹ The evidence on which this statement is made will be found at length in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, viii. 321. It is certainly not such evidence as would be needed to assert the fact with any positiveness; but the tale is not very unlikely in 1560, though it would be quite out of place in 1570. The deliberate invention of the story, unless perhaps at a much later time, would really be more unlikely than the story itself.

Execution
of
Mary
Stewart.

Change
in rela-
tions
with
France
and
Spain.

England
the chief
Protest-
ant power.

Discov-
eries and
distant
com-
merce.

worship were made criminal, though liable to the fate of treason and not of heresy. Plots of all kinds went on till the execution of Mary Stewart in 1587. After that time there was less material for plots; but the persecution went on on both sides. But by this time the foreign relations of the kingdom had become even more important than the condition of things at home.

At the death of Mary Tudor, England was at war with France and in close alliance with Spain. This state of things lasted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. She helped the French Protestants; but she concluded peace in 1564. During the rest of her reign the old enmity towards France died out. Elizabeth was at one time almost ready to accept a Catholic husband; at another time she again encouraged the French Protestants. But the accession of Henry of Navarre made France and England friends. Henry and Elizabeth had a common enemy. As enmity against France died out, so friendship for Spain died out also. Philip, Elizabeth's first suitor, gradually changed into her most dangerous enemy, the assertor of the claims of Mary, and, after her death, her would-be avenger, and moreover the assertor of the claims of his own daughter as a remote descendant of John of Gaunt. The Armada, the dealings of England with the insurgents in the Netherlands, the expedition to Cadiz, are all events which stand out on the surface of English history. England now stood out as the great Protestant power of Europe, the maintainer of the Protestant cause everywhere. In short, the reign of Elizabeth finally gave to England and Englishmen their special religious character, as earlier times had given them their special political character. That special political character, overshadowed for a while by Tudor despotism, showed itself again towards the end of her reign. The England of the seventeenth century, free and Protestant, was now fully formed. The course of the century of which Elizabeth only saw the opening was to win back the freedom of England, to confirm the national Protestantism, and to take the first steps towards that religious toleration on both sides of which the age of Elizabeth had not dreamed.

But another feature in the character of England was added in the reign of Elizabeth. If England now took up a new and definite position as an European power, the first steps were also taken towards making her more than an European power. In the days of Edward and Mary English commerce and maritime enterprise had a new range opened to them by the beginning of intercourse with Russia. That nation, great in earlier days on the Euxine, was now shut out from all southern and western outlets, and access to her one haven of Archangel could be had only by the Frozen Ocean and the White Sea. Under Elizabeth maritime enterprise, commercial and warlike, took a far wider range. American colonization did not as yet begin; Indian dominion was yet more distant; but it was in these times that the first steps were taken towards both. The seamen of England now broke into the preserved maritime empire of Spain, and gave the land which was to give birth to Washington a name in honour of their own virgin queen. The merchants of England, chartered as usual as a company, now first made their way to the great Indian continent, to behold, under the rule of Akbar, that religious toleration which Elizabeth denied to Catholic and Puritan. It is hard for us to conceive the effect which was made on men's minds by a change which was practically an enlargement of the bounds of the physical world. If it is absurd to set up the great seamen of Elizabeth's day, Drake and Gilbert and Cavendish and Raleigh, as though they were faultless heroes, it is equally unfair to decry them as mere pirates. They were the natural creation of a new state of things. It was not theoretically justifiable, but it was in no way wonderful, if men of all nations deemed that, in new and barbarous

lands and seas, they were set free from the obligations of public law which bound them in their European homes. But one stain, deeper and more lasting, dates from Elizabeth's days. At home personal slavery had long been forgotten, and the last traces of villainage can now be discerned only by the most prying eyes. The distant enterprises of England now brought back in a new shape the shame of our earliest days. The kidnapping and selling of negroes ^{The slave} now became a chief branch of English commerce. And it must not be forgotten that, till the humane decisions of the last century, the negro, like the British captive or the English criminal of ancient times, was as much a slave on the soil of England as he was on the soil of America.

The completed national character of England dates from the days of the Tudors, and mainly from the reign of Elizabeth. From this time, in dealing with the actors in English history, we seem, more thoroughly than in any earlier time, to be dealing with men who are in all things our own fellows. One main cause of this is that the language of the sixteenth century is the earliest form of English which an ordinary modern reader can understand ^{the language of} without an effort. The handwriting of the sixteenth century is harder to read than the handwriting of any age before or since. The spelling of the sixteenth century is more chaotic and unreasonable than the spelling of any age before or since. But the language itself, when taken out of its uncouth clothing, is in the main intelligible, even to those who have not made language a special study. The philologer sees that the language of the nineteenth century is the same, by unabridged personal unity, as the language of the fifth century. He sees that the changes which distinguish the language of the nineteenth century from the language of the fifth century were fully accomplished by the fourteenth. But all this is for the philologer. The ordinary reader, who reads merely for the matter or the style of his book, cannot understand the language of the fifth century at all; he can understand the language of the fourteenth century only with an effort. But the language of the sixteenth century is clear to every one who reads with decent attention. It is near enough to the speech of our own times to be understood; it is far enough removed from the speech of our own times to have an archaic flavour, venerable or quaint, according to the matter in hand and its treatment. The literature of the sixteenth century gives Elizabeth the earliest English writings in prose and verse which we read simply as literature. Spenser and Shakespeare, Hooker and Raleigh, stand to us in a different relation from Cædmon, or even from Chaucer. And, greater than all, the sixteenth century has given us, in our national prayer-book, in our national translation of the Bible,¹ models of the English tongue which, as long as they survive, will survive to rebuke its corrupters. For them we have to thank the reigns of Henry and of Edward. Henry first gave his people the Scriptures in their own tongue, and then restricted their use. But his gift went for more than his restriction. From that day to this, the English Bible has been the only literary, as well as the only religious, food of millions of Englishmen. The Puritan lived in the English Bible, as the mediaeval scholar had lived in the Latin Bible. That two great works of sixteenth century English have been familiar to us ever since, while no earlier writing has been commonly known in the like sort, is

¹ The authorized version, as it stands, is, as every one knows, a work of the seventeenth century, not of the sixteenth. But it was the work of men whose minds had been formed in the sixteenth century, and the translation of the sixteenth century was taken as its groundwork. Whenever it departs from that model, however much it may gain as a more accurate representation of the original, it loses as a piece of English and English rhythm. Compare the Psalms in the translation of Henry's day and in that of the days of James.

doubtless one great reason why the English of the sixteenth century is the earliest English which is commonly intelligible. But this is not the only reason. The reign of Elizabeth is in itself the most marked epoch in English literature. The stirring of men's minds which led to the great political and religious events of the age led also to the sudden burst of a whole literature in verse and prose. In the sixteenth century the English drama began, modern English theology began, the writing of history in the modern sense and in the English tongue began. And with the beginning of a school of new writers came a time of more diligent care towards our ancient writers. The fanatic religionists and greedy spoilers of Henry and Edward's days had destroyed ancient records and chronicles by wholesale. The hand of Elizabeth's first primate, the renowned Matthew Parker, was stretched out to save instead of to destroy, to publish instead of to tear in pieces. To his pious care more than to that of any other man, we owe it that the ancient history of England can be read and written.

And, as it was with language, so it was with everything else which goes to make up the national life. Its modern form is now completed. We feel that the men of Elizabeth's day, her statesmen, her warriors, her poets, and her divines, are men who come near to ourselves in a way which the men of earlier times cannot do. A gap of more than a generation, of more than two generations, seems to part Wolsey from Burghley. The main features of English social life had really been fixed in the fifteenth century; they do not thoroughly come home to us till the sixteenth. We see this in its outward form in the houses of Elizabeth's reign. They are the earliest houses, great or small, in which a modern Englishman of any class can live with any degree of modern comfort. In point of style, they have fallen away from the models of the early part of the century. The architecture of this age is primarily domestic. For ecclesiastical art there was little room in a time when more churches were pulled down than were built. Repairs were commonly done in a rough and clumsy fashion. Still there are a few ecclesiastical buildings, ranging from Edward VI. to James I., such as the tower of Probus in Cornwall and the choir of Wadham College chapel, in which the older style is still faithfully carried on. The revived Italian style was brought in by Protector Somerset; but, as applied to whole buildings, the fashion did not take; the details became a strange mixture of corrupt English and corrupt Italian; but the outlines are purely English. The Elizabethan houses, with their endless shifting of gables, are often actually more picturesque in outline than the houses of the beginning of the century. They are more distinctly houses; the features handed down by tradition from the castle no longer linger, even as survivals. And they are of all sizes, palaces, manor-houses, burgher dwellings in towns, solitary farm-houses, cottages in the village street. And they are of all materials, stone, brick, or timber, according to the district. They are the houses of an age when law was fully established, and when the different ranks of society, though the distinctions between them were far more sharply drawn, were essentially the same as they are now.

The objects of the bounty of founders were now necessarily changed; but their bounty was by no means worn out. Mary restored several monasteries, which were again suppressed by Elizabeth. Mary also restored a great part of the alienated bishops' lands. The plunder of the bishops also went on all through Elizabeth's reign, and Burghley, Hatton, and Raleigh, and other statesmen and courtiers, made themselves great fortunes at the expense of the Church. But all was not spoliation in this age. Mary and Elizabeth restored some of the collegiate churches

which had been suppressed under Edward; the foundation of colleges in the universities went on under both sisters; and this was a special time for the erection of schools and hospitals. Even Leicester has left a memorial of this kind behind him. And it may pass for a kind of charitable foundation on the part of the nation itself, when by a statute of Elizabeth a public provision was first made for the relief of the poor.

England and the English people are thus thoroughly Sum-formed in the shape which they have kept to this day. Their political constitution has lived through its time of trial, ready to come forth again in its full strength. The religious character of England is fixed; her European position is fixed also. She has become wholly insular, ready to play in European politics the special part of an insular power. At home Wales is incorporated; Ireland, now a kingdom, is brought more nearly than ever under the rule of its queen. The time has now come for a nearer and a friendly union with the other kingdom which hitherto has divided the isle of Britain with England. The lack of direct descendants of Henry, the ill luck of the descendants of his sister Mary, carried the English crown to the descendants of Margaret, and called the king of Scots to the English throne. The union of the crowns led, as a necessary though not an immediate effect, to the union of kingdoms, to the time when England and Scotland, political names, so long rival and hostile names, were merged in the common geographical name of Great Britain.¹

(E. A. F.)

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 had been the final victory gained on behalf of the independence of the English church and state. The fifteen years which followed had been years of successful war; but they had been also years during which the nation had been preparing itself to conform its institutions to the new circumstances in which it found itself in consequence of the great victory. When James arrived from Scotland to occupy the throne of Elizabeth he found a general desire for change. Especially there was a feeling that there might be some relaxation in the ecclesiastical arrangements. Roman Catholics and Puritans alike wished for a modification of the laws which bore hardly on them. James at first relaxed the penalties under which the Roman Catholics and the suffered, then he grew frightened by the increase of their numbers and reimposed the penalties. The Gunpowder Plot (1605) was the result, followed by a sharper persecution than ever.

The Puritans were invited to a conference with the king James I. at Hampton Court (1604). They no longer asked, as many of them had asked in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, to substitute the Presbyterian discipline for the Episcopal government. All they demanded was to be allowed permission whilst remaining as ministers in the church to omit the usage of certain ceremonies to which they objected. It was the opinion of Bacon that it would be wise to grant their request. James thought otherwise, and attempted to carry out the Elizabethan conformity more strictly than it had been carried out in his predecessor's reign.

In 1604 the Commons agreed with Bacon. They declared that they were no Puritans themselves, but that, and in such a dearth of able ministers, it was not well to lose the services of any one who was capable of preaching the gospel. By his refusal to entertain their views James

Elizabethan houses

Plunder of bishoprics

¹ James I. was very fond of calling himself "King of Great Britain," a geographical description which reminds one of Cnut's "King of all England." And the same style was freely used by his successors. But the kingdom of Great Britain did not really begin till Anne's Act of Union. The more accurate, though rarer, style of the Stewarts is "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."

placed himself in opposition to the Commons in a matter which touched their deeper feelings. As a necessary consequence every dispute on questions of smaller weight assumed an exaggerated importance. The king had received a scanty revenue with his crown, and he spent freely what little he had. As the Commons offered grudging supplies, the necessity under which he was of filling up the annual deficit led him to an action by which a grave constitutional question was raised.

Question of the im-
positions.

From the time of Richard II. to the reign of Mary no attempt had been made to raise duties on exports and imports without consent of parliament. But Mary had, under a specious pretext, recommenced to a slight extent the evil practice, and Elizabeth had gone a little further in the same direction. In 1606 a merchant named Bate resisted the payment of an imposition—as duties levied by the sole authority of the crown were then called. The case was argued in the Court of Exchequer, and was there decided in favour of the crown. Shortly afterwards new impositions were set to the amount of £70,000 a year. When parliament met in 1610 the whole subject was discussed, and it was conclusively shown that, if the barons of the exchequer had been right in any sense, it was only in that narrow technical sense which is of no value at all. A compromise attempted broke down, and the difficulty was left to plague the next generation. The king was always able to assert that the judges were on his side, and it was as yet an acknowledged principle of the constitution that parliament could not change the law without the express consent of the crown, even if, which was not the case in this matter, the Lords had sided with the Commons. James's attempt to obtain further supplies from the Commons by opening a bargain for the surrender of some of his old feudal prerogatives, such as wardship and marriage, which had no longer any real meaning except as a means of obtaining money in an oppressive way, broke down, and early in 1611 James dissolved his first parliament in anger. A second parliament, summoned in 1614, met with the same fate after a session of a few weeks.

Breach
between
the king
and the
Commons.

The dissolution of this second parliament was followed by a short imprisonment of some of the more active members, and by a demand made through England for a benevolence to make up the deficiency which parliament had neglected to meet. The court represented that, as no compulsion was used, there was nothing illegal in this proceeding. But as the names of those who refused to pay were taken down, it cannot be said that there was no indirect pressure.

Attempt-
ed union
with
Scotland.

The
coloniza-
tion of
Ulster.

The most important result of the breach with the parliament of 1614, however, was the resolution taken by James to seek refuge from his financial and other troubles in a close alliance with the king of Spain. His own accession had done much to improve the position of England in its relation with the Continental powers. Scotland was no longer available as a possible enemy to England, and though an attempt to bind the union between the two nations by freedom of commercial intercourse had been wrecked upon the jealousy of the English Commons (1607), a legal decision had granted the status of national subjects to all persons born in Scotland after the king's accession in England. Ireland, too, had been thoroughly overpowered at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and the flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in 1607 had been followed by the settlement of English and Scottish colonists in Ulster, a measure which, in the way in which it was undertaken, sowed the seeds of future evils, but undoubtedly conducted to increase the immediate strength of the English Government in Ireland.

Without fear of danger at home, therefore, James, who as king of Scotland had taken no part in Elizabeth's quarrel

with Philip II., not only suspended hostilities immediately on his accession, and signed a peace in the following year, ^{peace with Spain.} but looked favourably on the project of a Spanish alliance, in order that the chief Protestant and the chief Catholic powers might join together to impose peace on Europe, in the place of those hideous religious wars by which the last century had been disfigured. In 1611 circumstances had disgusted him with his new ally, but in 1614 he courted him again, not only on grounds of general policy, but because he hoped that the large portion which would accompany the hand of an infanta would go far to fill the empty treasury.

In this way the Spanish alliance, unpopular in itself, was formed to liberate the king from the shackles imposed on him by the English constitution. Its unpopularity, great from the beginning, became greater when Raleigh's execution (1618) caused the Government to appear before the world as truckling to Spain. The obloquy under which James laboured increased when the Thirty Years' War broke out (1618), and when his daughter Elizabeth, whose husband, the Elector Palatine, was the unhappy claimant to the Bohemian crown (1619), stood forth as the lovely symbol of the deserted Protestantism of Europe. Yet it was not entirely in pity for German Protestants that the heart of Englishmen beat. Men felt that their own security was at stake. The prospect of a Spanish infanta as the bride of the future king of England filled them with suspicious terrors. In Elizabeth's time the danger, if not entirely external, did not come from the Government itself. Now the favour shown to the Roman Catholics by the king opened up a source of mischief which was to some extent real, if it was to a still greater extent imaginary. Whether the danger were real or imaginary, the consequence of the distrust resulting from the suspicion was the reawakening of the slumbering demand for fresh persecution of the Roman Catholics, a demand which made a complete reconciliation between the crown and the Lower House a matter of the greatest difficulty.

In 1621 the third parliament of James was summoned to provide money for the war in defence of his son-in-law's inheritance in the Palatinate, which he now proposed to undertake. But it soon appeared that he was not prepared immediately to come to blows, and the Commons, voting a small sum as a token of their loyalty, passed to other matters.

Indolent in his temper, James had been in the habit of leaving his patronage in the hands of a confidential favourite, and that position was now filled by George Villiers, marquis and afterwards duke of Buckingham. The natural consequence was that men who paid court to him were promoted, and those who kept at a distance from him had no notice taken of their merits. Further, a system of granting monopolies and other privileges had again sprung up. Many of these grants embodied some scheme which was intended to serve the interests of the public, and many actions which appear startling to us were covered by the extreme protectionist theories then in vogue. But abuses of every kind had clustered round them, and in many cases the profits had gone into the pockets of hangers-on of the court, whilst officials had given their assistance to the grantors even beyond their legal powers. James was driven by the outcry raised to abandon these monopolies, and an Act of Parliament in 1624 placed the future grant of protections to new inventions under the safeguard of the judges.

The attack on the monopolies was followed by charges brought by the Commons before the Lords against ^{Fall of Bacon.} person implicated in carrying them into execution, and subsequently against Lord Chancellor Bacon as guilty of corruption. The sentence passed by the Lords vindicated

the right of parliament to punish officials who had enjoyed the favour of the crown, which had fallen into disuse since the accession of the House of York. There was no open contest between parliament and king in this matter. But the initiative of demanding justice had passed from the crown to the Commons. It is impossible to overestimate the effect of these proceedings on the position of parliament. The crown could never again be regarded as the sun of the governmental system.

When the Commons met after the summer adjournment a new constitutional question was raised. The king was at last determined to find troops for the defence of the Palatinate, and asked the Commons for money to pay them. They in turn petitioned the crown to abandon the Spanish alliance, which they regarded as the source of all the mischief. James told them that they had no right to discuss business on which he had not asked their opinion. They declared that they were privileged to discuss any matter relating to the commonwealth which they chose to take in hand, and embodied their opinion in a protest, which they entered on their journals. The king tore the protest out of the book, and dissolved parliament.

The journey to Madrid.

Then followed a fresh call for a benevolence, this time more sparingly answered than before. A year of fruitless diplomacy failed to save the Palatinate from total loss. The ill-considered journey to Madrid, in which Prince Charles, accompanied by Buckingham, hoped to wring from the Spanish statesmen a promise to restore the Palatinate in compliment for his marriage with the infanta, ended also in total failure. In the autumn of 1623 Charles returned to England without a wife, and without hope of regaining the Palatinate with Spanish aid.

The French alliance.

He came back resolved to take vengeance upon Spain. The parliament elected in 1624 was ready to second him. It voted some supplies on the understanding that, when the king had matured his plans for carrying on the war, it should come together in the autumn to vote the necessary subsidies. It never met again. Charles had promised that, if he married a Roman Catholic lady, he would grant no toleration to the English Catholics in consideration of the marriage. In the autumn he had engaged himself to marry Henrietta Maria, the sister of the king of France, and had bound himself to grant the very conditions which he had declared to the Commons that he never would concede. Hence it was that he did not venture to recommend his father to summon parliament till the marriage was over. But though there was but little money to dispose of, he and Buckingham, who, now that James was sick and infirm, were the real leaders of the Government, could not endure to abstain from the prosecution of the war. Early in 1625 an expedition, under Count Mansfeld, was sent to Holland, that it might ultimately cut its way to the Palatinate. Left without pay and without supplies, the men perished by thousands, and when James died in March, the new king had to meet his first parliament burthened by a broken promise and a disastrous failure.

The first years of Charles I.

When parliament met (1625) the Commons at first contented themselves with voting a sum of money far too small to carry on the extensive military and naval operation in which Charles had embarked. When the king explained his necessities, they intimated that they had no confidence in Buckingham, and asked that, before they granted further supply, the king would name counsellors whom they could trust, to advise him on its employment. Charles at once dissolved parliament. He knew that the demand for ministerial responsibility would in the end involve his own responsibility, and, believing as he did that Buckingham's arrangements had been merely unlucky, he declined to sacrifice the minister whom he trusted.

Charles and Buckingham did their best to win back

popularity by strenuous exertion. They attempted to found a great Protestant alliance on the Continent, and they sent a great expedition to Cadiz. The Protestant alliance and the expedition to Cadiz ended in equal failure. The second parliament of the reign (1626) impeached Buckingham for crimes against the state. As Charles would not dismiss him simply because the Commons were dissatisfied with him as a minister, they fell back on charging him with criminal designs. Once more Charles dissolved parliament to save Buckingham. Then came fresh enterprises and fresh failures. A fleet under Lord Willoughby was almost ruined by a storm. The king of Denmark, trusting to supplies from England which never came, was defeated at Lutter. A new war, in addition to the Spanish war, broke out with France. A great expedition to Rhé, under Buckingham's command (1627), intended to succour the Huguenots of Rochelle against their sovereign, ended in disaster. In order to enable himself to meet expenditure on so vast a scale, Charles had levied a forced loan from his subjects. Men of high rank in society who refused to pay were imprisoned. Soldiers were billeted by force in private houses, and military officers executed martial law on civilians. When the imprisoned gentlemen appealed to the King's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus*, it appeared that no cause of committal had been assigned, and the judges therefore refused to liberate them. Still Charles believed it possible to carry on the war, and especially to send relief to Rochelle, now strictly blockaded by the French Government. In order to find the means for this object he summoned his third parliament (1628). The Commons at The Petition of Right.

possibility of a repetition of the injuries of which they complained. Charles was willing to surrender his claim to billet soldiers by force, to order the execution of martial law in time of peace, and to exact forced loans, benevolences, or any kind of taxation, without consent of parliament; but he protested against the demand that he should surrender the right to imprison without showing cause. It was argued on his behalf that in case of a great conspiracy, it would be necessary to trust the crown with unusual powers to enable it to preserve the peace. The Commons, who knew that the crown had used the powers which it claimed, not against conspirators, but against the commonwealth itself, refused to listen to the argument, and insisted on the acceptance of the whole Petition of Right, in which they demanded redress for all their grievances. The king at last gave his consent to it, as he could obtain money in no other way. In after times, when any real danger occurred which needed a suspension of the ordinary safeguards of liberty, a remedy was found in the suspension of the law by Act of Parliament; such a remedy, however, only became possible when king and parliament were on good terms of agreement with one another.

That time was as yet far distant. The House of Commons brought fresh charges against Buckingham, whose on religion and taxation dispute. But when they met again (1629) they had two quarrels left over from the preceding session. About a third part of the king's revenue was derived from customs duties, which had for many generations been granted by parliament to each sovereign for life. Charles held that this grant was little more than a matter of form, whilst the Commons held that it was a matter of right. But for the other dispute the difficulty would probably have been got over. The strong Protestantism of Elizabeth's reign had assumed a distinctly Calvinistic form, and the country gentlemen who formed the majority of the House of Commons were resolutely determined that no other theology than the Calvinistic should be taught in England. In the last few years a reaction against it had arisen, especially in

the universities, and those who adopted an unpopular creed, and who at the same time showed tendencies to a more ceremonial form of worship, naturally fell back on the support of the crown. Charles, who might reasonably have exerted himself to secure a fair liberty for all opinions, promoted these unpopular divines to bishoprics and livings, and the divines in turn exalted the royal prerogative above parliamentary rights. He now proposed that both sides should keep silence on the points in dispute. The Commons rejected his scheme, and prepared to call in question the most obnoxious of the clergy. In this irritated temper they took up the question of tonnage and poundage, and instead of confining themselves to the great public question, they called to the bar some custom-house officers who happened to have seized the goods of one of their members. Charles declared that the seizure had taken place by his orders. When they refused to accept the excuse, he dissolved parliament, but not before a tumult took place in the House, and the speaker was forcibly held down in his chair whilst resolutions hostile to the Government were put to the vote.

Eleven years without a parliament.

For eleven years no parliament met again. The extreme action of the Lower House was not supported by the people, and the king had the opportunity, if he chose to use it, of putting himself right with the nation after no long delay. But he never understood that power only attends sympathetic leadership. He contented himself with putting himself technically in the right, and with resting his case on the favourable decisions of the judges. Under any circumstances, neither the training nor the position of judges is such as to make them fit to be the final arbiters of political disputes. They are accustomed to declare what the law is, not what it ought to be. These judges, moreover, were not in the position to be impartial. They had been selected by the king, and were liable to be deprived of their office when he saw fit. In the course of Charles's reign two chief justices and one chief baron were dismissed or suspended. Besides the ordinary judges there were the extraordinary tribunals, the court of High Commission nominated by the crown to punish ecclesiastical offenders, and the court of Star Chamber, composed of the privy councillors and the chief justices, and therefore also nominated by the crown, to inflict fine, imprisonment, and even corporal mutilation on lay offenders. Those who rose up in any way against the established order were sharply punished.

Ship-money. The harsh treatment of individuals only calls forth resistance when constitutional morality has sunk deeply into the popular mind. The ignoring of the feelings and prejudices of large classes has a deeper effect. Charles's foreign policy, and his pretentious claim to the sovereignty of the British seas, demanded the support of a fleet, which might indeed be turned to good purpose in offering a counterpoise to the growing navies of France and Holland. The increasing estrangement between him and the nation made him averse to the natural remedy of a parliament, and he reverted to the absolute practices of the Middle Ages, in order that he might strain them far beyond the warrant of precedent to levy a tax under the name of ship-money, first on the port towns and then on the whole of England. Payment was resisted by John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire; but the judges declared that the king was in the right (1638). Yet the arguments used by Hampden's lawyers sunk deeply into the popular mind, and almost every man in England who was called on to pay the tax looked upon the king as a wrong-doer under the forms of law.

Any Government which, from want of sympathy with the feelings of the masses, offends the sense of right by the levy of taxes for which it does not venture to ask their

consent, is also likely to treat with unfeeling harshness the religion of thinking men. So it was in the reign of Charles. He gave authority to William Laud, since 1633 archbishop of Canterbury, to carry out his design of reducing the English Church to complete uniformity of ceremonial. The practice in most churches differed from the laws under which public worship was intended to be guided. Laud did his best to carry out the letter of the law, under the belief that uniformity of worship would produce unity of spirit, and in some cases he explained away the law in the direction in which he wished it to be bent. The communion table was removed from the centre of the church to the east end, was spoken of as an altar, and was fenced in with rails, at which communicants were expected to kneel. At the same time offence was given to the Puritans by an order that every clergyman should read the Declaration of Sports, in which the king directed that no hindrance should be thrown in the way of those who wished to dance or shoot at the butts on Sunday afternoon. Many of the clergy were suspended or deprived, many emigrated to Holland or New England, and of those who remained a large part bore the yoke with feelings of ill-concealed dissatisfaction. Suspicion was easily aroused that a deep plot existed, of which Laud was believed to be the centre, for carrying the nation over to the Church of Rome, a suspicion which seemed to be converted into a certainty when it was known that Panzani and Con, two agents of the pope, had access to Charles, and that in 1637 there was a sudden accession to the number of converts to the Papal Church amongst the lords and ladies of the court. The rising feeling may be traced in the poems of Milton. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*—probably written in 1632—are full of thoughts which denote him to have been at that time of no special school. The *Comus*, written in 1634, is stamped with the impress of the Puritan ideal without the Puritan asperity; whilst the *Lycidas*, in 1637, contains lines directed aggressively against the system of Laud as serving merely as a stepping-stone to Rome.

In the summer of 1638 Charles had long ceased to reign in the affections of his subjects. But their traditional loyalty had not yet failed, and if he had not called on them for fresh exertions, it is possible that the coming revolution would have been long delayed. Men were ready to about applause in honour of Puritan martyrs like Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, whose ears were cut off in 1637, or in honour of the lawyers who argued such a case as that of Hampden. But no signs of active resistance had yet appeared. Unluckily for Charles, he was likely to stand in need of the active co-operation of Englishmen. He had attempted to force a new Prayer-Book upon the Scottish nation. A riot at Edinburgh in 1637 quickly led to national resistance, and when in November 1638 the General Assembly at Glasgow set Charles's orders at defiance, he was compelled to choose between tame submission and immediate war. In 1639 he gathered an English force, and marched towards the border. But English laymen, though asked to supply the money which he needed for the support of his army, deliberately kept it in their pockets, and the contributions of the clergy and of official persons were not sufficient to enable him to keep his troops long in the field. The king therefore thought it best to agree to terms of pacification. Misunderstandings broke out as to the interpretation of the treaty, and Charles having discovered that the Scotch were intriguing with France, fancied that England, in hatred of its ancient foe, would now be ready to rally to his standard. After an interval of eleven years, in April 1640 he once more called a parliament.

The Short Parliament, as it was called, demanded the redress of grievances, the abandonment of the claim to levy ship-money, and a complete change in the ecclesiastical

The Scot
tish re-
sistance.

The
Short
Parli-
ment.

system. Charles thought that it would not be worth while even to conquer Scotland on such terms, and dissolved parliament. A fresh war with Scotland followed. Wentworth, now earl of Strafford, became the leading adviser of the king. With all the energy of his disposition he threw himself into Charles's plans, and left no stone unturned to furnish the new expedition with supplies and money. But no skillfulness of a commander can avail when soldiers are determined not to fight. The Scotch crossed the Tweed, and Charles's army was well pleased to fly before them. In a short time the whole of Northumberland and Durham were in the hands of the invaders. Charles was obliged to leave these two counties in their hands as a pledge for the payment of their expenses; and he was also obliged to summon parliament to grant him the supplies which he needed for that object.

The Scot.
tish in-
vasion.

Meeting
of Long
Parlia-
ment.

Attain-
der of
Straf-
ford.

Over-
throw of
arbitrary
govern-
ment.

Division
of the
House
into
parties.

When the Long Parliament met in November 1640, they were in a position in which no parliament had been before. Though nominally the Houses did not command a single soldier, they had in reality the whole Scottish army at their back. By refusing supplies they would put it out of the king's power to fulfil his engagements to that army, and it would immediately pursue its onward march to claim its rights.

Hece there was scarcely anything which the king could venture to deny the Commons. Under Pym's leadership, they began by asking the head of Strafford. Nominally he was accused of a number of acts of oppression in the north of England and in Ireland. His real offence lay in his attempt to make the king absolute, and in the design with which he was credited of intending to bring over an Irish army to crush the liberties of England. If he had been a man of moderate abilities he might have escaped. But the Commons feared his commanding genius too much to let him go free. They began with an impeachment. Difficulties arose, and the impeachment was turned into a bill of attainder. The king abandoned his minister, and the execution of Strafford left Charles without a single man of supreme ability on his side. Then came rapidly a succession of blows at the supports by which the Tudor monarchy had been upheld. The courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the Council of the North were abolished. The raising of tonnage and poundage without a parliamentary grant was declared illegal. The judges who had given obnoxious decisions were called to answer for their fault, and were taught that they were responsible to the House of Commons as well as the king. Finally, a bill was passed providing that the existing House should not be dissolved without its own consent.

It was clearly a revolutionary position which the House had assumed. But it was assumed because it was impossible to expect that a king who had ruled as Charles had ruled could take up a new position as the exponent of the feelings which were represented in the Commons. As long as Charles lived he could not be otherwise than an object of suspicion; and yet if he were dethroned there was no one available to fill his place. There arose therefore two parties in the House, one ready to trust the king, the other disinclined to put any confidence in him at all. The division was the sharper because it coincided with a difference in matters of religion. Scarcely any one wished to see the Laudian ceremonies upheld. But the members who favoured the king, and who formed a considerable minority, wished to see a certain liberty of religious thought, together with a return under a modified Episcopacy to the forms of worship which prevailed before Laud had taken the church in hand. The other side, which had the majority by a few votes, wished to see the Puritan creed prevail in all its strictness, and were favourable to the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline. The king,

by his unwise nation, drew power into the hands of his opponents. He listened with tolerable calmness to their Grand Remonstrance, but his attempt to seize the five members whom he accused of high treason made a good understanding impossible. The Scottish army had been paid off some months before, and civil war was the only means of deciding the quarrel.

At first the fortune of war wavered. Edgehill was a drawn battle (1642), and the campaign of 1643, though it was on the whole favourable to the king, gave no decisive results. Before the year was at an end parliament invited a new Scottish army to intervene in England. As an inducement, the Solemn League and Covenant was signed by all Parliamentarian Englishmen, the terms of which were interpreted by the Scotch to bind England to submit to Presbyterianism, though the most important clauses had been purposely left vague, so as to afford a loophole of escape.

The battle of Marston Moor, with the defeat of the Royalist forces in the north, was the result. But the battle did not improve the position of the Scots. They had been repulsed, and the victory was justly ascribed to the English contingent. The composition of that contingent was such as to have a special political significance. Its leader was Oliver Cromwell. It was formed by men who were fierce Puritan enthusiasts, and who for the very reason that the intensity of their religion separated them from the mass of their countrymen, had learnt to uphold with all the energy of zeal the doctrine that neither church nor state had a right to interfere with the forms of worship which each congregation might select for itself. They were commonly known as Independents, from the communities which had sprung up under the name of Separatists in the reign of Elizabeth, and which maintained the principle of congregational independence; though many other sects found a place in their ranks.

The principle advocated by the army, and opposed by the Scotch and the majority of the House of Commons, was liberty of sectarian association. Some years earlier, under the dominion of Laud, another principle had been proclaimed by Chillingworth and Hales, that of liberty of thought to be maintained within the unity of the church. Both these movements conduced to the ultimate establishment of toleration,—the one by permitting those to worship as they saw fit whose faith was too definite to enable them to be content with outward forms by which their particular belief was not clearly expressed, the other by allowing those whose charity was greater than their polemical zeal to find a common ground to worship side by side with others whose beliefs did not entirely coincide with their own.

For the present the Independents were to have their way. Over The Presbyterian leaders, Essex and Manchester, were thrown of not successful leaders. The army was remodelled after Cromwell's pattern, and the king was finally crushed at Naseby (1645). The next year (1646) he surrendered to the Scots. Then followed two years of fruitless negotiation, in which after the Scotch abandoned the king to the English parliament, the army took him out of the hands of the parliament, whilst each in turn tried to find some basis of arrangement on which he might appear to sit on the throne without again misdirecting the government. Such a basis could not be found, and when Charles stirred up a fresh civil war and a Scottish invasion (1648), the leaders of the army vowed that, if victory was theirs, they would bring him to justice. To do this it was necessary to drive out a large number of the members of the House of Commons, by what was known as Pride's Purge, and to obtain from the mutilated Commons the dismissal of the House of Lords, and the establishment of a high court of justice, before which the king was brought to trial, and sentenced

Execution of the king.
The Commonwealth.

to death. He was beheaded on a scaffold outside the windows of Whitehall (1649).

The government set up was a government by the committees of a council of state nominally supporting themselves on the House of Commons, though the members who still retained their places were so few that the council of state was sufficiently numerous to form a majority in the House. During eleven years the nation passed through many vicissitudes in its forms of government. These forms take no place in the gradual development of English institutions, and have never been referred to as affording precedents to be followed. To the student of political science, however, they have a special interest of their own, as they show that when men had shaken themselves loose from the chain of habit and prejudice, and had set themselves to build up a political shelter under which to dwell, they were irresistibly attracted by that which was permanent in the old constitutional forms of which the special development had of late years been so disastrous. After Cromwell had suppressed resistance in Ireland (1649), had conquered Scotland (1650), and had overthrown the son of the late king, the future Charles II., at Worcester (1651), the value of government by an assembly was tested and found wanting. After Cromwell had expelled the remains of the Long Parliament (1653), and had set up another assembly of nominated members, that second experiment was found equally wanting. It was necessary to have recourse to one head of the executive government, controlling and directing its actions. Cromwell occupied this position as Lord Protector. He did all that it was in his power to do to prevent his authority from degenerating into tyranny. He summoned two parliaments, of only one House, and with the consent of the second parliament he erected a second House, so that he might have some means of checking the Lower House without constantly coming into personal collision with its authority. As far as form went, the constitution in 1658, so far as it differed from the Stuart constitution, differed for the better. But it suffered from one fatal defect. It was based on the rule of the sword. The only substitute for traditional authority is the clearly expressed expression of the national will, and it is impossible to doubt that if the national will had been expressed it would have swept away Cromwell and all his system. The majority of the upper and middle classes, which had united together against Laud, was now re-united against Cromwell. The Puritans themselves were but a minority, and of that minority considerable numbers disliked the free liberty accorded to the sects. Whilst the worship of the Church of England was proscribed, every illiterate or frenzied enthusiast was allowed to harangue at his pleasure. Those who cared little for religion felt insulted when they saw a Government with which they had no sympathy ruling by means of an army which they dreaded and detested. Cromwell did his best to avert a social revolution, and to direct the energies of his supporters into the channels of merely political change. But he could not prevent, and it cannot be said that he wished to prevent, the rise of men of ability from positions of social inferiority. The nation had striven against the arbitrary government of the king; but it was not prepared to shake off the predominance of that widely spreading aristocracy which, under the name of country gentlemen, had rooted itself too deeply to be easily passed by. Cromwell's rule was covered with military glory, and there can be no doubt that he honestly applied himself to solve domestic difficulties as well. But he reaped the reward of those who strive for something better than the generation in which they live is able to appreciate. His own faults and errors were remembered against him. He tried in vain to establish constitutional government and religious toleration. When he died (1658) there remained branded

on the national mind two strong impressions which it took more than a century to obliterate—the dread of the domination of a standing army, and abhorrence of the very name of religious zeal.

The eighteen months which followed deepened the impression thus formed. The army had appeared a hard master when it lent its strength to a wise and sagacious rule. It was worse when it undertook to rule in its own name, to set up and pull down parliaments and Governments. The only choice left to the nation seemed to be one between military tyranny and military anarchy. Therefore it was that when Monk advanced from Scotland and declared for a free parliament, there was little doubt that the new parliament would recall the exiled king, and seek to build again on the old foundations.

The Restoration was effected by a coalition between the ^{The R-} Cavaliers, or followers of Charles I., and the Presbyterians ^{stirred} who had originally opposed him. It was only after the nature of a great reaction that the latter should for a time be swamped by the former. When the Long Parliament of the Restoration met in 1661, the Act of Uniformity entirely excluded all idea of reform in the Puritan direction, and ordered the expulsion from their benefices of all clergymen who refused to express approval of the whole of the Book of Common Prayer (1662). A previous statute, the Corporation Act (1661), ordered that all members of corporations should renounce the Covenant and the doctrine that subjects might in any case rightfully use force against the king, and should receive the sacrament after the forms of the Church of England. The object for which Laud had striven, the compulsory imposition of uniformity, thus became part of the law of the land.

Herein lay the novelty of the system of the Restoration. ^{Prosper} The system of Laud and the system of Cromwell had both ^{of totem} been imposed by a minority which had possessed itself of the powers of government. The new uniformity was imposed by parliament, and parliament had the nation behind it. For the first time, therefore, all those who objected to the established religion sought, not to alter its forms to suit themselves, but to gain permission to worship in separate congregations. Ultimately, the Dissenters, as they began to be called, would obtain their object. As soon as it became clear to the mass of the nation that the dissenters were in a decided minority, there would be no reason to fear the utmost they could do even if the present liberty of worship and teaching were conceded to them. For the present, however, they were feared out of all proportion to their numbers. They counted amongst them the old soldiers of the Protectorate, and though that army had been dissolved, it always seemed possible that it might spring to arms once more. A bitter experience had taught men that a hundred of Oliver's Ironsides might easily chase a thousand Cavaliers; and as long as this danger was believed to exist, every effort would be made to keep dissent from spreading. Hence the Conventicle Act (1664) imposed penalties on those taking part in religious meetings in private houses, and the Five Mile Act (1665) forbade the expelled clergyman to come within five miles of a corporate borough, the very place where he was most likely to secure adherence, unless he would swear his adhesion to the doctrine of non-resistance.

The doctrine of non-resistance was evidently that by ^{Doctrine} which, at this time, the loyal subject was distinguished ^{of non-} from those whom he stigmatized as disloyal. Yet even ^{resistance} the most loyal found that, if it was wrong to take up arms against the king, it might be right to oppose him in other ways. Even the Cavaliers did not wish to see Charles II. an absolute sovereign. They wished to reconstruct the system which had been violently interrupted by the events of the autumn of 1641, and to found govn-

ment on the co-operation between king and parliament, without defining to themselves what was to be done if the king's conduct became insufferable. Openly, indeed, Charles II. did not force them to reconsider their position. He did not thrust members of the Commons into prison, or issue writs for ship-money. He laid no claim to taxation which had not been granted by parliament. But he was extravagant and self-indulgent, and he wanted more money than they were willing to supply. A war with the Dutch broke out, and there were strong suspicions that Charles applied money voted for the fleet to the maintenance of a vicious and luxurious court. Against the vice and luxury, indeed, little objection was likely to be brought. The over-haste of the Puritans to drill England into ways of morality and virtue had thrown at least the upper classes into a slough of revelry and baseness. But if the vice did not appear objectionable the expense did, and a new chapter in the financial history of the Government was opened when the Commons, having previously gained control over taxation, proceeded to vindicate their right to control expenditure.

As far, indeed, as taxation was concerned, the Long Parliament had not left its successor much to do. The abolition of feudal tenures and purveyance had long been demanded, and the conclusion of an arrangement which had been mooted in the reign of James I. is only notable as affording one instance out of many of the tendency of a single class to shift burdens off its own shoulders. The predominant landowners preferred the grant of an excise which would be taken out of all pockets to a land-tax which would exclusively be felt by those who were relieved by the abolition of the tenures. The question of expenditure was constantly telling on the relations between the king and the House of Commons. After the Puritan army had been disbanded, the king resolved to keep on foot a petty force of 5000 men, and he had much difficulty in providing for it out of a revenue which had not been intended by those who voted it to be used for such a purpose. Then came the Dutch war, bringing with it a suspicion that some at least of the money given for paying sailors and fitting out ships was employed by Charles on very different objects. The Commons accordingly, in 1665, succeeded in enforcing, on precedents derived from the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., the right of appropriating the supplies granted to special objects; and with more difficulty they obtained, in 1666, the appointment of a commission empowered to investigate irregularities in the issue of moneys. Such measures were the complement of the control over taxation which they had previously gained, and as far as their power of supervision went, it constituted them and not the king the directors of the course of government. If this result was not immediately felt, it was because the king had a large certain revenue voted to him for life, so that, for the present at least, it was only his extraordinary expenses which could be brought under parliamentary control. Nor did even the renewal of parliamentary impeachment, which ended in the banishment of Lord Chancellor Clarendon (1667), bring on any direct collision with the king. If the Commons wished to be rid of him because he upheld the prerogative, the king was equally desirous to be rid of him because he looked coldly on the looseness of the royal morals.

The great motive power of the later politics of the reign was to be found beyond the channel. To the men of the days of Charles II. Lewis XIV. of France was what Philip II. of Spain had been to the men of the days of Elizabeth. Gradually, in foreign policy, the commercial emulation with the Dutch, which found vent in one war in the time of the Commonwealth, and in two wars in the time of Charles II., gave way to a dread, rising into hatred,

of the arrogant potentate who, at the head of the mightiest army in Europe, treated with contempt all rights which came into collision with his own wishes. Nor was Lewis XIV. merely to be feared as a military or political opponent. Even when he was on bad terms with the pope he was a warm upholder of the Papal Church, and Protestants began to ask whether their religion would long be safe if other states succumbed to his arms. Soon, too, suspicions arose that there were those in England who might be glad to use his assistance for the overthrow of Protestantism at home.

In fact, the danger was to the full as great as it was imagined to be. The king was as much a Roman Catholic as he was anything at all, and in his annoyance at the interference of the Commons with his expenditure he thought it a fine thing to lead an easy uncontrolled existence as the pensioner of the great king. In 1670 the secret treaty of Dover was signed. Charles was to receive from Louis £200,000 a year, and the aid of 6000 French troops, to enable him to declare himself a convert, and to obtain special advantages for his religion, whilst he was also to place the forces of England at Lewis's disposal for his purposes of aggression on the Continent.

Charles had no difficulty in stirring up the commercial jealousy of England so as to bring about a second Dutch war (1672). The next year, unwilling to face the dangers of his larger plan, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence (1673). By a single act of the prerogative the king suspended all penal laws against Roman Catholics and dissenters alike.

The cavalier parliament had been gradually drifting into opposition to the crown. But to the end it was true to its resolution to retain the political predominance of the English Church. It dreaded the Roman Catholics. It hated and despised the dissenters. Under any circumstances an indulgence would have been most distasteful to it. But the growing belief that the whole scheme was merely intended to serve the purposes of the Roman Catholics converted its dislike into deadly opposition. Yet it resolved to base its opposition upon constitutional grounds. The right claimed by the king to suspend the laws was questioned, and his claim to special authority in ecclesiastical matters was treated with contempt. The king gave way, and withdrew his declaration. But no solemn Act of Parliament declared it to be illegal, and in due course of time it would be heard of again.

The Commons followed up their blow by passing the Test Act, making the reception of the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England, and the renunciation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, a necessary qualification for office. At once it appeared what a hold the members of the obnoxious church had had upon the administration of the state. The lord high admiral, the lord treasurer, and a secretary of state refused to take the test. The lord high admiral was the heir to the throne, the king's brother, the duke of York.

Charles, as usual, bent before the storm. In Danby he found a minister whose views answered precisely to the ministry's views of the existing House of Commons. Like the Commons, Danby wished to silence both Roman Catholics and dissenters. Like the Commons, too, he wished to embark on a foreign policy hostile to France. But he served a master who regarded Lewis less as a possible adversary than as a possible paymaster. Sometimes Danby was allowed to do as he liked, and the marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter Mary to her cousin the prince of Orange was the most lasting result of his administration. More often he was obliged to follow where Charles led, and Charles was constantly ready to sell the neutrality of England for large sums of French gold. At

last one of these negotiations was detected, and Danby, who was supposed to be the author instead of the unwilling instrument of the intrigue, was impeached. In order to save his minister, Charles dissolved parliament (1678).

The popish plot. Charles could not have chosen a more unlucky time for his own quiet. The strong feeling against the Roman Catholics had been quickened into a flame by a great imposture. The inventors of the so-called Popish plot charged the leading English Roman Catholics with a design to murder the king. Judges and juries alike were maddened with excitement, and listened greedily to the lies which poured forth from the lips of profligate informers. Innocent blood was shed in abundance.

Three short parliaments. The excitement had its root in the uneasy feeling caused by the knowledge that the heir to the throne was a Roman Catholic. Three parliaments were summoned and dissolved. In each parliament the main question at issue between the Commons and the crown was the Exclusion Bill, by which the Commons sought to deprive the duke of York of his inheritance; and it was notorious that the leaders of the movement wished the crown to descend to the king's illegitimate son, the duke of Monmouth.

Whigs and Tories. The principles by which the Commons were guided in these parliaments were very different from those which had prevailed in the first parliament of the Restoration. Those principles to which that party adhered which about this time became known as the Tory party had been formed under the influence of the terror caused by militant Puritanism. In the state the Tory inherited the ideas of Clarendon, and, without being at all ready to abandon the claims of parliaments, nevertheless somewhat inconsistently spoke of the king as ruling by a divine and indefeasible title, and wielding a power which it was both impious and unconstitutional to resist by force. In the church he inherited the ideas of Laud, and saw in the maintenance of the Act of Uniformity the safeguard of religion. But the hold of these opinions on the nation had been weakened with the cessation of the causes which had produced them. In 1680 twenty years had passed since the Puritan army had been disbanded. Many of Cromwell's soldiers had died, and most of them were growing old. The dissenters had shown no signs of engaging in plots or conspiracies. They were known to be only a comparatively small minority of the population, and though they had been cruelly persecuted, they had suffered without a thought of resistance. Dread of the dissenters, therefore, had become a mere chimera, which only those could entertain whose minds were influenced by prejudice. On the other hand, dread of the Roman Catholics was a living force. Unless the law were altered, a Roman Catholic would be on the throne, wielding all the resources of the prerogative, and probably supported by all the resources of the king of France. Hence the leading principle of the Whigs, as the predominant party was now called, was in the state to seek for the highest national authority in parliament rather than in the king, and in the church to adopt the rational theology of Chillingworth and Hales, whilst looking to the dissenters as allies against the Roman Catholics, who were the enemies of both.

Tory reaction. Events were to show that it was a wise provision which led the Whigs to seek to exclude the duke of York from the throne. But their plan suffered under two faults, the conjunction of which was ruinous to them for the time. In the first place, their choice of Monmouth as the heir was infelicitous. Not only was he under the stain of illegitimacy, but his succession excluded the future succession of Mary, whose husband, the prince of Orange, was the hope of Protestant Europe. In the second place, drastic remedies are never generally acceptable when the evil to be remedied is still in the future. When in the

third of the short parliaments held at Oxford the Whigs rode armed into the city, the nation decided that the future danger of a Roman Catholic succession was incomparably less than the immediate danger of another civil war. Loyal addresses poured in to the king. For the four remaining years of his reign he ruled without summoning any parliament. Whigs were brought before prejudiced juries and partial judges. Their blood flowed on the scaffold. The charter of the city of London was confiscated. The reign of the Tories was unquestioned. Yet it was not quite what the reign of the Cavaliers had been in 1660. The violence of the Restoration had been directed primarily against Puritanism, and only against certain forms of government so far as they allowed Puritans to gain the upper hand. The violence of the Tories was directed against rebellion and disorder, and only against dissenters so far as they were believed to be fomenters of disorder. Religious hatred had less part in the action of the ruling party, and even from its worst actions a wise man might have predicted that the day of toleration was not so far off as it seemed.

The accession of James II (1685) put the views of the First opponents of the Exclusion Bill to the test. A new year's parliament was elected, almost entirely composed of decided of the Tories. A rebellion in Scotland, headed by the earl of Argyll, and a rebellion in England, headed by the duke of Monmouth, were easily suppressed. But the inherent difficulties of the king's position were not thereby over come. It would have been hard, in days in which religious questions occupied so large a space in the field of politics, for a Roman Catholic sovereign to rule successfully over a Protestant nation. James set himself to make it, in his case, impossible. It may be that he did not consciously present to himself any object other than fair treatment for his co-religionists. On the one hand, however, he alienated even reasonable opponents by offering no guarantees that equality so gained would not be converted into superiority by the aid of his own military forces and of the assistance of the French king; whilst on the other hand he relied, even more strongly than his father had done, on the technical legality which exalted the prerogative in defiance of the spirit of the law. He began by making use of the necessity of resisting Monmouth to increase his army, under the pretext of the danger of a repetition of the late rebellion; and in the regiments thus levied he appointed many Roman Catholic officers who had refused to comply with the Test Act. Rather than submit to the gentlest remonstrance, he prorogued parliament, and proceeded to obtain from the Court of King's Bench a judgment in favour of his right to dispense with all penalties due by law, in the same way that his grandfather had appealed to the judges in the matter of the post-nati. But not only was the question put by James II of far wider import than the question put by James I, but he deprived the court to which he applied of all moral authority by previously turning out of office the judges who were likely to disagree with him, and by appointing new ones who were likely to agree with him. A Court of High Commission of doubtful legality was subsequently erected (1686) to deprive or suspend clergymen who made themselves obnoxious to the court, whilst James appointed Roman Catholics to the headship of certain colleges at Oxford. The legal support given him by judges of his own selection was fortified by the military support of an army collected at Hounslow Heath; and a Roman Catholic, the earl of Tyrconnel, was sent as lord-deputy to Ireland (1687) to organize a Roman Catholic army on which the king might fall back if his English forces proved insufficient for his purpose.

Thus fortified, James issued a declaration of indulgence

(1687) granting full religious liberty to all his subjects. The belief that the grant of liberty to all religions was only intended to serve as a cloak for the ascendancy of one was so strong that the measure roused the opposition of all those who objected to see the king's will substituted for the law, even if they wished to see the Protestant dissenters tolerated. In spite of this opposition, the king thought it possible to obtain a parliamentary sanction for his declaration. The parliament to which he intended to appeal was, however, to be as different a body from the parliament which met in the first year of his reign as the bench of judges which had approved of the dispensing power had been different from the bench which existed at his accession. A large number of the borough members were in those days returned by the corporations, and the corporations were accordingly changed. But so thoroughly was the spirit of the country roused, that many even of the new corporations were set against James's declaration, and he had therefore to abandon for a time the hope of seeing it accepted even by a packed House of Commons. All, however, that he could do to give it force he did. He ordered the clergy to read it in all pulpits (1688). Seven bishops who presented a petition asking him to relieve the clergy from the burthen of proclaiming what they believed to be illegal were brought to trial for publishing a seditious libel. Their acquittal by a jury was the first serious blow to the system adopted by the king.

Another event which seemed likely to consolidate his power was in reality the signal of his ruin. The queen bore him a son. There was thus no longer a strong probability that the king would be succeeded at no great distance of time by a Protestant heir. Popular incredulity expressed itself in the assertion that, as James had attempted to gain his ends by means of a packed bench of judges and a packed House of Commons, he had now capped the series of falsifications by the production of a supposititious heir. The leaders of both parties combined to invite the prince of Orange to come to the rescue of the religion and laws of England. He landed on November 5 at Brixham. Before he could reach London every class of English society had declared in his favour. James was deserted even by his army. He fled to France, and a convention parliament, summoned without the royal writ, declared that his flight was equivalent to abdication, and offered the crown in joint sovereignty to William and Mary (1689).

The Revolution, as it was called, was more than a mere change of sovereigns. It finally transferred the ultimate decision in the state from the king to parliament. What parliament had been in the 15th century with the House of Lords predominating, that parliament was to be again in the end of the 17th century with the House of Commons predominating. That House of Commons was far from resting on a wide basis of popular suffrage. The county voters were the freeholders; but in the towns, with some important exceptions, the electors were the richer inhabitants who formed the corporations of the boroughs, or a body of select householders more or less under the control of some neighbouring landowner. A House so chosen was an aristocratic body, but it was aristocratic in a far wider sense than the House of Lords was aristocratic. The trading and legal classes found their representation there by the side of the great owners of land. The House drew its strength from its position as a true representative of the effective strength of the nation in its social and economical organization.

Such was the body which firmly grasped the control over every branch of the administration. Limiting in the Bill of Rights the powers assumed by the crown, the Commons declared that the king could not keep a standing army in time of peace without consent of parliament; and they

made that consent effectual, as far as legislation could go, by passing a Mutiny Act year by year for twelve months only, so as to prevent the crown from exercising military discipline without their authority. Behind these legal contrivances stood the fact that the army was organized in the same way as the nation was organized, being officered by gentlemen who had no desire to overthrow a constitution through which the class from which they sprung controlled the government. Strengthened by the cessation of any fear of military violence, the Commons placed the crown in financial dependence on themselves by granting a large part of the revenue only for a limited term of years, and by putting strictly in force their right of appropriating that revenue to special branches of expenditure.

Such a revolution might have ended in the substitution of the despotism of a class for the despotism of a man. Many causes combined to prevent this result. The land-

Causes in
favour of
liberty.

owners, who formed the majority of the House, were not elected directly, as was the case with nobility of the French States General, by their own class, but by electors who, though generally loyal to them, would have broken off from them if they had attempted to make themselves masters of their fellow-citizens. No less important was the almost absolute independence of the judges, begun at the beginning of the reign, by the grant of office to them during good behaviour instead of during the king's pleasure, and finally secured by the clause in the Act of Settlement in 1701, which protected them against dismissal except on the joint address of both Houses of Parliament. Such an improvement, however, finds its full counterpart in another great step already taken. The more representative a Government becomes, the more necessary it is for the well-being of the nation that the expression of individual thought should be free in every direction. If it is not so the Government is inclined to proscribe unpopular opinion, and to forget that new opinions by which the greatest benefits are likely to be conferred are certain at first to be entertained by a very few, and are quite certain to be unpopular as soon as they come into collision with the opinions of the majority. In the Middle Ages the benefits of the liberation of thought from state control had been secured by the antagonism between church and state. The Tudor sovereigns had rightfully asserted the principle that in a well-ordered nation only one supreme power can be allowed to exist; but in so doing they had enslaved religion. It was fortunate that, just at the moment when parliamentary control was established over the state, circumstances should have arisen which made the majority ready to restore to the individual conscience that supremacy over religion which the mediæval ecclesiastics had claimed for the corporation of the universal church. Dissenters had, in the main, stood shoulder to shoulder with churchmen in rejecting the suspicious benefits of James, and both gratitude and policy forbade the thought of replacing them under the heavy yoke which had been imposed on them at the Restoration. The exact mode in which relief should be afforded was still an open question. The idea prevalent with the more liberal minds amongst the clergy was that of comprehension,—that is to say, of so modifying the prayers and ceremonies of the church as to enable the dissenters cheerfully to enter in. The scheme was one which had approved itself to minds of the highest order,—to More, to Bacon, to Hales, and to Jeremy Taylor. It is one which, as long as beliefs are not very divergent, keeps up a sense of brotherhood over-ruling the diversity of opinion. It broke down, as it always will break down in practice, whenever the difference of belief is so strongly felt as to seek earnestly to embody itself in diversity of outward practice. The greater part of the clergy of the church felt that to surrender their accustomed formularies

The Toleration Act.

was to surrender somewhat of the belief which those formularies signified, while the dissenting clergy were equally reluctant to adopt the common prayer book even in a modified form. Hence the Toleration Act, which guaranteed the right of separate assemblies for worship outside the pale of the church, though it embodied the principles of Cromwell and Milton, and not those of Chillingworth and Hales, was carried without difficulty, whilst the proposed scheme of comprehension never had a chance of success (1689).

The choice was one which posterity can heartily approve. However wide the limits of toleration be drawn, there will always be those who will be left outside. By religious liberty those inside gain as much as those who are without. From the moment of the passing of the Toleration Act, no Protestant in England performed any act of worship except by his own free and deliberate choice. The literary spokesman of the new system was Locke. His *Letters concerning Toleration* laid down the principle which had been maintained by Cromwell, with a wider application than was possible in days when the state was in the hands of a mere minority only able to maintain itself in power by constant and suspicious vigilance.

The Test Act remained.

One measure remained to place the dissenters in the position of full membership of the state. The Test Act excluded them from office. But the memory of the high-handed proceedings of Puritan rulers was still too recent to allow Englishmen to run the risk of a reimposition of their yoke, and this feeling, fanciful as it was, was sufficient to keep the Test Act in force for years to come.

Liberty of the press.

The complement of the Toleration Act was the abolition of the censorship of the press (1695). The ideas of the author of the *Areopagitica* had at last prevailed. The attempt to fix certain opinions on the nation which were pleasing to those in power was abandoned by king and parliament alike. The nation, or at least so much of it as cared to read books or pamphlets on political subjects, was acknowledged to be the supreme judge, which must therefore be allowed to listen to what councillors it pleased.

This new position of the nation made itself felt in various ways. It was William's merit that, fond as he was of power, he recognized the fact that he could not rule except so far as he carried the good-will of the nation with him. No doubt he was helped to an intelligent perception of the new situation by the fact that, as a foreigner, he cared far more for carrying on war successfully against France than for influencing the domestic legislation of a country which was not his own, and by the knowledge that the conduct of the struggle which lasted till he was able to treat with France on equal terms at Ryswick (1697) was fairly trusted to his hands. Nevertheless these years of war called for the united action of a national government, and in seeking to gain this support for himself, he hit upon an expedient which opened a new era in constitutional politics.

Beginning of cabinet government.

The supremacy of the House of Commons would have been an evil of no common magnitude, if it had made government impossible. Yet this was precisely what it threatened to do. Sometimes the dominant party in the House pressed with unscrupulous rancour upon its opponents. Sometimes the majority shifted from side to side as the House was influenced by passing gusts of passion or sympathy, so that, as it was said at the time, no man could foretell one day what the House would be pleased to do on the next. Against the first of these dangers William was to a great extent able to guard, by the exercise of his right of dissolution, so as to appeal to the constituencies, which did not always share in the passions of their representatives. But the second danger could not be met in this way. The only cure for waywardness

is responsibility, and not only was this precisely what the Commons had not learned to feel, but it was that which it was impossible to make them feel directly. A body composed of several hundred members cannot carry on government with the requisite steadiness of action and clearness of insight. Such work can only fitly be intrusted to a few, and whenever difficult circumstances arise, it is necessary that the action of those few be kept in harmony by the predominance of one. The scheme on which William hit, by the advice of the earl of Sunderland, was that which has since been known as Cabinet government. He selected as his ministers the leading members of the two Houses who had the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons. In this way, the majority felt an interest in supporting the men who embodied their own opinions, and fell in turn under the influence of those who held them with greater prudence or ability than fell to the lot of the average members of the House. All that William doubtless intended was to acquire a ready instrument to enable him to carry on the war with success. In reality he had re-founded, on a new basis, the government of England. His own personal qualities were such that he was able to dominate over any set of ministers; but the time would come when there would be a sovereign of inferior powers. Then the body of ministers would step into his place. The old rude arrangements of the Middle Ages had provided by frequent depositions that an inefficient sovereign should cease to rule, and those arrangements had been imitated in the case of Charles I. and James II. Still the claim to rule had, at least from the time of Henry III., been derived from hereditary descent, and the interruption, however frequently it might occur, had been regarded as something abnormal, only to be applied where there was an absolute necessity to prevent the wielder of executive authority from setting at defiance the determined purpose of the nation. After the Revolution, not only had the king's title been so changed as to make him more directly than ever dependent on the nation, but he now called into existence a body which derived its own strength from its conformity with the wishes of the representatives of the nation.

For the moment it seemed to be but a temporary Unruly-expedient. When the war came to an end the Whig party of which had sustained William in his struggle with France split up. The dominant feeling of the House of Commons was no longer the desire to support the crown against a foreign enemy, but to make government as cheap as possible, leaving future dangers to the chances of the future. William had not so understood the new invention of a united ministry as binding him to take into his service a united ministry of men whom he regarded as fools and knaves. He allowed the Commons to reduce the army to a skeleton, to question his actions, and to treat him as if he were a cipher. But it was only by slow degrees that he was brought to acknowledge the necessity of choosing his members from amongst the men who had done these things.

The time came when he needed again the support of the nation. The death of Charles II., the heirless king of the Spanish huge Spanish monarchy, had long been expected. Since the peace of Ryswick, William and Lewis XIV. had come to terms by two successive partition treaties for a division of those vast territories in such a way that the whole of them should not fall into the hands of a near relation either of the king of France or of the emperor, the head of the house of Austria. When the death actually took place in 1700, William seemed to have no authority in England whatever; and Lewis was therefore encouraged to break his engagements, and to accept the whole of the Spanish inheritance for his grandson, who became Philip

V. of Spain. William saw clearly that such predominance of France in Europe would lead to the development of pretensions unbearable to other states. But the House of Commons did not see it, even when the Dutch garrisons were driven by French troops out of the posts in the Spanish Netherlands which they had occupied for many years (1701).

The Act
of Settle-
ment. William had prudently done all that he could to conciliate the Tory majority. In the preceding year (1700) he had given office to a Tory ministry, and he now (1701) gave his assent to the Act of Settlement, which secured the succession of the crown to the house of Hanover to the exclusion of all Roman Catholic claimants, though it imposed several fresh restrictions on the prerogative. William was indeed wise in keeping his feelings under control. The country sympathized with him more than the Commons did, and when the House imprisoned the gentlemen deputed by the freeholders of Kent to present a petition asking that its loyal addresses might be turned into bills of supply, it simply advertised its weakness to the whole country.

Formation
of the
Grand
Alliance. The reception of this Kentish petition was but a foretaste of the discrepancy between the Commons and the nation, which was to prove the marked feature of the middle of the century now opening. For the present the House was ready to give way. It requested the king to enter into alliance with the Dutch. William went yet further in the direction in which he was urged. He formed an alliance with the emperor as well as with the States General to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain, and to compel France to evacuate the Netherlands. An unexpected event came to give him all the strength he needed. James II. died, and Lewis acknowledged his son as the rightful king of England. Englishmen of both parties were stung to indignation by the insult. William dissolved parliament, and the new House of Commons, Tory as it was by a small majority, was eager to support the king. It voted men and money according to his wishes. England was to be the soul of the Grand Alliance against France. But before a blow was struck William was thrown from his horse. He died on March 8, 1702. "The man," as Burke said of him, "was dead, but the Grand Alliance survived in which King William lived and reigned."

Access-
ion of
Anne. Upon the accession of Anne, war was at once commenced. The Grand Alliance became, as William would have wished, a league to wrest the whole of the Spanish dominions from Philip, in favour of the Austrian archduke Charles. It found a chief of supreme military and diplomatic genius in the duke of Marlborough. His victory at Blenheim (1704) drove the French out of Germany. His victory of Ramillies (1706) drove them out of the Netherlands. In Spain, Gibraltar was captured by Rooke (1704) and Barcelona by Peterborough (1705). Prince Eugene relieved Turin from a French siege, and followed up the blow by driving the besiegers out of Italy.

Marlbo-
rough's
victories. At home Marlborough, caring nothing for politics, at first gave his support to the Tories, whose church policy was regarded with favour by the queen. Their efforts were directed towards the restriction of the Toleration Act within narrow limits. Many dissenters had evaded the Test Act by partaking of the communion in a church, though they subsequently attended their own chapels. An Occasional Conformity Bill, imposing penalties on those who adopted this practice, twice passed the Commons (1702, 1703), but was rejected by the House of Lords, in which the Whig element predominated. The church was served in a nobler manner in 1704 by the abandonment of first-fruits and tenths by the queen for the purpose of raising the pittances of the poorer clergy. In 1707 a piece

of legislation of the highest value was carried to a successful end. The Act of Union, passed in the parliaments of England and Scotland, joined the legislature of the two kingdoms and the nations themselves in an indissoluble bond.

The ministry in office at the time of the passing of the United Act of Union had suffered important changes since the commencement of the reign. The Tories had never been earnest in the prosecution of the war as the Whigs ; and Marlborough, who cared above all things for the prosecution of the war, gradually replaced Tories by Whigs in the ministry. His intention was doubtless to conciliate both parties by admitting them both to a share of power ; but the Whigs were determined to have all or none, and in 1708 a purely Whig ministry was formed to support the war as the first purely Whig ministry had supported it in the reign of William. The years of its power were the years of the victories of Oudenarde (1708) and of Malplaquet (1709), bringing with them the entire ruin of the military power of Lewis.

Growing
of moder-
ation. Such successes, if they were not embraced in the spirit of moderation, boded no good to the Whigs. It was unknown that even before the last battle Lewis had been ready to give up his grandson, and that his offers had been rejected because he would not consent to join the allies in turning him out of Spain. A belief spread in England that Marlborough wished the endless prolongation of the war for his own selfish ends. Spain was far away, and, if the Netherlands were safe, enough had been done for the interests of England. The Whigs were charged with refusing to make peace when an honourable and satisfactory peace was not beyond their reach.

As soon as the demand for a vigorous prosecution of the war relaxed, the Whigs could but rely on their domestic policy, in which they were strongest in the eyes of posterity but weakest in the eyes of contemporaries. It was known that they looked for the principle on which the queen's throne rested to the national act of the Revolution rather than to the birth of the sovereign as the daughter of James II., whilst popular feeling preferred, however inconsistently, to attach itself to some fragment of hereditary right. What was of greater consequence was that it was known that they were the friends of the dissenters, and that their leaders, if they could have had their way, would not only have maintained the Toleration Act, but would also have repealed the Test Act. In 1709 a sermon preached by Dr Sacheverel denounced toleration and the right of resistance in tones worthy of the first days of the Restoration. Foolish as the sermon was, it was but the reflection of folly which was widely spread amongst the rude and less educated classes. The Whig leaders unwisely took up the challenge and impeached Sacheverel. The Lords condemned the man, but they condemned him to an easy sentence. His trial was the signal for riot. Dissenting chapels were sacked to the cry of High Church and Sacheverel. The queen, who had personal reasons for disliking the Whigs, dismissed them from office (1710), and a Tory House of Commons was elected amidst the excitement to support the Tory ministry of Harley and St John.

Occa-
sional
con-
formity. After some hesitation the new ministry made peace with France, and the treaty of Utrecht, stipulating for the permanent separation of the crowns of France and Spain, and, assigning Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands to the Austrian claimant, accomplished all that could reasonably be desired, though the abandonment to the vengeance of the Spanish Government of our Catalan allies, and the base desertion of our Continental confederates on the very field of action, brought dishonour on the good name of England. The Commons gladly welcomed the cessation of the war. The approval of the

Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act.

Lords had been secured by the creation of twelve Tory peers. In home politics the new ministry was in danger of being carried away by its more violent supporters. St John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, with unscrupulous audacity placed himself at their head. The Occasional Conformity Bill was at last carried (1711). To it was added the Schism Act (1714), forbidding dissenters to keep schools or engage in tuition. Bolingbroke went still further. He engaged in an intrigue for bringing over the Pretender to succeed the queen upon her death. This wild conduct alienated the moderate Tories, who, much as they wished to see the throne occupied by the heir of the ancient line, could not bring themselves to consent to its occupation by a Catholic prince, even if his birth marked him out for sovereignty. Such men, therefore, when Anne died (1714) joined the Whigs in proclaiming the elector of Hanover king as George I.

The accession of George I. brought with it the predominance of the Whigs. They had on their side the royal power, the greater part of the aristocracy, the dissenters, and the higher trading and commercial classes. The Tories appealed to the dislike of dissenters prevalent amongst the country gentlemen and the country clergy, and to the jealousy felt by the agricultural classes towards those who enriched themselves by trade. Such a feeling, if it was aroused by irritating legislation, might very probably turn to the advantage of the exiled house, especially as the majority of Englishmen were to be found on the Tory side. It was therefore advisable that Government should content itself with as little action as possible, in order to give time for old habits to wear themselves out. The landing of the Pretender in Scotland (1715), and the defeat of a portion of his army which had advanced to Preston,—a defeat which was the consequence of the apathy of his English supporters, and which was followed by the complete suppression of the rebellion,—gave increased strength to the Whig Government. But they were reluctant to face an immediate dissolution, and the Septennial Act was passed (1716) to extend to seven years the duration of parliaments, which had been fixed at three years by the Triennial Act of William and Mary. Under General Stanhope an effort was made to draw legislation in a more liberal direction.

The Repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act were repealed (1719); but the majorities on the side of the Government were unusually small, and Stanhope, who would willingly have repealed the Test Act so far as it related to dissenters, was compelled to abandon the project as entirely impracticable. The Peerage Bill, introduced at the same time to limit the royal power of creating peers, was happily thrown out in the Commons. It was proposed partly from a desire to guard the Lords against such a sudden increase of their numbers as had been forced on them when the treaty of Utrecht was under discussion, and partly to secure the Whigs in office against any change in the royal councils in a succeeding reign. It was in fact conceived by men who valued the immediate victory of their principles more than they trusted to the general good sense of the nation. The Lords were at this time, as a matter of fact, not merely wealthier but wiser than the Commons; and it is no wonder that, in days when the Commons, by passing the Septennial Act, had shown their distrust of their own constituents, the peers should show, by the Peerage Bill, their distrust of that House which was elected by those constituencies. Nevertheless the remedy was worse than the disease. A close oligarchy would not only have held a dominant position for some twenty or thirty years, during which it would really be fit to exercise authority, but would have been impenetrable to the force of public opinion when the time came that a public opinion

worthy of the name was formed. It is essential to the permanence of an Upper House that it should be unable to set at defiance the will of the nation expressed by its representatives; and without the power of creation the House of Lords might easily have attempted to do this till there was no alternative to a violent alteration of the constitution.

The excitement following on the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and the death or ruin of the leading ministers, pole's brought Walpole to the front (1721). As a man of business when men of business were few in the House of Commons, he was eminently fit to manage the affairs of the country. But he owed his long continuance in office especially to his sagacity. He clearly saw, what Stanhope had failed to see that the mass of the nation was not fitted as yet to interest itself wisely in affairs of government, and that therefore the rule must be kept in the hands of the upper classes. But he was too sensible to adopt the coarse expedient which had commended itself to Stanhope, and he preferred humouuring the masses to contradicting them.

The struggle of the preceding century had left its mark Freedom in every direction on the national development. Out of of the reaction against Puritanism had come a widely-spread relaxation of morals, and also, as far as the educated class was concerned, an eagerness for the discussion of all social and religious problems. The fierce excitement of political life had stirred up the fountains of thought, and the most anciently received doctrines were held of little worth until they were brought to the test of reason. It was a time when the pen was more powerful than the sword, when a secretary of state would treat with condescension a witty pamphleteer, and when such a pamphleteer might hope, not in vain, to become a secretary of state.

It was in this world of reason and literature that the Parlia-Whigs of the Peerage Bill moved. Walpole perceived mentary that there was another world which understood none of corrup-^{tion} these things. With cynical insight he discovered that a great Government cannot rest on a clique, however distin-guished. If the mass of the nation was not conscious of political wants, it was conscious of material wants. The merchant needed protection for his trade; the voters gladly welcomed election day as bringing guineas to their pockets. Members of Parliament were ready to sell their votes for places, for pensions, for actual money. The system was not new, as Danby is credited with the discovery that a vote in the House of Commons might be purchased. But with Walpole it reached its height.

Such a system was possible because the House of General Commons was not really accountable to its constituents. political The votes of its members were not published, and still less ^{apathy} were their speeches made known. Such a silence could only be maintained around the House when there was little interest in its proceedings. The great questions of religion and taxation which had agitated the country under the Stuarts were now fairly settled. To reawaken those ques-tions in any shape would be dangerous. Walpole took good care never to repeat the mistake of the Sacheverel trial. When on one occasion he was led into the proposal of an unpopular excise he at once drew back. England in his days was growing rich. Englishmen were bluff and independent, in their ways often coarse and unmannerly. Their life was the life depicted on the canvas of Hogarth and the pages of Fielding. All high imagination, all devotion to the public weal, seemed laid asleep. But the political instinct was not dead, and it would one day express itself for better ends than an agitation against an excise bill or an outcry for a popular war. A Government could no longer employ its powers for direct oppression. In his own house and in his own conscience, every Englishman, as far as the Govern-ment was concerned, was the master of his destiny. By

and by the idea would dawn on the nation that anarchy is as productive of evil as tyranny, and that a Government which omits to regulate or control allows the strong to oppress the weak, and the rich to oppress the poor.

Walpole's administration lasted long enough to give room for some feeble expression of this feeling. When George I. was succeeded by George II. (1727), Walpole remained in power. His eagerness for the possession of that power which he desired to use for his country's good, together with the incapacity of two kings born and bred in a foreign country to take a leading part in English affairs, completed the change which had been effected when William for the first time entrusted the conduct of government to a united Cabinet. There was now for the first time a prime minister in England, a person who was himself a subject imposing harmonious action on the Cabinet. The change was so gradually and silently effected that it is difficult to realize its full importance. So far, indeed, as it only came about through the incapacity of the first two kings of the house of Hanover, it might be obliterated, and was in fact to a great extent obliterated by a more active successor. But so far as it was the result of general tendencies, it could never be obliterated. In the ministries in which Somers and Montagu on the one hand and Harley and St John on the other had taken part, there was no prime minister except so far as one member of the administration dominated over his colleagues by the force of character and intelligence. In the reign of George III. even North and Addington were universally acknowledged by that title, though they had little claim to the independence of action of a Walpole or a Pitt.

The change was, in fact, one of the most important of those by which the English constitution has been altered from an hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary regulative agency to a parliamentary government with an hereditary regulative agency. In Walpole's time the forms of the constitution had become, in all essential particulars, what they are now. What was wanting was a national force behind them to give them their proper work.

The growing opposition which finally drove Walpole from power was not entirely without a nobler element than could be furnished by personal rivalry or ignorant distrust of commercial and financial success. It was well that complaints that a great country ought not to be governed by patronage and bribery should be raised, although, as subsequent experience showed, the causes which rendered corruption inevitable were not to be removed by the expulsion of Walpole from office. But for one error, indeed, it is probable that Walpole's rule would have been further prolonged than it was. In 1739 a popular excitement arose for a declaration of war against Spain. Walpole believed that war to be certainly unjust, and likely to be disastrous. He had, however, been so accustomed to give way to popular pressure that he did not perceive the difference between a wise and timely determination to leave a right action undone in the face of insuperable difficulties, and an unwise and cowardly determination to do that which he believed to be wrong and imprudent. If he had now resigned rather than demean himself by acting against his conscience, it is by no means unlikely that he would have been recalled to power before many years were over. As it was, the failures of the war recoiled on his own head, and in 1742 his long ministry came to an end.

After a short interval a successor was found in Henry Pelham. All the ordinary arts of corruption which Walpole had practised were continued, and to them were added arts of corruption which Walpole had disdained to practise. He at least understood that there were certain principles in accordance with which he wished to conduct

public affairs, and he had driven colleague after colleague out of office rather than allow them to distract his method of government. Pelham and his brother, the cowardly intriguing duke of Newcastle, had no principles of government whatever. They offered place to every man of parliamentary skill or influence. There was no opposition, because the ministers never attempted to do anything which would arouse opposition, and because they were ready to do anything called for by any one who had power enough to make himself dangerous; and in 1743 they embarked on a useless war with France in order to please the king, who saw in every commotion on the Continent some danger to his beloved Hanoverian possessions.

At most times in the history of England such a ministry would have been driven from office by the roused outcry of an offended people. In the days of the Pelhams, government was regarded as lying too far outside the all-important private interests of the community to make it worth while to make any effort to rescue it from the degradation into which it had fallen; yet the Pelhams had not been long in power before this serene belief that the country could get on very well without a government in any real sense of the word was put to the test. In 1745 Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, landed in Scotland. He was followed by many of the Highland young clans, always ready to draw the sword against the constituted authorities of the Lowlands; and even in the Lowlands, and especially in Edinburgh, he found adherents, who still felt the sting inflicted by the suppression of the national independence of Scotland. The English army was in as chaotic a condition as its Government, and Charles Edward inflicted a complete defeat on a force which met him at Prestonpans. Before the end of the year the victor, at the head of 5000 men, had advanced to Derby. But he found no support in England, and the mere numbers brought against him compelled him to retreat, to find defeat at Culloden in the following year (1746). The war on the Continent had been waged with indifferent success. The victory of Dettingen (1743) and the glorious defeat of Fontenoy (1745) had achieved no objects worthy of English intervention, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end in 1748 to hostilities which should never have been commenced. The Government pursued its inglorious career as long as Henry Pelham lived. He had at least some share in the financial ability of Walpole, and it was not till he died in 1754 that the real difficulties of a system which was based on the avoidance of Pelham. Death of Pelham.

The change which was needed was not such as was to be expected from any mere re-adjustment of the political machine. Those who cared for religion or morality had forgotten that man was an imaginative and emotional being. Defenders of Christianity and of deism alike appealed to the reason alone. Enthusiasm was treated as a folly or a crime, and earnestness of every kind was branded with the name of enthusiasm. The higher order of minds dwelt with preference upon the beneficent wisdom of the Creator. The lower order of minds treated religion as a kind of life-assurance against the inconvenience of eternal death.

Upon such a system as this human nature was certain to revenge itself. The preaching of Wesley and Whitfield appealed direct to the emotions. They preached the old Puritan doctrine of conversion, and called upon each individual not to understand, or to admire, or to act, but vividly to realize the love and mercy of God. In all this there was nothing new. What was new was that Wesley added an organization, in which each of his followers unfolded to one another the secrets of their heart, and became accountable to his fellows. Large as the numbers of the

Wealeyans ultimately became, their influence is not to be measured by their numbers. The double want of the age, the want of spiritual earnestness and the want of organized coherence, would find satisfaction in many ways which would have seemed strange to Wesley, but which were, nevertheless, a continuance of the work which he began.

As far as Government was concerned, when Henry Pelham died (1754) the lowest depth of baseness seemed to have been reached. The duke of Newcastle, who succeeded his brother, looked on the work of corruption with absolute pleasure, and regarded genius and ability as an awkward interruption of that happy arrangement which made men subservient to flattery and money. Whilst he was in the very act of trying to drive from office all men who were possessed of any sort of ideas, he was surprised by a great war. In America, the French settlers in Canada and the English settlers on the Atlantic coast were falling to blows for the possession of the vast territories drained by the Ohio and its tributaries. In India, Frenchmen and Englishmen had striven during the last war for authority over the native states round Pondicherry and Madras, and the conflict threatened to break out anew. When war commenced in earnest, and the reality of danger came home to Englishmen by the capture of Minorca (1756), there arose a demand for a more capable Government than any which Newcastle could offer. Terrified by the storm of obloquy which he aroused, he fled from office. A Government was formed, of which the soul was William Pitt. Pitt was, in some sort, to the political life of Englishmen what Wesley was to their religious life. He brought no new political ideas into their minds, but he ruled them by the force of his character and the example of his purity. His weapons were trust and confidence. He appealed to the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen, to their imaginative love for the national greatness, and he did not appeal in vain. He perceived instinctively that a large number, even of those who took greedily the bribes of Walpole and the Pelhams, took them, not because they loved money better than their country, but because they had no conception that their country had any need of them at all. It was a truth, but it was not the whole truth. The great Whig families rallied under Newcastle and drove Pitt from office (1757). But if Pitt could not govern without Newcastle's corruption, neither could Newcastle govern without Pitt's energy. At last a compromise was effected, and Newcastle undertook the work of bribing, whilst Pitt undertook the work of governing.

Ministry of Pitt and Newcastle.

The war which had already broken out, the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), was not confined to England alone. By the side of the duel between France and England, a war was going on upon the Continent, in which Austria—with its allies, France, Russia, and the German princes—had fallen upon the new kingdom of Prussia and its sovereign Frederick II. England and Prussia, therefore, necessarily formed an alliance. Different as the two Governments were, they were both alike in recognizing, in part at least, the conditions of progress. The generations which have succeeded the generation of Pitt and Frederick have learned gradually the necessity of seeking strength from the embodiment of popular feeling in a representative assembly, and of seeking order from the organization of scientific knowledge. Even in Pitt's day England, however imperfectly, rested its strength on the popular will. Even in Frederick's day Prussia was ruled by administrators selected for their special knowledge. Neither France nor Austria had any conception of the necessity of fulfilling these requirements. Hence the strength of England and of Prussia. The war seems to be a mere struggle for territory. There is no feeling in either Pitt

or Frederick, such as there was in the men who contended half a century later against Napoleon, that they were fighting the battles of the civilized world. There is something repulsive as well in the enthusiastic nationality of Pitt as in the cynical nationality of Frederick. Pitt's sole object was to exalt England to a position in which she might fear no rival, and might scarcely look upon a second. But in so doing he exalted that which, in spite of all that had happened, best deserved to be exalted. The habits of individual energy fused together by the inspiration of patriotism conquered Canada. The unintelligent over-regulation of the French Government could not maintain the colonies which had been founded in happier times. In 1758 Louisburg was taken, and the mouth of the St Lawrence guarded against France. In 1759 Quebec fell before Wolfe, who died at the moment of victory. In the same year the naval victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay established the supremacy of the British at sea. The battle of Plassey (1757) had laid Bengal at the feet of Clive; and Coote's victory at Wandewash (1760) led to the final ruin of the relics of French authority in southern India. When George II. died (1760), England was the first maritime and colonial power in the world.

In George III. the king once more became an important factor in English politics. From his childhood he had been trained by his mother and his instructors to regard the breaking down of the power of the great families as the task of his life. In this he was walking in the same direction as Pitt was walking. If the two men could have worked together in the same direction, England might have been spared many misfortunes. Unhappily, the king could not understand Pitt's higher qualities, his bold confidence in the popular feeling, and his contempt for corruption and intrigue. And yet the king's authority was indispensable to Pitt, if he was to carry on his conflict against the great families with success. When the war came to an end, as it must come to an end sooner or later, Pitt's special predominance, derived as it was from his power of breathing a martial spirit into the fleets and armies of England, would come to an end too. Only the king, with his hold upon the traditional instincts of loyalty and the force of his still unimpaired prerogative, could, in ordinary times, hold head against the wealthy and influential aristocracy. Unfortunately, George III. was not wise enough to deal with the difficulty in a high-minded fashion. With a well-intentioned but narrow mind, he had nothing in him to strike the imagination of his subjects. He met influence with influence, corruption with corruption, intrigue with intrigue. Unhappily, too, his earliest relations with Pitt involved a dispute on a point on which he was right and Pitt was wrong. In 1761 Pitt resigned office, because neither the king nor the cabinet were willing to declare war against Spain in the midst of the war with France. As the war with Spain was inevitable, and as, when it broke out in the following year (1762), it was followed by triumphs for which Pitt had prepared the way, the prescience of the great war-minister appeared to be fully established. But it was his love of war, not his skill in carrying it on, which was really in question. He would be satisfied with nothing short of the absolute ruin of France. He would have given England that dangerous position of supremacy which was gained for France by Lewis XIV. in the 17th century, and by Napoleon in the 19th century. He would have made his country still more haughty and arrogant than it was, till other nations rose against it, as they have three times risen against France, rather than submit to the intolerable yoke. It was a happy thing for England that peace was signed (1763).

Even as it was, a spirit of contemptuous disregard of Bute and the rights of others had been roused, which would not be Grenville.

easily allayed. The king's premature attempt to secure a prime minister of his own choosing in Lord Bute (1761) came to an end through the minister's incapacity (1763). George Grenville, who followed him, kept the king in leading-strings in reliance upon his parliamentary majority. Something, no doubt, had been accomplished by the incorruptibility of Pitt. The practice of bribing members of parliament by actual presents in money came to an end, though the practice of bribing them by place and pension long continued. The arrogance which Pitt displayed towards foreign nations was displayed by Grenville towards classes of the population of the British dominions. It was enough for him to establish a right. He never put himself in the position of those who were to suffer by its being put in force.

Suppression of
contra-
band
trade in
America.

The first to suffer from Grenville's conception of his duty were the American colonies. The mercantile system which had sprung up in Spain in the 16th century held that colonies were to be entirely prohibited from trading, except with the mother country. Every European country had adopted this view, and the acquisition of fresh colonial dominions by England, at the peace of 1763, had been made not so much through lust of empire as through love of trade. Of all English colonies, the American were the most populous and important. Their proximity to the Spanish colonies in the West Indies had naturally led to a contraband trade. To this trade Grenville put a stop, as far as lay in his power.

The
Stamp
Act.

Obnoxious as this measure was in America, the colonists had acknowledged the principle on which it was founded too long to make it easy to resist it. Another step of Grenville's met with more open opposition. Even with all the experience of the century which followed, the relations between a mother country and her colonies are not easy to arrange. If the burthen of defence is to be borne in common, it can hardly be left to the mother country to declare war, and to exact the necessary taxation, without the consent of the colonies. If, on the other hand, it is to be borne by the mother country alone, she may well complain that she is left to bear more than her due share of the weight. The latter alternative forced itself upon the attention of Grenville. The British parliament, he held, was the supreme legislature, and, as such, was entitled to raise taxes in America to support the military forces needed for the defence of America. The Act (1765) imposing a stamp tax on the American colonies was the result.

Resist-
ance in
America.

As might have been expected, the Americans resisted. For them, the question was precisely that which Hampden had fought out in the case of ship-money. As far as they were concerned, the British parliament had stepped into the position of Charles I. If Grenville had remained in office he would probably have persisted in his resolution. He was driven from his post by the king's resolution no longer to submit to his insolence.

The
Rocking-
ham
ministry.

A new ministry was formed under the marquis of Rockingham, composed of some of those leaders of the Whig aristocracy who had not followed the Grenville ministry. They were well-intentioned, but weak, and without political ability; and the king regarded them with distrust, only qualified by his abhorrence of the ministry which they superseded.

The De-
claratory
Act and
repeal of
Stamp
Act.

As soon as the bad news came from America, the ministry was placed between two recommendations. Grenville, on the one hand, advised that the tax should be enforced. Pitt, on the other, declared that the British parliament had absolutely no right to tax America, though he held that it had the right to regulate, or in other words to tax, the commerce of America for the benefit of the British merchant and manufacturer. Between the two

the Government took a middle course. It obtained from parliament a total repeal of the Stamp Act, but it also passed a Declaratory Act, claiming for the British parliament the supreme power over the colonies in matters of taxation, as well as in matters of legislation.

It is possible that the course thus adopted was chosen simply because it was a middle course. But it was probably suggested by Edmund Burke, who was then Lord Burke's Rockingham's private secretary, but who for some time to political come was to furnish thinking to the party to which he attached himself. Burke carried into the world of theory those politics of expediency of which Walpole had been the practical originator. He held that questions of abstract right had no place in politics. It was therefore as absurd to argue with Pitt that England had a right to regulate commerce, as it was to argue with Grenville that England had a right to levy taxes. All that could be said was that it was expedient in a wide-spread empire that the power of final decision should be lodged somewhere, and that it was also expedient not to use that power in such a way as to irritate those whom it was the truest wisdom to conciliate.

The weak side of this view was the weak side of all Argu-
ments of
Pitt and
Burke.
Burke's political philosophy. Like all great innovators, he was intensely conservative where he was not an advocate of change. With new views on every subject relating to the exercise of power, he shrunk even from entertaining the slightest question relating to the distribution of power. He recommended to the British parliament the most self-denying wisdom, but he could not see that in its relation to the colonies the British parliament was so constituted as to make it entirely unprepared to be either wise or self-denying. It is true that if he had thought out the matter in this direction he would have been led further than he or any other man in England or America was at that time prepared to go. If the British parliament was unfit to legislate for America, and if, as was undoubtedly the case, it was impossible to create a representative body which was fit to legislate, it would follow that the American colonies could only be fairly governed as practically independent states, though they might possibly remain, like the great colonies of our own day, in a position of alliance rather than of dependence. It was because the issues opened led to changes so far greater than the wisest statesman then perceived, that Pitt's solution, logically untenable as it was, was preferable to Burke's. Pitt would have given bad reasons for going a step in the right direction. Burke gave excellent reasons why those who were certain to go wrong should have the power to go right.

Scarcely were the measures relating to America passed when the king turned out the ministry. The new ministry was formed by Pitt, who was created Lord Chatham of Lord Chatham (1766), on the principle of bringing together men who had shaken themselves loose from any of the different Whig cliques. Whatever chance the plan had of succeeding was at an end when Chatham's mind temporarily gave way under stress of disease (1767). Charles Townshend, a brilliant headstrong man, led parliament in the way which had been prepared by the Declaratory Act, and laid duties on tea and other articles of commerce entering The tea
duties.

It was impossible that the position thus claimed by the British parliament towards America should affect America alone. The habit of obtaining money otherwise than by Home polities. the consent of those who are required to pay it would be certain to make parliament careless of the feelings and interests of that great majority of the population at home which was unrepresented in parliament. The resistance of America to the taxation imposed was therefore not with-

Wilkes
and *The
North
Briton.*

Middle-
sex elec-
tion.

Lord
North
and the
new
Tories.

Divisions
in the
Opposi-
tion.

Coercion
in
America.

The
Ameri-
can war.

out benefit to the natives of the mother-country. Already there were signs of a readiness in parliament to treat even the constituencies with contempt. In 1763, in the days of the Grenville ministry, John Wilkes, a profligate and scurrilous writer, had been arrested on a general warrant,—that is to say, a warrant in which the name of no individual was mentioned,—as the author of an alleged libel on the king, contained in No. 45 of *The North Briton*. He was a member of parliament, and as such was declared by Chief Justice Pratt to be privileged against arrest. In 1768 he was elected member for Middlesex. The House of Commons expelled him. He was again elected, and again expelled. The third time the Commons gave the seat to which Wilkes was a third time chosen to Colonel Luttrell, who was far down in the poll. Wilkes thus became the representative of a great constitutional principle, the principle that the electors have a right to choose their representatives without restriction saving by the regulations of the law.

For the present the contention of the American colonists and of the defenders of Wilkes at home was confined within the compass of the law. Yet in both cases it might easily pass beyond that compass, and might rest itself upon an appeal to the duty of Governments to modify the law and to enlarge the basis of their authority, when law and authority have become too narrow.

As regards America, though Townshend died, the Government persisted in his policy. As resistance grew stronger in America, the king urged the use of compulsion. If he had not the wisdom of the country on his side, he had its prejudices. The arrogant spirit of Englishmen made them contemptuous towards the colonists, and the desire to thrust taxation upon others than themselves made the new colonial legislation popular. In 1770 the king made Lord North prime minister. He had won the object on which he had set his heart. A new Tory party had sprung up, not distinguished, like the Tories of Queen Anne's reign, by a special ecclesiastical policy, but by their acceptance of the king's claim to nominate ministers, and so to predominate in the ministry himself.

Unhappily the Opposition, united in the desire to conciliate America, was divided on questions of home policy. Chatham would have met the new danger by parliamentary reform, giving increased voting power to the freeholders of the counties. Burke from principle, and his noble patrons mainly from lower motives, were opposed to any such change. As Burke had wished the British parliament to be supreme over the colonies, in confidence that this supremacy would not be abused, so he wished the great land-owning connection resting on the rotten boroughs to rule over the unrepresented people, in confidence that this power would not be abused. Amidst these distractions the king had an easy game to play. He had all the patronage of the Government in his hands, and beyond the circle which was influenced by gifts of patronage he could appeal to the ignorance and self-seeking of the nation, with which, though he knew it not, he was himself in the closest sympathy.

No wonder resistance grew more vigorous in America. In 1773 the inhabitants of Boston threw ship-loads of tea into the harbour rather than pay the obnoxious duty. In 1774 the Boston Port Bill deprived Boston of its commercial rights, whilst the Massachusetts Government Bill took away from that colony the ordinary political liberties of Englishmen. The first skirmish of the inevitable war was fought at Lexington in 1775. In 1776 the thirteen colonies united in the Congress issued their Declaration of Independence. England put forth all its strength to beat down resistance. She increased her armies by hirings bought from the German princes. But not only did no military genius appear on the English side, but the

distance across the Atlantic was so great, and the immense spaces of even the settled part of the American continent were so large, that it was impossible to effect that conquest which seemed so easy at a distance. The difficulties of the Americans, too, were enormous, but they had the advantage of being at home; and in Washington they found a leader worthy of the great cause for which he fought. In 1777 a British army under Burgoyne capitulated at Saratoga; and in the same year France, eager to revenge France the disasters of the Seven Years' War,^{suppose}, formed an alliance with the revolted colonies as free and independent states, and was soon joined by Spain.

Chatham, who was ready to make any concession to America short of independence, and especially of independence at the dictation of France, died in 1778. The war ^{End of} was continued for some years with varying results; but in the war 1781 the capitulation of a second British army under Cornwallis at York Town was a decisive blow, which brought home to the minds of the dullest the assurance that the conquest of America was an impossibility.

Before this event happened there had been a great change in public feeling in England. The increasing weight of taxation gave rise in 1780 to a great meeting of the freeholders of Yorkshire, which in turn gave the signal for a general agitation for the reduction of unnecessary expense in the government. To this desire Burke gave expression in his bill for economical reform, though he was unable to carry it in the teeth of interested opposition. The movement in favour of economy was necessarily also a movement in favour of peace; and when the surrender of York Town was known (1782), Lord North at once resigned office.

The new ministry formed under Lord Rockingham ^{The} comprised not only his own immediate followers, of whom ^{second} the most prominent was Charles Fox, but the followers of Rockingham, of whom Lord Shelburne was the acknowledged ^{ham} ^{ministry.} leader. A treaty of peace acknowledging the independence of the United States of America was at once set on foot; and the negotiation with France was rendered easy by the defeat of a French fleet by Rodney, and by the failure of the combined forces of France and Spain to take Gibraltar.

Already the ministry on which such great hopes had been placed had broken up. Rockingham died in July ^{between} 1782. The two sections of which the Government was ^{Shelburne} composed had different aims. The Rockingham section, and ^{the} which now looked up to Fox, rested on aristocratic connection and influence; the Shelburne section was anxious to gain popular support by active reforms, and to gain over the king to their side. Judging by past experience, the combination might well seem hopeless, and honourable men like Fox might easily regard it with suspicion. But Fox's allies took good care that their name should not be associated with the idea of improvement. They pruned Burke's Economical Reform Bill till it left as many abuses as it suppressed; and though the bill prohibited the grant of pensions above £300, they hastily gave away pensions of much larger value to their own friends before the bill had received the royal assent. They also opposed a bill for parliamentary reform brought in by young William Pitt. When the king chose Shelburne as prime minister, they refused to follow him, and put forward the incompetent duke of Portland as their candidate for the office. The struggle was thus renewed on the old ground of the king's right to select his ministers. But while the king now put forward a minister notoriously able and competent to the task, his opponents put forward a man whose only claim to office was the possession of large estates. They forced their way back to power by means as unscrupulous as their claim to it was unjustifiable. They formed a coalition with Lord North whose politics

The coalition and character they had denounced for years. The coalition, as soon as the peace with America and France had been signed (1783), drove Shelburne from office. The duke of Portland became the nominal head of the Government, Fox and North its real leaders.

Such a ministry could not afford to make a single blunder. The king detested it, and the assumption by the Whig houses of a right to nominate the head of the Government without reference to the national interests could never be popular. The blunder was soon committed. Burke, hating wrong and injustice with a bitter hatred, had despaired in the government of British India by the East India Company a disgrace to the English name. For many of the actions of that government no honourable man can think of uttering a word of defence. The helpless natives were oppressed and robbed by the Company and its servants in every possible way. Burke drew up a bill, which was adopted by the coalition Government, for taking all authority in India out of the hands of the Company, and even placing the Company's management of its own commercial affairs under control. The governing and controlling body was naturally to be a council appointed at home. The question of the nomination of this council at once drew the whole question within the domain of party politics. The whole patronage of India would be in its hands, and, as parliament was then constituted, the balance of parties might be more seriously affected by the distribution of that patronage than it would be now. When, therefore, it was understood that the Government bill meant the council to be named in the bill for four years, or, in other words, to be named by the coalition ministry, it was generally regarded as an unblushing attempt to turn a measure for the good government of India into a measure for securing the ministry in office. The bill of course passed the Commons. When it came before the Lords, it was thrown out in consequence of a message from the king that he would regard any one who voted for it as his enemy.

The contest had thus become one between the influence of the crown and the influence of the great houses. Constitutional historians, who treat the question as one of merely theoretical politics, leave out of consideration this essential element of the situation, and forget that, if it was wrong for the king to influence the Lords by his message, it was equally wrong for the ministry to acquire for themselves fresh patronage with which to influence the Commons. But there was now, what there had not been in the time of Walpole and the Pelhams, a public opinion ready to throw its weight on one side or the other. The county members still formed the most independent portion of the representation, and there were many possessors of rotten boroughs who were ready to agree with the county members rather than with the great landowners. In choosing Pitt, the young son of Chatham, for his prime minister, as soon as he had dismissed the coalition, George III. gave assurance that he wished his counsels to be directed by integrity and ability. After a struggle of many weeks, parliament was dissolved (1784), and the new House of Commons was prepared to support the king's minister by a large majority.

As far as names go, the change effected placed in office the new Tory party for an almost uninterrupted period of forty-six years. It so happened, however, that after the first eight years of that period had passed by, circumstances occurred which effected so great a change in the composition and character of that party as to render any statement to this effect entirely illusive. During eight years, however, Pitt's ministry was not merely a Tory ministry resting on the choice of the king, but a Liberal ministry resting on national support and upon advanced political knowledge.

The nation which Pitt had behind him was very different material from the populace which had assailed Walpole's Excise Bill, or had shouted for Wilkes and liberty. At the beginning of the century the intellect of thoughtful Englishmen had applied itself to speculative problems of religion and philosophy. In the middle of the century it applied itself to practical problems affecting the employment of industry. In 1776 Adam Smith published the *Wealth of Nations*. Already in 1762 the work of Brindley, the Bridgewater canal, the first joint of a network of inland water communication, was opened. In 1767 Hargreaves produced the spinning-jenny; Arkwright's spinning machine was exhibited in 1768; Crompton's mule was finished in 1779; Cartwright hit upon the idea of the power-loom in 1784, though it was not brought into profitable use till 1801. The Staffordshire potteries had been flourishing under Wedgwood since 1763, and the improved steam-engine was brought into shape by Watt in 1788. During these years the duke of Bedford, Coke of Holkham, and Robert Bakewell were busy in the improvement of stock and agriculture.

The increase of wealth and prosperity caused by these changes went far to produce a large class of the population entirely outside the associations of the landowning class, but with sufficient intelligence to appreciate the advantages of a government carried on without regard to the personal interests and rivalries of the aristocracy. The mode in which that increase of wealth was effected was even more decisive on the ultimate destinies of the country. The substitution of the organization of hereditary monarchy for the organization of wealth and station would ultimately have led to evils as great as those which it superseded. It was only tolerable as a stepping-stone to the organization of intelligence. The larger the numbers admitted to influence the affairs of state, the more necessary is it that they respect the powers of intellect. It would be foolish to institute a comparison between an Arkwright or a Crompton and a Locke or a Newton. But it is certain that for one man who could appreciate the importance of the treatise *On the Human Understanding* or the theory of gravitation, there were thousands who could understand the value of the water-frame or the power-loom. The habit of looking with reverence upon mental power was fostered in no slight measure by the industrial development of the second half of the 18th century.

The supremacy of intelligence in the political world was, Pitt's India Bill, represented in Pitt. In 1784 he passed an India Bill, which left the commerce and all except the highest patronage of India in the hands of the East India Company, but which erected a department of the home Government named the Board of Control to compel the Company to carry out such political measures as the Government saw fit. A bill for parliamentary reform was, however, thrown out by the opposition of his own supporters in parliament, whilst outside parliament there was no general desire for a change in a system which for the present produced such excellent fruits. Still more excellent was his plan of His deal-legislation for Ireland. Irishmen had taken advantage of the weakness of England during the American war to enforce upon the ministry of the day, in 1780 and 1782, an abandonment of all claim on the part of the English Government and the English judges to interfere in any way with Irish affairs. From 1782, therefore, there were two independent legislatures within the British Isles,—the one sitting at Westminster and the other sitting in Dublin. With these political changes Fox professed himself to be content. Pitt, whose mind was open to wider considerations, proposed to throw open commerce to both nations by removing all the restrictions placed on the trade of Ireland with England and with the rest of the world. The opposi-

tion of the English parliament was only removed by concessions continuing some important restrictions upon Irish exports, and by giving the English parliament the right of initiation in all measures relating to the regulation of the trade which was to be common to both nations. The Irish parliament took umbrage at the superiority claimed by England, and threw out the measure as an insult, which, even as it stood, was undeniably in favour of Ireland. The lesson of the incompatibility of two co-ordinate legislatures was not thrown away upon Pitt.

Commercial treaty with France. In 1786 the commercial treaty with France opened that country to English trade, and was the first result of the theories laid down by Adam Smith ten years previously. The first attack upon the horrors of the slave-trade was made in 1788; and in the same year, in the debates on the Regency Bill caused by the king's insanity, Pitt defended against Fox the right of parliament to make provision for the exercise of the powers of the crown when the wearer was permanently or temporarily disabled from exercising his authority.

The king at St Paul's. When the king recovered, he went to St Paul's to return thanks, on the 23d of April 1789. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted showed how completely he had the nation on his side. All the hopes of liberal reformers were now on his side. All the hopes of moral and religious men were on his side as well. The seed sown by Wesley had grown to be a great tree. A spirit of thoughtfulness in religious matters and of moral energy was growing in the nation, and the king was endeared to his subjects as much by his domestic virtues as by his support of the great minister who acted in his name. The happy prospect was soon to be overclouded. On the 4th of May, eleven days after the appearance of George III. at St Paul's, the French States General met at Versailles.

The French Revolution. By the great mass of intelligent Englishmen the change was greeted with enthusiasm. It is seldom that one nation understands the tendencies and difficulties of another; and the mere fact that power was being transferred from an absolute monarch to a representative assembly led superficial observers to imagine that they were witnessing a mere repetition of the victory of the English parliament over the Stuart kings. In fact, that which was passing in France was of a totally different nature from the English struggle of the 17th century. In England, the conflict had been carried on for the purpose of limiting the power of the king. In France, it was begun in order to sweep away an aristocracy in church and state which had become barbarously oppressive. It was not therefore a conflict touching simply on the political organization of the state. The whole social organization of the country was at stake, and the struggle would be carried on at every point of the territory, and would involve every class of society. In such a conflict, therefore, there was nothing necessarily antagonistic to the maintenance of the most absolute royal power. If there had been a king on the throne who had understood the needs of the times, and who could have placed himself without afterthought at the head of the national movement, he would have been stronger for all good purposes than Lewis XIV. had ever been. Unhappily, it was not in Lewis XVI. to do anything of the kind. Well intentioned and desirous to effect the good of his people, he was not clear-headed enough to understand how it was to be done, or strong-willed enough to carry out any good resolutions to which he might be brought. The one thing impossible for a king was to be neutral in the great division which was opening in French society; and Lewis was too much a creature of habit to throw off the social ties which united him to the aristocracy. It was the knowledge that the king was in heart on the wrong side that made his continuance to rule impossible. Un-

doubtedly the best thing that the French could have done, after the king's leanings were known, would have been to dethrone him. But this was not a step which any nation was likely to take in a hurry; and the constitution drawn up by the States General after it passed into the form of the National Assembly was necessarily grounded on suspicion. The one indispensable requisite for the working of a constitution is that it shall be possible to maintain a certain degree of harmony between the various functionaries who are intrusted with the work. Such a harmony was impossible between Lewis and the French nation. Amongst the higher order of minds there might be a desire for liberty, and the word liberty was on the lips of every one. But the thought of liberty was rarely to be found. It was by the passion of equality that the nation was possessed. For the new spirit it was necessary to find new institutions. The old ones had broken down from absolute rottenness, and if they had been other than they were, they were certain to be used on the anti-national side. The force must be given to the nation, not to the aristocracy—not to the king, the ally of the aristocracy. Yet all this had to be done when the mass of the nation was rude and uneducated, ignorant and unversed in political life to the last degree, and when, too, it had been taught by the long course of monarchical government to see force placed above right, and was therefore all the more inclined to solve its difficulties by force. What wonder, therefore, if violence took the place of argument, if mob-rule stepped in to enforce the popular over the unpopular reasoning, and the king soon found that he was practically a prisoner in the hands of his subjects.

In proportion as the French Revolution turned away English from the path which English ignorance had marked out for it, Englishmen turned away from it in disgust. As they did not understand the aims of the French Revolutionists, they were unable to make that excuse for even so much of their conduct as admits of excuse. Three men, Fox, Burke, and Pitt, however, represented three varieties of opinion into which the nation was very unequally divided.

Fox, generous and trustful towards the movements of large masses of men, had very little intellectual grasp of the questions at issue in France. He treated the struggle as one simply for the establishment of free institutions; and when at last the crimes of the leaders became patent to the world, he contented himself with lamenting the unfortunate fact, and fell back on the argument that though England could not sympathize with the French tyrants, there was no reason why she should go to war with them.

Burke, on the other hand, while he failed to understand of Burke the full tendency of the Revolution for good as well as for evil, understood it far better than any Englishman of that day understood it. He saw that its main aim was equality, not liberty, and that not only would the French nation be ready, in pursuit of equality, to welcome any tyranny which would serve its purpose, but would be the more prone to acts of tyranny over individuals from the complete remodelling of institutions, with the object of giving immediate effect to the will of the ignorant masses, which was especially liable to be counterfeited by designing and unscrupulous agitators. There is no doubt that in all this Burke was in the right, as he was in his denunciation of the mischief certain to follow when a nation tries to start afresh, and to blot out all past progress in the light of simple reason, which is often most fallible when it believes itself to be most infallible. Where he went wrong was in his ignorance of the special circumstances of the French nation, and his consequent blindness to the fact that the historical method of gradual progress was impossible where institutions had become so utterly bad as they were in

France, and that consequently the system of starting afresh, to which he reasonably objected, was to the French a matter not of choice but of necessity. Nor did he see that the passion for equality, like every great passion, justified itself, and that the problem was, not how to obtain liberty in defiance of it, but how so to guide it as to obtain liberty by it and through it.

Burke did not content himself with pointing out speculatively the evils which he foreboded for the French. He perceived clearly that the effect of the new French principles could no more be confined to French territory than the principles of Protestantism in the 16th century could be confined to Saxony. He knew well that the appeal to abstract reason and the hatred of aristocracy would spread over Europe like a flood, and, as he was in the habit of considering whatever was most opposed to the object of his dislike to be wholly excellent, he called for a crusade of all established Governments against the anarchical principles of dissolution which had broken loose in France.

Pitt occupied ground apart from either Fox or Burke. He had neither Fox's sympathy for popular movements nor Burke's intellectual appreciation of the immediate tendencies of the Revolution. Hence, whilst he pronounced against any active interference with France, he was an advocate of peace, not because he saw more than Fox or Burke, but because he saw less. He fancied that France would be so totally occupied with its own troubles that it would cease for a long time to be dangerous to other nations. A resolution formed on grounds so hopelessly futile was not likely to stand the test of time.

Even if France had been spared the trial of external pressure, it is almost certain that she would have roused resistance by some attempt to maintain her new principles abroad. When the king of Prussia coalesced with the emperor in 1792 to force her to re-establish the royal authority, she broke out into a passion of self-asserting defiance. The king was dethroned, and preparations were made to try him for his life as an accomplice of the invaders. A republic was proclaimed, and in its name innocent persons, whose only crime was to belong to the noble class by birth and feeling, were massacred by hundreds. The grim suspicion which clothed itself with cruelty in the capital became patriotic resistance on the frontier. Before the end of the year the invasion was repulsed, Savoy occupied, the Austrian Netherlands overrun, and the Dutch republic threatened.

Very few Governments in Europe were so rooted in the affections of their people as to be able to look without terror on the challenge thus thrown out to them. The English Government was one of those very few. No mere despotism was here exercised by the king. No broad impassable line here divided the aristocracy from the people. The work of former generations of Englishmen had been too well done to call for that breach of historical continuity which was a dire necessity in France. There was much need of reform. There was no need of a revolution. The whole of the upper and middle classes, with few exceptions, clung together in a fierce spirit of resistance; and the mass of the lower classes, especially in the country, were too well off to wish for change. The spirit of resistance to revolution quickly developed into a spirit of resistance to reform, and those who continued to advocate changes more or less after the French model were treated as the enemies of mankind. A fierce hatred of France and of all that attached itself to France became the predominating spirit of the nation.

Such a change in the national mind could not but affect the constitution of the Whig party. The reasoning of Burke would, in itself, have done little to effect its disrup-

tion. But the great landowners, who contributed so strong an element in it, composed the very class which had most to fear from the principles of the Revolution. The old Whig questions which had divided them from the king and Pitt in 1783 had dwindled into nothing before the appalling question of the immediate present. They made themselves the leaders of the war party, and they knew that that party comprised almost the whole of the parliamentary classes.

What could Pitt do but surrender? The whole of the intellectual basis of his foreign policy was swept away when it became evident that the Continental war would bring with it an accession of French territory. He did not abandon his opinions. His opinions rather abandoned him. A wider intelligence might have held that, let France gain what territorial aggrandizement it might upon the Continent, it was impossible to resist such changes until the opponents of France had so purified themselves as to obtain a hold upon the moral feelings of mankind. Pitt could not take this view; perhaps no man in his day could be fairly expected to take it. He did not indeed declare war against France; but he sought to set a limit to her conquests in the winter, though he had not sought to set a limit to the conquests of the coalesced sovereigns in the preceding summer. He treated with supercilious contempt the National Convention, which had dethroned the king and proclaimed a republic. Above all, he took up a declaration by the Convention, that they would give help to all peoples struggling for liberty against their respective Governments, as a challenge to England. The horror caused in England by the trial and execution of Lewis XVI. completed the estrangement between the two countries, and though the declaration of war came from France (1793), it had been in great part brought about by the bearing of England and its Government.

In appearance the great Whig landowners gave their support to Pitt, and in 1794 some of their leaders, the duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr Wyndham, entered the cabinet to serve under him. In reality it was Pitt who had surrendered. The ministry and the party by which it was supported might call themselves Tory still. But the great reforming policy of 1784 was entirely at an end. Strong as it was, the Government did not know its own strength. It saw sedition and revolution everywhere. It twisted loose talk into criminal intent. It covered the country with its spies. The slightest attempts to concert measures for obtaining reform were branded as revolutionary violence. Men who would otherwise have been content with declaiming in favour of reform were goaded into actual sedition. The Government sought and obtained additional powers from parliament. Fine, imprisonment, and transportation were dealt out by the law courts in lavish measure. The Reign of Terror in France was answered by a reign of violence in England, modified by the political habits of a nation trained to freedom, but resting on the same spirit of fear and intolerance. In November 1794 an attempt was made actually to shed blood. Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall were brought to trial, on a charge of high treason, for issuing invitations to a national convention intended to promote changes of the greatest magnitude in the government. Happily the jury refused to see in this certainly dangerous proceeding a crime worthy of death, and its verdict of Not guilty saved the nation from the disgrace of meting out the extreme penalty of high treason to an attempt to hold a public meeting for the redress of grievances.

The public feeling, in fact, regained its composure sooner than the ministry. The upper and middle classes became conscious of their own strength; and though reform and reformers were as unpopular as ever, the instruments by which reform might be gained hereafter were left

Pitt as
a war
minister.

untouched for the use of a future generation. The Sedition and Treason Bills, passed in 1795, were limited in their duration, and were never actually put in force.

In the meanwhile, Pitt's management of the war was leading, as far as the Continent was concerned, to failure after failure. Nothing else was possible. He had none of the abilities of a war minister, and his system of sending detached expeditions to various points was not calculated to attain success. Nor is it likely that, even if he had been more competent in this respect, he would have accomplished anything worthy of the efforts which he put forth. It has been said that if he had roused the passions of men, and had proclaimed a holy war upon the Continent, he would have had a better chance of gaining his ends. But passions cannot be artificially excited, and a holy war presupposes a cause which, if it is not holy in itself, will at least be supposed by men to be so. Except under special circumstances, however, it was impossible to rouse enthusiasm against the French republic. Toulon might be succoured and abandoned in 1793; La Vendée might have fallacious hopes held out to it in 1794. Frenchmen who were shocked at the habitual employment of the guillotine were yet not inclined to rise at the bidding of a foreign invader against a Government which at all events stood manfully up for the integrity of French territory, whilst the long habit of submission to absolute rule had made the nation slow to take the conduct of affairs into its own hands. The middle classes on the Continent too were on the side of the peasants, and looked to French principles if not to French armies as offering an amelioration of their lot. The Austrian Netherlands, regained from France in 1793, were reconquered by France in 1794; and a British force under the duke of York did nothing to avert the misfortune. The land was annexed to the territory of the French republic. Early in 1795 the Dutch Netherlands were revolutionized and constituted into a republic in alliance with France. In the same year Prussia made peace with France. Austria continued the contest alone, receiving large sums of money from England, and doing very little in return.

French
successes
on land.

English
successes
at sea.

If England could do little for the Continent, she could do enough to insure her own safety. Howe's victory of the 1st of June (1794) inflicted the first of a long series of defeats on the French navy. An attempt in 1795 to support the French royalists by a landing in Quiberon Bay ended in failure, but Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were taken from the Dutch. The war, however, had become so expensive, and its results were evidently so small, that there was a growing feeling in England in favour of peace, especially as the Reign of Terror had come to an end in 1794, and a regular Government, the Directory, had been appointed in 1795. Accordingly, in 1796 Lord Malmesbury was sent to France to treat for peace; but the negotiation was at once broken off by his demand that France should abandon the Netherlands.

Hoche's
expedi-
tion in
Bantry
Bay.

The French Government, buoyed up by the successes of General Bonaparte, who was driving the Austrians out of Italy, resolved to attempt an invasion of Ireland. In December a French fleet, with Hoche on board, sailed for Bantry Bay. Only part of it arrived there, and retreated without effecting anything. A smaller force, landing in Pembrokeshire, was reduced to surrender.

Victories
of St
Vincent
and Cam-
perdown.

The French attempted to renew the enterprise in the following year. Spain was now in alliance with France, and it was proposed that a Spanish fleet should join the French fleet and the Dutch fleet for a joint invasion. Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet at St Vincent, and Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown (1797). During the same year a mutiny in the fleet at Spithead and St Helens was quieted by concessions to the reasonable com-

plaints of the sailors; whilst an unreasonable mutiny at the Mutiny Nore was suppressed by firmness in resistance. A renewed attempt to negotiate peace at Lille had ended in failure, because, though the English were this time ready to abandon the Netherlands to France, they were not ready to give back the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch and Trinidad to Spain. Before the end of the year England had no ally in Europe excepting Portugal. Bonaparte had dictated to Austria the treaty of Campo Formio.

Isolated as Great Britain was, there was less inclination to make peace in England in 1798 than there had been in 1795. In proportion as France fell into the hands of the less violent but more corrupt of the Revolutionists, the enthusiasm which her proclamation of principles had once created amongst the class excluded from political power died away; whilst the antagonism aroused by mere military conquest under the conduct of the rapacious Bonaparte was on the increase. The attempt at invasion had roused the national spirit to stubborn resistance; whilst the Government itself, warned by the failure of the proceedings against Hardy and his associates, and freed from the blind terror which had made it violent during the first years of the war, was able to devote its energies unrewardedly to carrying on hostilities.

If, however, a French invasion had ever been anything more than a dream, it was because there was one quarter in which misgovernment had created a state of circumstances by which it was absolutely invited. At the end of 1794 Lord Fitzwilliam had been sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and had set his face against the vile jobbery through which the leaders of the Protestant minority governed Ireland, and had thrown himself warmly into the encouragement of Grattan's scheme for the admission of the Catholics to political power. The aggrieved jobbers gained the ear of the king, and in 1795 Fitzwilliam was recalled. Then ensued a scene which has no parallel even in the organized massacres of the French Republic. The Catholics joined in a society called the United Irishmen, to enforce their claims, if need be by an alliance with France, and the establishment of an independent republic. Deeds of violence preluded any actual attempt at insurrection. The Protestants, under the name of Orangemen, gathered to the support of the Government as yeomanry or militiamen. Before long these guardians of the peace had spread terror over all Catholic Ireland. By the lash, by torture, by the defilement of chaste and innocent women, they made their predominance felt. It was in 1796, in the very midst of these abominable horrors, that French ships had appeared but had been unable to land troops in Bantry Bay. Nevertheless, though no assistance was to be had, the United Irishmen rose in rebellion in 1798. The rebellion was suppressed, and again the militiamen and volunteers were let loose to establish order by massacre and violence. Fortunately, the English Government intervened, and a new lord-lieutenant, the marquis of Cornwallis, was sent over to Dublin. The raging Protestant aristocracy was held back from further deeds of cruelty and vengeance, and law and order were established so far as it was possible to establish them in a land so torn by hostile factions.

Pitt rose to the occasion. He planned a great scheme of union between the two nations (1799). There was to be one parliament for Great Britain and Ireland, as there was one parliament for England and Scotland. The jobbers who filled the seats in the Irish House of Commons, and who voted in the name of a people whom they in no sense represented, joined the few members who from a sense of patriotism refused to vote away so easy a source of wealth and influence. Pitt bought the votes which he could not command, and the Irish parlia-

ment, on these ignoble terms, consented to extinguish itself (1800). It depended on the English Government whether this change, by which Ireland lost the semblance of national independence, should be followed by a step in advance for that country in a serious attempt to diminish the evils of Protestant supremacy. That step Pitt had pledged himself to take, and in 1801 he had prepared a measure for admitting the Catholics to political power. The king stood in the way, and Pitt resigned office rather than forfeit his word.

Pitt's
resigna-
tion.

Battle of
the Nile.
The
second
coalition.

The year which witnessed Pitt's failure in domestic legislation also witnessed his failure in military effort. In 1798 Bonaparte sailed for Egypt with the intention of setting up a French dominion in the East. The fleet which conveyed him was annihilated after his landing by Nelson at the battle of the Nile. Pitt seized the opportunity of the great general's absence from Europe to organize a second coalition against France. In the campaign of 1799 Italy was regained from France, and in the East Bonaparte was driven back from Acre by the Turks headed by Sir Sidney Smith. The news of French disasters brought him hurriedly back to Europe, but before he could take part in the war Massena had defeated the coalition at Zurich. A coup d'état, however, placed Bonaparte, under the name of first consul, in practical possession of absolute power; and in the following year his great victory at Marengo (1801), followed up by Moreau's victory of Hohenlinden, enabled him to dictate as a conqueror the treaty of Lunéville, by which France entered once more into possession of the frontier of the Rhine. By this treaty not only was England again isolated, but she found herself exposed to

Claim to new enemies. Her enforcement of the right of search to enable her ships to take enemies' goods out of neutral vessels exasperated even friendly powers, and Russia was joined by Sweden and Denmark to enforce resistance to the claim. It was under these circumstances that Pitt's resignation was announced.

Addin-
ton's
ministry.

The
peace of
Amiens.

In the successor of the great minister was Addington, whose mind was imbued with all the Protestant prejudices of the king, which were, it must be owned, the Protestant prejudices of the nation. He had neither force of character nor strength of intellect. Nelson's victory at Copenhagen, which crushed the naval power of Denmark and broke up the Northern Alliance, and the landing of Abercromby in Aboukir Bay, followed by the victory of Alexandria and the consequent evacuation of Egypt by the French, were events prepared by the former administration. Addington's real work was the peace of Amiens (1802), an experimental peace, as the king called it, to see if the first consul could be contented to restrain himself within the very wide limits by which his authority in Europe was still circumscribed.

In a few months England was made aware that the experiment would not succeed. Interference and annexation became the standing policy of the new French Government. England, discovering how little intention Bonaparte had of carrying out the spirit of the treaty, refused to abandon Malta, as she had engaged to do by the terms of peace.

Renewal
of the
war.

The war began again, no longer a war against certain principles, and the extension of dominion resulting from the victory of those principles, but against aggressive despotism, wielding military force, conducted by consummate military genius, and setting at naught the rights of populations as well as the claims of rulers. This time the English nation was all but unanimous in resistance. This time its resistance would be sooner or later supported by all that was healthy in Europe.

The spirit of England was fully roused by the news that Bonaparte was preparing invasion. Volunteers were enrolled in defence of the country. There was a general

belief that the prime minister was not equal to the crisis. Addington retired, and Pitt again became prime minister Pitt's (1804). He would gladly have joined Fox in forming an second administration on a broader basis than his former one, ministry. But the king objected to Fox, and some of Pitt's old friends refused to desert the proscribed statesman. Pitt became the head of a ministry of which he was the only efficient member.

England was strong enough to hold her own against Trafalgar, who was now Napoleon, emperor of the French ^{gor} and (1805). Nelson crushed the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, paying with his own life for a victory which put an end to the French naval power for the remainder of the war. The iron of Napoleon's tyranny had not yet entered into the Continental nations sufficiently to rouse them to a truly popular resistance. A third coalition ended in as complete a disaster as that in which the first and second had ended. Austria lost a large part of her force in the capitulation of Ulm, and the Austrian and Russian armies were overpowered at Austerlitz. To effect these victories the force which threatened the invasion of England would necessarily have been withdrawn, even if the result of the battle of Trafalgar had not made the enterprise hopeless. Pitt died shortly after receiving the news of the disasters of his allies (1806).

Pitt's death forced the king to accept a ministry of Ministry which Fox was a member. This ministry of All the of All Talents, as it was called, was not successful in the conduct of the war. Its year of office was the year in which Prussia was crushed at Jena, and it dissipated the strength of the English army in unimportant distant expeditions, instead of throwing it upon one spot to aid Prussia or Russia. Its great title to fame is the abolition of the slave trade. Fox's death deprived the ministry of its strongest member, and in the following year an attempt on its part to admit Roman Catholics to the naval and military service of the crown drew from the king a demand for an engagement never to propose any concession to the Catholics. They refused to make any such promise, and were summarily ejected from office. The king's firm stand was popular in England. The reaction against the French Revolution no longer demanded the infliction of penalties upon those who promulgated its doctrines; but a spirit had been produced which was inexorable against all attempts to effect any change for the better. A spirit of blind, unreasoning conservatism had taken the place of the enlightened Toryism of Pitt's earlier days.

The new ministry (1807), under the nominal leadership of the duke of Portland, had to face Napoleon alone. The Duke of battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit left him master of the greater part of the Continent. Prussia and Austria were already stripped of territory; and as protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon ruled in Germany. Italy was directly subjected to his power. Unable to make war upon England by his fleets and armies, he attempted to subdue her by ruining her commerce. By the Berlin decree (1807), he declared the whole of the British islands to be in a state of blockade, though he had not a single ship at sea to enforce his declaration. He declared all British manufactured goods prohibited wherever Commer- his power reached, and excluded from his dominions even cial neutral ships which had touched at a British port. The struggle British Government, instead of leaving Napoleon to bear with France, retaliated by Orders in Council conceived in the spirit of his own measure. They declared that all vessels trading with France were liable to seizure, and that all such vessels clearing from a hostile port must touch at a British port to pay customs duties. Napoleon answered by the Milan

decree, forbidding neutrals to trade in any article imported from any part of the British dominions. The Orders in Council cost England a war with America. The Berlin and Milan decrees contributed largely to the overthrow of Napoleon's power. Every poor man who was debarred from the means of providing sugar or cloth for his family felt the grievance. The French Republic had declared war against the nobles and the higher classes; Napoleon decreed an oppression which was bitterly felt in every cottage.

The Peninsular war.

In pursuit of his design of forcing the Continental system, as he termed it, on Portugal, Napoleon sent Junot to occupy Lisbon, and dethroned the king in 1807. In 1808 he seized on the royal family of Spain, and offered the crown to his brother Joseph. When the Spaniards resisted, the English Government sent troops to the Peninsula. Defeated at Vimeira, Junot was allowed to evacuate Portugal. Napoleon came to the rescue of his lieutenants in Spain, and though he retired without effecting the expulsion of the English, Sir John Moore was slain at Corunna (1809) after inflicting a repulse on the French, and his army was shipped for England. In the summer Wellesley landed in Portugal. Thanks to a fresh aggressive war of Napoleon against Austria, he was able to make his footing sure, though the English ministry sent large forces to perish in the marshes of Walcheren, which might have been better employed in supporting Wellesley at the time when he was driven to retreat before superior numbers after the fruitless victory of Talavera.

In 1810 Wellesley, now known under the name of Wellington, beat back the masses of the French forces under Massena from behind the lines of Torres Vedras. Wellington's resistance was great as a military exploit. But it was far more than a military exploit. It would have been of little avail to linger, however safely, in a corner of Portugal unless he were sure of better allies than the wretched Spanish soldiers who had looked on whilst he fought for them at Talavera. Wellington saw clearly that there is no ally so strong as the arrogance and injustice of an enemy. His firm hope was that Napoleon would ruin himself, and his hope did not deceive him. In 1812 Napoleon wrecked his finest army on the snows of Russia. Wellington had breathing space to issue forth from Portugal, to seize the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and to win the battle of Salamanca. In 1813 Germany rose against its oppressor. The victory of Leipzig drove the despot over the Rhine, and the victory of Vittoria drove his lieutenants over the Pyrenees. The peoples of Europe were against him. In 1814 he was driven into exile at Elba. Wellington's last victory in this war was won at Toulouse after the abdication of the emperor. In 1815 the emperor returned and seized the throne once more. England and Prussia were the first in

Battle of Waterloo.
too.

Ameri-
can war.

The war with America, begun in 1812, had been caused by the pressure of the English naval force on neutral commerce under the Orders in Council, which the British Government refused to withdraw till it was too late, and by its claim to impress British seamen when serving on board American ships. The war was brought to an end by the treaty of Ghent (1814).

First
years of
peace.

After a long war the difficulties of the victors are often greater than those of the conquered. The conquered have their attention directed to the reparation of losses, and are inspired by a patriotic desire to submit to sacrifices for the sake of their country. The victors are in the frame of mind which expects everything to be easy, and they have been accustomed to direct their energies to the business of overpowering foreign enemies, and to hide their eyes from

the constant watchfulness required by the needs of the population at home. The war out of which England had come was more than ever calculated to foster this tendency to domestic inaction. To the governing classes despotism, revolution, and reform were almost synonymous. Ministries had succeeded one another: Perceval followed Portland in 1809, and Liverpool followed Perceval in 1812. They were all alike in abhorrence of the very idea of change, in the entire abandonment of those principles of active and intelligent government by which Pitt, whose followers they professed to be, had been always inspired. The supremacy of the proprietors of land, and absolute resistance to reform, were accepted as the rule of government. It made no difference that the king had become permanently insane in 1810, and that the base and sensual prince of Wales became regent in 1811, till he ascended the throne in 1820 as George IV.

The wrongs of the propertied classes could make themselves heard. In 1815 a corn law had been passed prohibiting the import of corn till the price was above 80s. a quarter. In 1816 the ministry were compelled to submit to the repeal of the property tax, and abandoned the malt tax without pressure. In the meanwhile the agricultural and industrial poor were on the verge of starvation. It would be absurd to draw too close a comparison between the position of the English upper classes at this time and of the French upper classes before the Revolution. But there was the same tendency to use political power as a support for their own material interests, the same neglect of the wants and feelings of those who had none to help them. Those in authority were naturally startled when, at a time when mobs driven to desperation were breaking Demand machines and burning ricks, Cobbett in his *Weekly Political Register* was advocating universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The revolution struck down in France appeared to be at the doors in England.

In great part, no doubt, the misery was brought about by causes over which no Government could have had any control,—by the breaking up of the irregular channels through which commerce had flowed during the war. But it was in great part, too, owing to the incidence of the protective system to which the Government, widely departing from the track marked out by the early steps of Pitt, was giving effect with the full support of the manufacturing as well as the landowning class.

A riot in London (1816), and a missile thrown at the carriage of the prince regent, roused in parliament something like the repressive violence of 1794. Even the brilliant Canning, the ablest of the disciples of Pitt, declaimed against the parliamentary reform which was now asked for in so many quarters. Acts, of which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was the most severe, were passed to strengthen the hands of the ministry. Seditious meetings, mingled with real or imaginary projects of insurrection, kept the alarm of the upper classes on the stretch. But, as in 1794, juries were suspicious of evidence furnished by spies, and refused to convict on insufficient proof.

The strife between classes culminated in 1819. Large meetings in the open air were held in the great towns, and inflammatory speeches were freely addressed to them. Some of the speakers were arrested. At Stockport the constable in charge of one of the prisoners was attacked and shot. Birmingham, a great unrepresented town, elected a "legislatorial attorney." A large meeting was summoned at Manchester, another great unrepresented town, to follow The example. The meeting was declared by the magistrates to be illegal, and another meeting was accordingly summoned for the undoubtedly legal purpose of petitioning for parliamentary reform. On the appointed day thousands

repre-
sive me-
sures.

Manch-
ter me-
sures.

poured in from the surrounding districts. These men had been previously drilled, for the purpose, as their own leaders asserted, of enabling them to preserve order,—for the purpose, as the magistrates suspected, of preparing them to take part in an armed insurrection. A fruitless attempt by the magistrates to arrest a popular agitator named Hunt as he was preparing to address the crowd was followed up by a charge of cavalry. Six persons were killed, and a far larger number were wounded in the onslaught. The Manchester massacre divided the kingdom into opposite camps. The use of military violence roused a feeling which struck a chord of old English feeling inherited from the days when Oliver's dragoons had made themselves hated. Large meetings were held to protest, and were addressed by men who had but little sympathy with the previous agitation. Parliament replied by enacting new laws, known as the Six Acts, in restraint of sedition, by sharpening the powers of the administrators of justice. The Government took up the same antagonistic position against the right of Englishmen to meet for political purposes which had been taken up in the days of the Reign of Terror. But the very fact that there was no reign of terror on the other side of the Channel weakened its hands. The intelligence of the country was no longer on their side. Lord Sidmouth, the Addington who had made so inefficient a prime minister, was not the man to gain support as home secretary for a policy of severity which was only the disguise of weakness; and Lord Castlereagh, to whom was intrusted the management of foreign affairs, had disgusted all generous minds by his sympathy with despotic rule upon the Continent.

Soon after George IV. became king, on the death of his father in 1820, the alienation of the people from the Government was marked by the indignation aroused by the attempts of ministers to pass a Bill of Pains and Penalties depriving the new queen of her rights as the wife of the sovereign on the ground of the alleged immorality of her conduct. Even those who suspected or believed that her conduct had not been blameless, were shocked at an attempt made by a king whose own life was one of notorious profligacy, and whose conduct towards his wife had been cruel and unfeeling, to gain his own ends at the expense of one whom he had expelled from his home and had exposed to every form of temptation. The failure of the ministers to carry the Bill of Pains and Penalties was a turning-point in the history of the country. The existing system lost its hold on the moral feelings as well as on the intelligence of the nation. For some time to come, sympathy with parliamentary reform would be confined to the ranks of the Opposition. But in 1822 the death of Lord Castlereagh, who had recently become Lord Londonderry, and the retirement of Lord Sidmouth, placed Canning in the secretaryship for foreign affairs and Peel at the home office.

Canning carried the foreign policy of the country in a new direction. The desire for peace had led the ministry to support the Holy Alliance, a league formed between the absolute sovereigns of the Continent for the suppression in common of all popular movements. Canning broke loose from these old traditions. He made himself loved or hated by offering, without purpose of aggression or aggrandizement, aid or countenance to nations threatened by the great despotic monarchies; and he thus to some extent placed limits on the power of the military despotisms of Europe. Far more cautious and conservative than Canning, Peel took up the work which had been begun by Romilly, and put an end to the barbarous infliction of the penalty of death for slight offences. After Canning's short ministry, followed by his death (1827), Peel, after consenting to the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, passed a bill, in conjunction with the new prime minister the duke of Wellington, to

admit Catholics to a seat in parliament, thus carrying out Domestico-Pitt's great plan, though sadly late. From 1823 to 1828 the Board of Trade, had been of Peel and Huskisson, at work loosening the bonds of commercial restriction, and Huskisson thus carrying out Pitt's policy in another direction.

Such changes, however, were only an instalment of those which were demanded by the now ripened public opinion of the country; and as the ministers had not been the initiators of the late concessions to Catholics and dissenters, they failed to obtain any enthusiastic support from reformers; whilst the fact that the concessions had been made alienated the opponents of reform. On the death of George IV. and the accession of William IV. (1830), a new ministry, a combination of Whigs and Canningites, came into office under Lord Grey.

After a struggle lasting over more than a year, parliamentary reform was carried in the teeth of the opposition of the House of Lords. The franchise was so arranged as to give a very large share of influence to the middle classes of the towns. But though the landowning aristocracy was no longer supreme, it was by no means thrown on the ground. Lords and gentlemen of large estate and ancient lineage had taken the lead in the reforming cabinet, and the class which had the advantages of leisure and position on its side would have no difficulty in leading, as soon as it abandoned the attempt to stand alone. Fortunately, too, at the time when the institutions of our country were refounded on a broader basis, science had long taken a form which impressed the minds of the people with a reverence for knowledge. Mechanical invention, which had accomplished such wonders in the middle of the 18th century, entered upon a fresh period of development when the first passenger railway train was dragged by a locomotive in 1830. Mental power applied to the perfecting of manufacture is not in itself higher than mental power applied in other directions, but it is more easily understood and more readily respected. Experience taught large masses of men to submit to the guidance of those who knew what they did not know. Amongst statesmen, too, the shock to the old order produced an open mind for the reception of new ideas, and the necessity of basing authority on a wider foundation produced a desire for the spread of education, and gave rise to a popular literature which aimed at interpreting to the multitude the thoughts by which their conduct might be influenced.

The first great act of the reformed parliament bore the impress of the higher mind of the nation. The abolition of slavery (1833) in all British colonies did credit to its heart; the new poor-law (1834) did credit to its understanding. An attempt to strip the Irish established church of some of its revenues broke up the ministry. There were differences amongst the members of the Government, and those differences were echoed in the country. The king was frightened at the number of changes demanded, dismissed his ministers, and intrusted the formation of a new Government to Sir Robert Peel. The new Government abandoned the title of Tory for the title of Conservative. Peel's first ministry.

It was the last time that the sovereign actively interfered in the change of a ministry. The habits of parliament had been much changed since the days of the Regency Bill of 1788, when it was acknowledged by all that a change of ministry would follow the announcement of the accession of the Prince of Wales to power, without any corresponding change in the political temper of parliament. Sinecure appointments had recently been lopped away with an unsparing hand, and the power of corrupting members of parliament had been taken away. The character of the members themselves had risen. They were more deeply interested in political causes themselves, and were too clearly brought under the full light of publicity to make it possible for them

to become amenable to those evil influences to which their fathers had succumbed.

The new minister dissolved parliament. The increase in the numbers of his followers showed that the country had to some extent taken alarm. But he could not command a majority, and he resigned office in favour of Lord Melbourne (1835). The Melbourne ministry signalized its accession to office by the reform of the municipal corporations. Then came the lowering of the stamp duty on newspapers and the Tithe Commutation Act (1836), benefiting the landholders and the clergy alike. The foundation was laid of many a beneficial change.

The Mel.
bourne
ministry.

Chart-
ism.

Fall of
the Whig
Govern-
ment.

Peel's
second
ministry.

Free
trade.

Tenden-
cies of
the age.

The accession of Queen Victoria (1837) did not cut short the tenure of power of the ministry. But the condition of the manufacturing poor was deplorable, and it gave rise to the Chartist agitation for admission to equal political rights with the middle classes. A large body of Chartists threatened an appeal to physical force, and the terror produced by these threats swelled the tide of Conservative reaction. The ministry suffered, too, from a lack of financial ability. They were bold enough where they saw their way. The introduction of the penny postage (1840) was a daring step in the face of embarrassed finances, though it might be supported by the success of the lowering of the newspaper stamp duty in 1836. In 1841 ministers produced free trade measures as the best remedy for existing evils. But they were already discredited by past ill success in the management of the exchequer, and the hostile majority in the new parliament which carried Peel to power was the expression as much of want of confidence in their ability as of dislike of their measures.

The Conservative ministry followed in the steps of its predecessors. An income-tax was once more laid on (1842) to enable the prime minister to reduce the duties on imports. With respect to corn, he imposed a sliding scale of duties, which shut out foreign corn in seasons of low prices, and allowed it to come in in seasons of high prices. Outside parliament a great association, the Anti-Corn-Law League, with Richard Cobden as its principal spokesman, poured forth unanswerable arguments on behalf of the entire freedom from duty of imported food. It was a fortunate circumstance that the free trade doctrines won their way by degrees. Victories are not won by reason alone, and it is no wonder that after a parliament in which the landowners were more than usually strong had deprived the manufacturers of protection, the manufacturers discovered that the arguments which had been found good in their case would also hold good in the case of the landowners, especially after they had learnt from their own experience that prosperity was likely to result from the change. At last Sir Robert Peel, shaken by argument and moved by the difficulty of providing for an Irish famine, proposed and carried the repeal of the corn duties (1846).

Peel's resolution broke up his party, and made his retirement from office inevitable. Lord John Russell, who succeeded him, completed the system which Peel had established. The markets were thrown open to foreign as well as to colonial sugar (1846), and the repeal of the navigation laws (1847) enabled the merchant to employ foreign ships and seamen in the conveyance of his goods; and after the short ministry of Lord Derby (1852), another sweeping abolition of duties was carried by Mr Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer in the ministry of Lord Aberdeen (1853).

The changes in the direction of free trade were accompanied by a large number of other changes which have left their mark on the statute-book and on the habits of the people. There is no mistaking the tendency of this great era of legislation under the influence of the reform by which the balance of power had swayed over to the middle

classes in 1832. The idea which was steadily making its way was the idea of testing all questions by the interest of the nation as a whole, and of disregarding in comparison the special interests of particular classes. It was this idea which lay at the root of the scientific doctrine on which the free traders founded their practice, and which commanded that practice to imaginations as well as to the desires of the mass of the population.

This combination of thought with popular movement towards equality was but one of the manifestations of that greater movement which had been passing over Europe ever since the beginning of the French Revolution. It was assisted by the character of the material progress of the time. When the soil of the country was covered with a network of railways, when the electric telegraph began to come into use, and all parts of the country were brought into closer connection with one another, when the circulation of books and newspapers became more easy and more rapid, the sense of unity grew stronger with the growth of the means of communication. Nor was it only the sense of the unity of the various parts of the country which was growing. Class drew nearer to class, and the wants, the desires, and the prejudices of each were better understood than they had formerly been. Slowly but surely the influence of education spread. The duty of legislating for the benefit of the weak and the poor was better understood, tempered by an increasing understanding of the evils of interference with liberty of action. In the midst of the tendency to equality, the old English belief in the virtue of liberty was strengthened by the knowledge imparted by a more scientific conception of human nature.

It was impossible that this change should pass over the Further national mind without giving rise to a desire to include reform in the working class in that body of electors in whose hands proposed political power was ultimately placed. Before the end of Lord John Russell's ministry, a new Reform Bill had been introduced by the Government (1852), but it did not pass into law. Soon after Lord Aberdeen's accession to office the mind of the nation was too completely taken up with foreign affairs to attend to organic changes at home. The attack upon Turkey by the emperor of Russia was resisted by the allied forces of England and France. England was jealous of Russian advancement in the East; and in the hands of the emperor Nicholas the government of Russia was a military despotism so brutal, and was so heavily laid in the scale in opposition to all liberal progress on the Continent, that England and France might well have been regarded as fighting the battle of Europe as well as contending in their own cause. The invasion of the Crimea and the victory of the Alma were followed by the siege of Sebastopol and the successful defence of the heights above Inkerman (1854). Inexperience in war left the English army especially exposed to hardships in the winter; and when operations were resumed in the summer, it was far outnumbered by its French allies, who consequently gained the greater part of the credit of the capture of Sebastopol (1855). In the following winter mistakes had been corrected, and the condition of the English army was worthy of the nation which sent it forth. The peace which was signed at Paris (1856) deprived it of the opportunity of showing its powers. The terms, so far as they imposed restrictions upon Russia, have not proved of any permanent value; and the idea which then prevailed that the Turks were likely to advance in the course of political and social improvement was without any corresponding basis in the region of facts. It was quite right that the settlement of the unhappy regions commonly known as Turkey in Europe should be taken up as European rather than a Russian duty, but it is a duty the distractions or jealousies of European powers left unfulfilled, till Russia at last stepped

forward to repair their omissions. The indirect results of the Crimean war are to be found in the removal of the pressure with which Russia had weighed on the nations of the Continent; and it may perhaps be fairly argued that the subsequent happy formation of a united Italy and a united Germany were in part rendered possible by the success of England and France under the walls of Sebastopol.

For some time after the Crimean war the business of legislation proceeded without any very great shocks. The suppression of a vast military rebellion in India (1857) was followed by the assumption of the direct authority over India by the crown. Though one or two attempts were made to effect an electoral reform, they were wrecked on the apathy or hostility of the nation, and there was general acquiescence in the course pursued by Lord Palmerston's ministry (1859), which, after one half-hearted attempt, refused to proceed further with the measure which it had proposed; whilst a succession of financial improvements were carried out by Mr Gladstone, his chancellor of the exchequer. On Lord Palmerston's death (1865), the new Government, with Earl Russell at its head and Mr Gladstone as the leader of the House of Commons, proposed a measure of reform, and resigned on failing to carry it (1866). Lord Derby succeeded, and Mr Disraeli intro-

duced an elaborate and complicated measure in the House of Commons. By this time the feeling of the working class had risen, and the necessary impulse was thus given to the House. The measure was modified and amplified, and became the law of the land (1867). The working class took its place by the side of the middle and upper class.

As in 1832, a new spirit was breathed into legislation. The first parliament elected under the new system (1868) gave a majority against the opinions of the Conservative ministry. Mr Gladstone became prime minister. The Irish Episcopal Church was disestablished, and the Irish land laws reformed. The ballot was applied to parliamentary elections, a new and improved system of elementary education was set on foot, and the practice of purchasing promotions in the army abolished. But no amount of zeal for improvement will make Englishmen hasty to forget the need of caution and moderation. The time came when the nation was no longer in a reforming mood. Interests of classes and trades were able to make themselves heard. Personal ill-feeling was roused by some members of the ministry, and a new parliament showed a large majority in support of a Conservative ministry (1874). It would not be in place here to discuss the difficulties of the present or the prospects of the future.

(s. R. C.)

The
Indian
mutiny.
Progress
of the
reform
question.

INDEX TO HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| Act of Settlement, 353. | Civil war, the, 247. | Germany, relations with, 308. | Monasteries, suppression of, 324, 335. | Saxon shore, 268. |
| Administrative system, 296, 303, 307. | Cnut, 267. | Godwine, 288-290. | Monasticism, 281, 286, 298, 304, 316. | Scotland, relations with, 285, 288, 292, 304, 309, 312, 318, 337, 344, 346, 353. |
| Alfred, 293: his writings, 285. | Colleges, 317, 324, 343. | Government, cabinet, 352. | Montfort, Simon of, 310. | Scots, 265. |
| Ethelfrith, 271. | Commendation, 274. | Grand Alliance, 353. | More, Thomas, 336. | Seven Years' War, 366. |
| Ethelred, 286. | Commerce, 331, 342. | Grey ministry, 366. | Names, personal, 300. | Ship-money, 246. |
| American wars, 366-359, 364. | Commons, 297, 307, 314, 322, 323, 351, 352, impeachment by, 319. | Hanover, House of, 354. | Napoleon, struggle against, 363. | Simon of Montfort, 310. |
| Amiens, peace of, 363. | Commonwealth, 348. | Harold, 290. | Normandy, 287, 288, 306. | Slavery, 274, 285, 342, 365. |
| Anderida, 270. | Conquest, English, 266, 267, Norman, 291-301. | Hengest and Horsa, 269. | Normans and English, 302, 306 | Social relations, 274, 285, 299. |
| Angles, 268, 269; their settlements, 270. | Conversion to Christianity, 277-291. | Henry I., 301, II., 302, 304, III., 306, 310, IV., 320; V., 320, VI., 320, 328, VII., 328, VIII., 331. | Northumberland, 270, 271, 282. | Spain, relations with, 338-340, 342, 344, 352, 355. |
| Anne, 353. | Corn-laws, 364, 366. | Heptarchy the so-called, 269. | Offices of state, 297. | Star Chamber, 341, 346, 347. |
| Anwein, 303. | Cramner, 333, 340. | Heresy, 328. | Ordeal, 279. | Stephen, 302. |
| Aquitaine, 302, 306, 318, 319, 321. | Crimean war, 366. | Hereward, 292. | Oxford, Provisions of, 311. | Stratford, 347. |
| Architecture, 280, 300, 310, 317, 326, 330. | Cromwell, Oliver, 347, 348. | High Commission, 341, 346, 347 | Parliament, 307, 314, 315, 321-324, 329, 336, 346-349, 354. | Taxation, 316, 344, 345. |
| Arthur, 271. | Cromwell, Thomas, 334-336. | Hundred Years' War, 318. | Parliament, the Long, 347. | Templars, 317. |
| Articles, 338. | Crusades, 296, 309. | Imperial titles, 284. | Parliamentary reform, 350, 364, 366, 367 | Test Act, 349, 352 |
| Attainer, 330. | Danes, invasions of, 283. | India, British, 342, 356, 359, 367 | Pearson revolt, 319. | Teutonic settlements, 265; Britain, 266. |
| Assemblies, 276, 295, 314. | Declaration of Indulgence, 349, 350. | Inhabitants, early 263. | Peel, Sir R., 365 | Thengi, 274, 285. |
| Bacon, 344. | Deira, 270. | Insular position of Britain, 264, 265. | Peerage, 314, 322, 334. | Thirty Years' War, 244. |
| Baeda, 280. | Deva, capture of, 271. | Ireland, conquest of, 309, 337: dealings with, 359, 362. | Fenda, 278. | Thomas, archbishop, 304. |
| Balliol, John, 312; Edward, 318. | Discoveries, 321, 342. | James I., 341-343, II., 350. | Peninsular war, 364. | Toleration, 348, 351. |
| Barons' war, 311. | Dismant, 324, 348, 351, 353, 354. | Jane Grey, 338. | Persecutions, 326, 333, 339, 340, 341. | Tories, 350, 353, 358, 359. |
| Becket, Thomas, 304. | Divisions, ecclesiastical, 279, 281; territorial, 272. | John, 300. | Petition of right, 345. | Torture, 330. |
| Bernicia, 270. | Domesday, 294. | Judicial system, 297, 307, 322. | Picts, 263. | Towns, 276. |
| Bible, English, 342. | Dunstan, 286. | Jutes, 268; their settlements, 269, 270. | Pilgrimage of Grace, 336. | Trinoda necessitas, 275. |
| Black death, 314. | Dutch wars, 349. | Kent, settlement in, 269, 270. | Pitt (Earl of Chatham), 356, 357. | Troyes, treaty of, 320. |
| Bookland, 275. | Edgar, 286. | King's Court, 297. | Pitt the younger, 358-363. | Tudor, House of, 398. |
| Bretigny, peace of, 318. | Edward the Confessor, 289. | Kingship, 273, 281, 285, 296, 322, 329 | Polity, Teutonic, 272. | Ulster, colonization of, 344. |
| Bretwaldas, 271. | Earls, 274, 285. | Land disposition of, 275, 293 | Pope's resistance to, 306, 324, 333, 334. | Union with Scotland, 353; with Ireland, 362. |
| Brillinoth, 287. | Egbert, 289. | Langton, Stephen, 306. | Prayer-Book, 338, 340. | Universities, 304, 317. |
| Britons, 263; displaced by the English, 266. | Edward I., 311; II., 318, III., 314, 318; IV., 327, V., 328; VI., 338. | Language, 264, 272, 280, 299, 325, 342 | Press, liberty of, 352. | Utrecht, peace of, 353. |
| Bruce, Robert, 313. | Estates, 314. | Latin, use of, 280, 299 | Pretender, the, 354, 355. | Victoria, 368. |
| Burke, 357. | Exchequer, 297 | Land, archbishop, 346. | Primogeniture, 298. | Villainage, 299, 325. |
| Cadmon, 280. | Feudalism, 296 | Laws and legislation, 276, 278, 285, 295, 303, 307, 315, 316, 326, 339 | Prosper of Aquitaine, 268. | Vortigern, 269. |
| Calais lost, 340. | Flambard, 303. | Literature, 280, 285, 300, 309, 326, 330, 333, 342. | Protestocracy, 348 | Wales, affairs of, 304, 309, 337; conquest of, 311 |
| Canning, 365. | Folkland, 275, 293, 298 | Lollardy, 328. | Protestantism, 342. | Wallace, 313. |
| Caroline, Queen, 365. | Fox, Charles, 385. | Lords and Commons, 297, 307, 314, 322. | Puritans, 340, 343 | Walpole, 354. |
| Ceawlin, 271. | France, relations with, 301, 302, 318, 320, 321, 338, 341, 345, 349, 360-364. | Low-Dutch tribes, 267. | Reform, parliamentary, 359, 364, 365, 367. | Warfare, 281, 300, 317. |
| Charitable foundations, 343. | Free trade, 366. | Manors, 276, 298. | Reformation, the, 332, 340 | Welsh, the name, 269. |
| Charles I., 345, II., 348. | French, use of, 299, 309, 316, 325. | Marlborough, 353 | Religion, Teutonic, 266, 267 | Welesiana, 355. |
| Charter, the Great, 306, 308. | Friars, 316. | Mary, 338. | Restoration, the, 348 | Wessex, 270, 282, 284. |
| Chartism, 366. | Gardiner, Stephen, 333, 339. | Mary of Scotland, 341. | Revolution, the, 361; the French, 360. | Whigs, 350, 353, 354, 359, 361. |
| Chivalry, 299, 317. | George I., 354: II., 355; III., 356; IV., 364. | Melbourne ministry, 366. | Richard I., 305, II., 319; III., 328. | Wicklife, 324. |
| Christianity, conversion to, 277-281. | Church property, 303, 324, 335, 339, 343. | Mercia, 270, 282. | Roman occupation, 263, 264. | Wilkes, 358 |
| Chronicles, English, 268, 285. | Church, 279, 295, 298, 324, 338, 340. | St Albans, historians of, 317. | Roses, Wars of the, 327 | William the Conqueror, 289-301. |
| Church, 279, 295, 298, 324, 338, 340. | Cistercians, 304. | Saxons, 268, 269, their settlements, 270. | William Rufus, 229, 301, 303 | |
| Church property, 303, 324, 335, 339, 343. | Church, 274, 285. | St Albans, historians of, 317. | William and Mary, 351. | |
| Curhier, 274, 285. | Cistercians, 304. | Saxons, 268, 269, their settlements, 270. | William IV., 365 | |
| Cistercians, 304. | Cistercians, 304. | Witenagemot, 276. | William the Lion, 309. | |
| | | Wolsey, 334. | Witenagemot, 276. | |

TABLE OF SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST, AND PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE FROM
THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

SOVEREIGNS.

William I. (Conqueror) ... 1066	Henry VII. 1485
William II. (Rufus) 1087	Henry VIII. 1509
Henry I. 1100	Edward VI. 1547
Stephen 1135	Mary 1553
Henry II. 1154	Elizabeth. 1558
Richard I. 1189	James I. 1603
John. 1199	Charles I. 1625
Henry III. 1216	Interregnum 1649
Edward I. 1272	Charles II. 1660
Edward II. 1307	James II. 1685
Edward III. 1327	William III. and Mary. 1689
Richard II. 1377	Anne 1702
Henry IV. 1399	George I. 1714
Henry V. 1413	George II. 1727
Henry VI. 1422	George III. 1760
Edward IV. 1461	George IV. 1820
Edward V. 1483	William IV. 1830
Richard III. 1488	Victoria 1837

LORD CHANCELLORS (C.) OR LORD KEEPERS (L.K.).

1603. Sir T. Egerton, L.K., cr. Lord Ellesmere 1603, and Viscount Brackley 1616.	1714. Lord Cowper, C.
1617. Sir F. Bacon, L.K., cr. Lord Verulam 1618, and St Albans 1621.	1718. Sir R. Tracy and others, commissioners.
1621. J. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, L.K.	1718. Lord Parker, C., cr. Earl of Macclesfield, 1721.
1625. Sir T. Coventry, L.K., cr. Lord Coventry 1628.	1725. Sir J. Jekyll and others, commissioners.
1640. Sir J. Finch, L.K., cr. Lord Finch 1640.	1725. Lord King, C.
1641. Sir E. Lyttelton, L.K., cr. Lord Lyttelton 1641.	1733. Lord Talbot, C.
1645. Sir R. Lane, L.K.	1737. Lord Hardwicke, C., cr. Earl of Hardwicke 1754.
1649. Interregnum.	1756. Sir J. Willes and others, commissioners.
1660. Sir E. Hyde, C., cr. Lord Hyde 1660, and Earl of Clarendon 1661.	1757. Sir R. Henley, L.K., cr. Lord Henley and C. 1760, Earl of Northington, 1764.
1667. Sir O. Bridgeman, L.K.	1766. Lord Camden, C.
1672. Earl of Shaftesbury, C.	1770. C. Yorke, C.
1673. Sir H. Finch, L.K., cr. Lord Finch 1674, C. 1675, cr. Earl of Nottingham 1681.	1770. Sir S. S. Smythe and others, commissioners.
1682. Sir F. North, L.K., cr. Lord Guilford 1683.	1771. Lord Apsley, C., succeeded as Earl Bathurst 1775.
1685. Lord Jeffreys, C.	1778. Lord Thurlow, C.
1690. Sir J. Maynard and others, commissioners.	1783. Lord Loughborough and others, commissioners.
1690. Sir J. Trevor and others, commissioners.	1783. Lord Thurlow, C.
1693. Sir J. Somers, L.K., C., cr. Lord Somers 1697.	1792. Sir J. Eyre and others, commissioners.
1700. Sir N. Wright, L.K.	1793. Lord Loughborough, C., cr. Earl of Rosslyn 1801.
1705. W. Cowper, L.K., cr. Lord Cowper 1706, C. 1707.	1801. Lord Eldon, C.
1710. Sir T. Trevor and others, commissioners.	1806. Lord Erskine, C.
1710. Sir S. Harcourt, L.K., cr. Lord Harcourt 1711, C. 1713.	1807. Lord Eldon, C.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

[The substitution of two secretaries for one was the consequence of the increase of business. There was no distinction of departments, each secretary taking whatever work the king saw fit to entrust him with. During the reigns of the first two Stuarts, however, there was a tendency to entrust one secretary with the correspondence with Protestant states and their allies, and the other with the correspondence with Catholic states. Probably in the reign of Charles II., and certainly as early as 1691, two departments, the Northern and the Southern, were instituted. The secretary for the former took the Low Countries, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. The secretary for the latter took France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. Home affairs were common to both. Ireland and the Colonies fell to the former secretary. Even when the departments were changed to Home and Foreign, and subsequently still further divided, the division was a mere matter of convenience. Every secretary can still carry on business in the department of another without a fresh appointment.]

1603. Sir R. Cecil (cr. Lord Cecil 1603, Viscount Cranborne 1604, Earl of Salisbury 1609).

1612. Vacant.

1614. Sir R. Winwood.	Sir T. Lake.
1615.	Sir G. Calvert.
1618. Sir R. Naunton.	Sir A. Morton.
1619.	Sir J. Coke.
1623. Sir E. Conway, cr. Lord Conway 1625.	Viscount Dorchester.
1625.	Sir F. Windebank.
1626.	
1628. Viscount Dorchester.	
1632. Sir F. Windebank.	

1640.	Sir H. Vane.
1641. Sir E. Nicholas.	Viscount Falkland.
1642.	Lord Digby.
1643.	Interregnum.
1660. Sir E. Nicholas.	Sir W. Morrice.
1662. Sir H. Bennet, cr. Earl of Arlington, 1665.	Sir J. Trevor.
1668.	H. Coventry.
1672.	

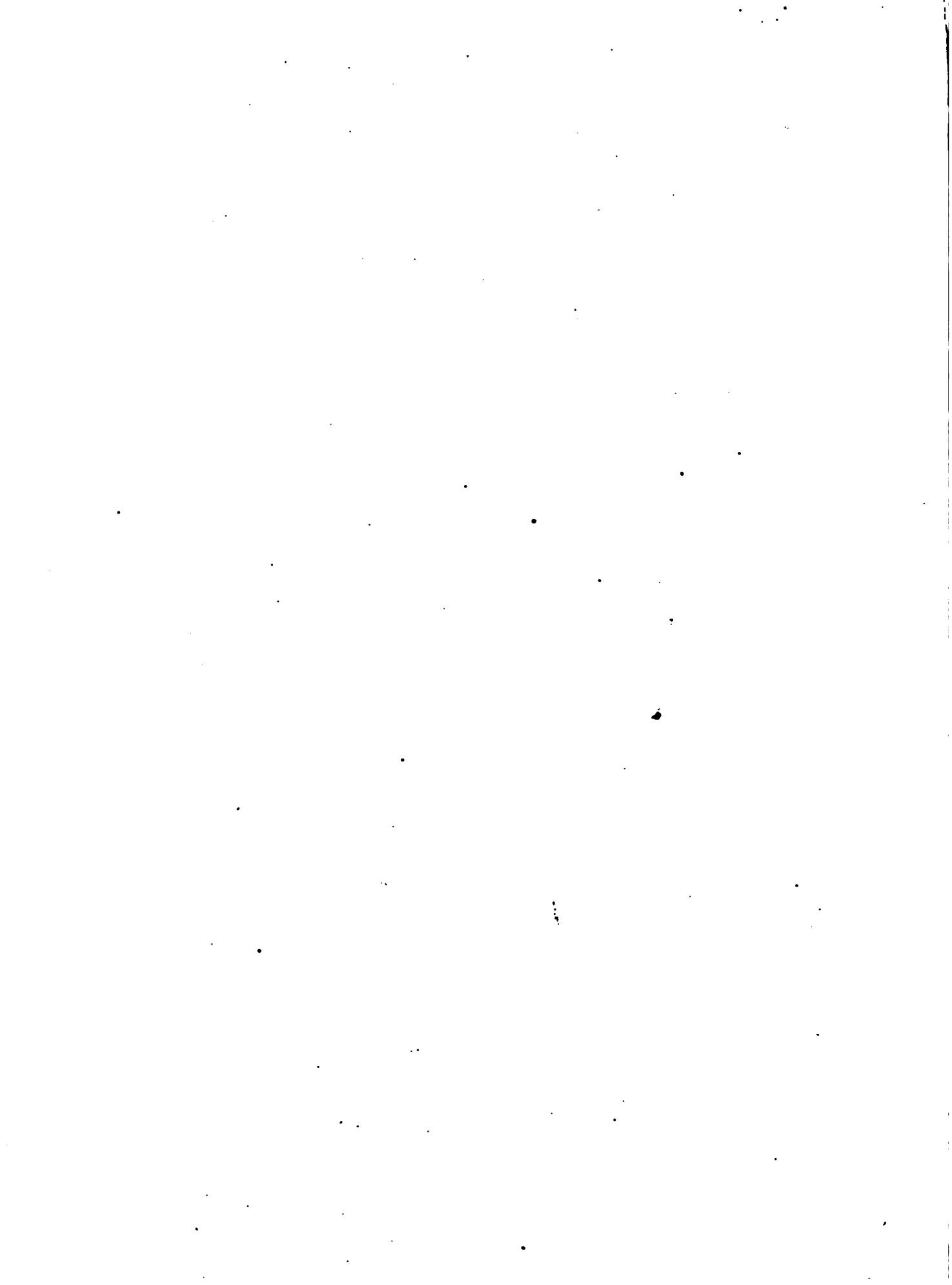
SECRETARIES OF STATE—continued.

1674.	Sir J. Williamson.		1748.	Duke of Bedford.	
1678.	Earl of Sunderland.		1751.	Earl of Holderness.	
1680.		Sir L. Jenkins.	1754.	.	Sir T. Robinson.
1681.	Lord Conway.		1755.	.	H. Fox.
1683.	Earl of Sunderland.		1756.	.	W. Pitt.
1684.	.	S. Godolphin.	1761.	Earl of Bute.	
1684.	.	Earl of Middleton.	1761.	.	Earl of Egremont.
1688.	.	Viscount Preston.	1762.	G. Grenville.	
1689.	Earl of Shrewsbury.		1763.	Earl of Halifax.	Earl of Sandwich.
1690.	Viscount Sidney.		1765.	Duke of Grafton.	H. S. Conway.
1692.	Sir J. Trenchard.		1766.	Duke of Richmond.	
1694.	.	Earl of Shrewsbury.	1766.	Earl of Shelburne.	
1695.	Sir W. Trumbull.		1768.	.	Viscount Weymouth.
1697.	J. Vernon.		1768.	Earl of Hillsborough, <i>Colonies</i> .	
1700.	Sir C. Hedges.		1768.	Earl of Rochford.	
1701.	.	Earl of Jersey.	1770.	.	Earl of Sandwich.
1702.	.	Earl of Manchester.	1771.	.	Earl of Halifax.
1704.	.	Earl of Nottingham.	1771.	.	Earl of Suffolk.
1706.	Earl of Sunderland.		1772.	Earl of Dartmouth, <i>Colonies</i> .	
1708.			1775.	Viscount Weymouth.	
1710.	Lord Dartmouth, cr. Earl of Dartmouth 1711.		1776.	Lord G. S. Germaine, <i>Colonies</i> .	
		H. Boyle.	1779.	.	Viscount Stormont.
		H. St John, cr. Viscount Bolingbroke 1712.	1779.	Earl of Hillsborough.	
1713.	W. Bromley.		1782.	W. Ellis, <i>Colonies</i> .	
1714.	J. Stanhope.	Viscount Townshend.			
1717.	Earl of Sunderland.	J. Addison.			
1718.	Earl Stanhope.	J. Cragga.			
1721.	Viscount Townshend.	Lord Carteret.			
1724.		Duke of Newcastle.			
1730.	Lord Harrington.				
1742.	Lord Carteret.				
1744.	Earl of Harrington.				
1746.	Earl Granville.				
1748.	Earl of Harrington.				
1746.	Earl of Chesterfield.				

	<i>Home Department.</i>		<i>Foreign Department.</i>		<i>War and Colonial Department.</i>
1794.	Duke of Portland.	.	Lord Grenville.	.	H. Dundas.
1801.	Lord Pelham.	.	Lord Hawkesbury.	.	Lord Hobart.
1803.	C. P. Yorke.	.			
1804.	Lord Hawkesbury.	.	Lord Harrowby.	.	Earl Camden.
1805.	.	.	Lord Mulgrave.	.	Viscount Castlereagh.
1806.	Earl Spencer.	.	C. J. Fox.	.	W. Windham.
1807.	Lord Hawkesbury.	.	G. Canning.	.	Viscount Castlereagh.
1809.	R. Ryder.	.	Earl of Bathurst.	.	
1809.	.	.	Marquis Wellesley.	.	
1812.	Viscount Sidmouth.	.	Viscount Castlereagh.	.	Earl Bathurst.
1822.	R. Peel.	.	G. Canning.	.	Viscount Goderich.
1827.	W. S. Bourne.	.	Earl Dudley.	.	W. Huskisson.
1827.	Marquis of Lansdowne.	.			Sir G. Murray.
1828.	R. Peel.	.	Earl of Aberdeen.	.	Viscount Goderich.
1830.	Viscount Melbourne.	.	Viscount Palmerston.	.	E. G. S. Stanley.
1833.	T. Spring Rice.
1834.	Viscount Duncannon.	.	Duke of Wellington.	.	Earl of Aberdeen.
1834.	H. Goulburn.	.	Viscount Palmerston.	.	Lord Glenelg.
1835.	Lord J. Russell.	.	.	.	Marquis of Normanby.
1839.	.	.	Earl of Aberdeen.	.	Lord J. Russell.
1839.	Marquis of Normanby.	.	Viscount Palmerston.	.	Lord Stanley.
1841.	Sir J. Graham.	.	Earl of Malmsbury.	.	W. E. Gladstone.
1845.	.	.	Lord J. Russell.	.	Earl Grey.
1846.	Sir G. Grey.	.			Sir J. S. Pakington.
1852.	S. H. Walpole.	.			Duke of Newcastle.
1852.	Viscount Palmerston.	.			

	<i>Home Department.</i>	<i>Foreign Department.</i>	<i>Colonial Department.</i>	<i>War Department.</i>
1855.	Sir G. Grey.	Earl of Clarendon.	S. Herbert.	Lord Panmure.
1855.	.	.	Lord J. Russell.	
1855.	.	.	H. Labouchere.	
1858.	S. H. Walpole.	Earl of Malmesbury.	Lord Stanley.	J. Peel.

	<i>Home Department.</i>	<i>Foreign Department.</i>	<i>Colonial Department.</i>	<i>War Department.</i>	<i>India Department.</i>
1858.	S. H. Walpole.	Earl of Malmesbury.	Sir E. G. E. L. Bulwer Lytton.	J. Peel.	Lord Stanley.
1859.	J. T. H. Sotheron-Estcourt.				
1859.	Sir G. Cornwall Lewis.	Lord J. Russell, cr. Earl Russell 1861.	Duke of Newcastle.	S. Herbert, cr. Lord Herbert 1861.	Sir C. Wood
1861.	Sir G. Grey.			Sir G. C. Lewis.	
1863.				Earl de Grey and Ripon.	
1864.					
1865.		Earl of Clarendon.	Earl Cardwell.		
1866.	S. H. Walpole.	Lord Stanley.	Earl of Carnarvon.	J. Peel.	Viscount Cranborne.
1867.			Duke of Buckingham.	Sir J. S. Pakington.	Sir S. H. Northcote.
1868.	H. A. Bruce.	Earl of Clarendon.	Earl Granville.	E. Cardwell.	Duke of Argyll.
1870.		Earl Granville.	Earl of Kimberley.		
1874.	R. A. Cross.	Earl of Derby.	Earl of Carnarvon.	G. Hardy.	Marquis of Salisbury.
1878.		Marquis of Salisbury.	Sir M. Hicks Beach.	F. A. Stanley.	G. Hardy, cr. Viscount Cranbrook. 1878.



PART II.—HISTORY.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

Early inhabitants of Gaul.

THE extinct tribes which once thinly peopled the soil of France have left but scanty traces of their existence in the weapons and ornaments dug out of gravel-beds and river courses. However interesting they may be to the student of ethnology and of the origin of man, they find no place in history; for neither in blood, nor manners, nor speech have they left any mark on the land they inhabited. Very different are those tribes whom Cæsar met when he first entered Gaul. The history of France may well begin with the words which open his famous chronicle —“Gaul is all divided into three parts.”

Iberians. Of the inhabitants of these divisions, the Belgians, Gauls, and Iberians, the third were in all ways different from the others; for the Iberians were a race of other origin, shorter, darker of complexion, less sociable, less bright, of more tenacity, possessed of that power of resistance which those whom stronger races drive out of the plains into the mountains quickly learn. On the northward and southward slopes of the Pyrenees, amid the fastnesses of that great chain, and in the Basque provinces of Spain, this race still dwells, easily discerned by characteristics of speech and appearance, which mark them off alike from Spaniards and Frenchmen.

Belgians and Gauls. The Belgians and the Gauls were blood-relations. The former, dwelling chiefly in the northern districts of France, were later comers than their kinsmen the Gauls, stronger men and of a finer development. The Gauls, the men of central France, were a bright intelligent people, full of vivacity, frank and open of disposition, brave and scornful of tactics, as though all strategy were a lie and a disgrace. The Belgians seem to have been more staid, less active, less easily cast down, more thoughtful; they were not without a physical and moral resemblance to their neighbours and distant cousins the Germans. From these two tribes has sprung the modern Frenchman, who to this day, according to his part of France, bears the mark and sign of one or other origin.

When Julius Cæsar entered Gaul (58 B.C.), he found these natives in a half-barbarous state, split up into clans, each with its elected chieftain, its Druids or priests, and its body of warriors or horsemen; while below these was an undistinguished company of servile men, women, and children, who did all works of peace for their idle fighting aristocracy. Each clan lived to itself, with little or no power of combining even with its nearest neighbours. Its home was usually an open village of circular wattled huts, with one family dwelling in each hut. Sometimes, in places of strength and importance, the Gaul built himself a fortified town enclosed by earthworks, perched sometimes, like Alesia, on a strong hill-top, or entrenched in dark recesses of wood and marsh. The more close the tightening of the Celtic clanship, the more completely did each little community live to itself, apart from other clans; so that in spite of the great difficulties of the country, Cæsar found the reduction of it a tolerably easy task.

Before Cæsar's days Gaul had already known something of foreign invasion. On her northern and eastern frontiers were the Germans; in the south stood the Greek city of Massilia, the ancient rival of Carthage; and in 122 B.C. Caius Sextius had founded the town which bore his name, Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence, whence, as from a centre, the Roman occupation spread through the district watered by the Rhone and its tributaries, until it received the name of Gallia Braccata, and became a province of the

republic. Narbonne (Narbo Martius, founded 118 B.C.) was the new capital of the district, the first Roman municipium on the soil of Gaul. But invasion took an entirely new character when Cæsar was made proconsul (59 B.C.). Cæsar in He entered on his great conquest in the following year, Gaul. and the reduction of the whole country was complete by 50 B.C. In the course of those years the great Roman penetrated to the utmost limits of Gaul, beat down all opposition, crushed the Helvetians back into their Swiss home; he defeated the Germans who had made secure lodgment in the Sequanian lands, and drove them into the Rhine; broke the resistance of the Nervii, all but exterminating that gallant tribe; severed the connexion between Gaul and Britain, on which the Armoricans especially relied, by two expeditions across the Channel, in which he gained a great addition of glory, if little fresh power; the conquest of far-off Britain fired the imaginations of men: finally he brought the long wars to a close by the submission of Vercingetorix under the walls of Alesia.

Thenceforward Cæsar, having conquered the Gauls, became their emperor. He saw what boundless supplies of force, of enthusiasm and intelligence, were now at his disposal; with Gallic support and his own devoted legions, he was now able to give law to Rome herself. Meanwhile, he did all in his power for Gaul,—lightened her tribute, mitigated slavery, forbade human sacrifices, repressed the Druids. The country lost its independence, and became the docile pupil and follower of Roman civilized life.

For more than four hundred years the Roman domination influenced Gaul. At the beginning of the time the natives were savages, dwelling in a wild land of forests and wastes, a thinly scattered company of unsociable clans, without towns or roads or industries; at the end they had fine cities, and much cultivated land, wore the Roman dress, had adopted the Roman law, and had exchanged their own tongue for a new form of the common Latin language.

After the murder of Julius Cæsar, the administrative genius of Augustus found wide scope for its activity in Gaul. Lyons was the new capital, whence his four great roadways and his civilization radiated out in every direction. Several of the later emperors vied with him in their interest in Gallic affairs: Caligula spent much time at Lyons, and, in his grotesque way, encouraged letters there; Claudius was a native of that city, and threw open the senate to the Gallic chiefs; he established schools, emancipated slaves, and taught the Gauls the equality of all men under the law; Nero, with his Greek sympathies, delighted in Provence, though he cared little for the rest of the country—then called “Imperial” Gaul. All through this period new ideas, new pleasures and efforts, characterize the life of Gaul; and after the fall of Civilis in 70 A.D., no one in all the country dreams of any further struggle in behalf of the independence she had finally lost.

All things were now preparing for the next great influence which should affect the Gallic race. For nearly a century, though Gaul and Rome seemed together to tread the downward path towards ruin, the Roman ideas as to justice, law, and order, were fitting the Gallic mind for the reception of Christianity. And Christianity soon came. In 160 or 161 A.D. we find a bishop of Lyons, Pothinus, and with him the well-known name of Irenæus. These men ministered at first to Greek and other settlers, for the early church of Lyons long bore marks of a Greek

not a Latin origin. Gradually, however, the life-giving ideas and doctrines of Christianity spread abroad among the Gauls, and churches sprang up at Autun, Dijon, Besançon, and other towns within comparatively easy reach of Lyons. Roman Christendom, however, did little for Gaul till the middle of the 3d century (244 A.D.), when seven Latin bishops were sent thither, and formed new centres of Christian life in the land at Limoges, Tours, and even Paris, whither came Dionysius with a little company of brethren in 251. Henceforward Christianity spread swiftly; and though in the next century St Martin of Tours still found heathen temples to overthrow and multitudes of country pagans to convert, still we may say generally that in three generations from the time of the Roman mission of 244 A.D. all Gaul had embraced the Christian faith.

These were also the days of what is called "the Gallo-Roman empire"; of the provincial emperors who strove to sever the Eastern from the Western world. Along her northern frontier also Gaul saw the establishment of the two Germanies, districts on the left bank of the Rhine, where German warriors held their lands by feudal tenure of the sword. Thus as Gaul herself languished under the loss of her independence and the influence of the moral corruption of Rome, she began to become aware of the two powers which were destined to mould her character—the Christian Church, and the fierce Germans. They advance upon her from south and north; when they meet, the Gaul bows the head before them, and in new union the feudalism of the Teuton and the Christianity of the Latins begin their task of education. The combination of the institutions of Germany with those of the church forms the basis on which the history of France is reared.

The Germans, who now began to overrun the soil of Gaul, were a very different race from those with whom they came into contact. Stronger and larger in frame, they were also more stable and enduring than the Gauls. Far back they claimed the same ancestry; in language and in personal characteristics alike we can trace the connexion. Yet, thanks to climate and circumstances, the two races were by this time completely severed, alien in speech, ideas, institutions, and tastes. The German was a hunter, a man of independence of character; the Gaul lived in his clan, and shrank from personal freedom; slaves were unknown in Germany, while they swarmed in Gaul; the Gaul had an organized faith, a regular hierarchy between him and the supernatural; the German worshipped, independent and alone, without human mediator, in the depths of his forests. The fighting-men who grouped themselves round a German chief were his free comrades, connected with him only by a personal tie, each prepared to act independently if his time came, and to build up for himself a lordship of his own. On many sides these men now began to press into Gaul. The Goths, after wandering apparently from Scandinavia to the Black Sea and thence into western Europe, settled down,—the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain and southern France. The Burgundian Vandals, from Low Germany about the Elbe and Vistula, now began to stream over into eastern Gaul, giving their name to a large district of the country; the Franks, an aggregate of northern tribes, Low Germans of the centre and the west, were destined to be the chief conquerors of the land, the authors of her modern name.

But before the German had become master of Gaul, the Christian Church had already firmly established itself. Thanks to the support he received from Christianized Gaul, Constantine was enabled (312 A.D.) to enter Rome in triumph, and to assure the victory to the church in her struggle against paganism. Henceforth the church, which had always endeavoured in her organization to copy the civil power, was officially modelled on the lay institutions

of the later empire; her dioceses corresponded in position and extent to those of the civil administration; the chief clergy became important magistrates. The bishop of each city with his clergy took the place of the older curials, the members of the civil municipality; the old relations of church and state were profoundly modified by the rise of the bishop of Rome to the position of supreme pontiff, a title given up by the emperor. In the downfall of Roman society in the fourth century, the clergy alone retained some power, and showed promise of the future. The lay power struggled hard for a while against the German invasion, specially against the Franks; the church stayed in the cities, secure and growing stronger against the day when she too would have to face the invader, and to convert him from a heathen foe into a firm ally and friend.

In the 5th century the Germans ceased to plunder and ravage, and began to settle; it is the age in which Gaul exchanges her Latin for her Teutonic masters. Early in the century a vast horde crossed the Rhine on the ice in mid-winter, and streamed over northern, central, even southern Gaul, passing thence a little later into Spain. In 412 Ataulf the Visigoth settled down in the valley of The Visi-the Rhone, and allied himself with Rome; the Burgundians goths also occupied the Sequanian lands. These two tribes were friendly towards the older inhabitants, and were recognized as peaceable settlers by the imperial power; they showed that they deserved well of the falling empire by the gallant and successful resistance with which in 450 the Visigoths and Gallo-Romans defeated the terrible hordes of Attila at Chalons-sur-Marne. Yet the empire thus saved for a time could not be saved from internal decay; confusion reigned throughout Gaul, the Germans and the Gallo-Romans struggling as it were in the dark for possession; and when in 476 the empire of the West finally went under, Ewarik (or Euric), the prudent Visigoth, was left as master of all that had belonged to Rome beyond the Alps towards the west. The Arian Goths, with Toulouse as their capital, might have secured their authority over all France if the church had accepted the views of Ewarik, and if that vigorous prince had lived. He died, however, in 485, leaving behind him only a weak boy as his successor; and far to the north the fierce Frankish warriors had already taken as their chief the youthful Hlodowig (Clovis). The Franks, a loose con-federation of Germanic tribes, were in existence in the third century on the right bank of the Rhine, and for a long time showed no wish to migrate into Gaul. By degrees one of these tribes, the Salians, headed by a family called the Merewings or Merwings (the Merovingians), began to take the lead; they soon made themselves formidable by their incursions on northern Gaul, and established themselves masters of the left bank of the lower Rhine. As the Roman power declined along that district, their authority increased; early in the 5th century they had spread from the Rhine to the Somme. Another leading tribe of Franks, the Ripuarians, whose home lay on the Rhine about Cologne, less tempted towards Gaul, seemed to hold themselves in reserve for the future.

In 481 Hilderic, chief of the Salian Franks died, Hlodowig or Clovis, leaving behind him a boy of fifteen, Hlodowig or Clovis. This youth, endowed with unusual vigour and fierceness, soon won a great reputation among the Franks, and in 486 broke in on the only Roman power now left in northern Gaul, the degenerate legions commanded by the patrician Syagrius of Soissons. These were swept away like the autumn leaves before the wind, and Hlodowig settled down in the lands which he had won. Here he at once came into contact with Christianity; Remigius bishop of Rheims becoming his friend and adviser long before he adopted the Christian faith. It was probably through his

influence that the young king married Hlotehild, niece of the Burgundian king, a Christian maiden. In the quiet years which followed, Hlodowig doubtless became more and more inclined towards his wife's belief; and when, in repelling the invasion of the Allemans in 496 he believed that the "god of Hlotehild" had heard his vow, he at once declared his gratitude and his conversion. Some thousands of his wild warriors followed him to the font, as willingly and with as little thought as they would have followed him to death or victory. From this moment the firm alliance between the church and the Frank began, an alliance which affected both; the church became more warlike and aggressive, the Frank grew more civilized, and learnt the art of ruling.

With their headquarters fixed in northern Gaul, the Franks, under Hlodowig's command, reduced first their cousins the Burgundians (500 A.D.) and then (507) the Visigoths under Alaric. All France, with exception of a rich strip of land between the mountains and the Gulf of Lyons, afterwards called Septimania, was overrun and plundered. This done, Hlodowig spent the rest of his days securing his dominion by the destruction of all powerful neighbours or competitors; for the grim Frank, vigorous and ambitious, knew neither scruple nor pity, and the clergy round his throne passed over crimes which they were powerless to prevent. When he died in 511 the settlement of the German on the soil of Gaul had been accomplished, and Hlodowig, who has no claim to honour as a man of constructive power, still stands out in history as the founder of a new world in France. To him France owes that feudal relation which has so deeply marked her story; in him the church first made that connexion with feudalism, which lowered her character, while it strengthened her power and influence. Not without reason does France inscribe on the first page of her history this German conqueror, a robber, a liar, a murderer,—for it is from him that modern France rightly dates her beginning.

The origins of feudalism are simple enough. When the Franks came in under Hlodowig, they were a host of free and equal Germans under the king of their choice. The belief that he brought with him a graduated hierarchy of chieftains, who at once established a complete "feudal system" on the conquered soil is no longer tenable. No doubt the most influential and vigorous of Hlodowig's followers got most in the distribution of lands and spoils; still, in theory at least, all free Franks were equal, and in the new settlement of the country each man according to his strength took what he could get. The older conditions of the Germanic peoples had died out of the Salian's life; the institutions which appear in an indistinct form in the *Germania* of Tacitus had already undergone great change; the family of tribes, with common rule of usage and very slight bonds of political union, is, as Professor Stubbs remarks (*Constitutional History*, i. p. 36), "singularly capable of entering into new combinations; singularly liable to be united and dissolved in short-lived confederations." It was one of their late-formed confederacies over which Hlodowig, with the vigour of barbarous youth, had now come to rule. The Salian law, a collection of the customs of Frankish law in the 5th century, gives us a fairly clear view of the condition of those who streamed over into Gaul at this great chieftain's back. We learn from it that among the Franks the kingly office was fully recognized, and though the form of election by the nation is preserved, the choice is limited to the members of a single family, so that hereditary succession partly prevails. The king, once chosen, is the real head of the nation; he has not as yet run any risk of becoming a *fainéant*; he appoints the rulers of provinces, if we may use this Roman term,—that is, the *grafs* who are set over certain

aggregations of hundreds; and the *graf* or *reeve*, to take the English form of the word, is an administrative officer, who carries out the sentences of the courts of justice. The king also appoints the officers who collect the royal dues in the "vills" which had succeeded in the place of the primitive "marks" of the Germanic peoples. Round the king's person is his "comitatus," his aggregate of immediate followers, who form his guard, and are the germ of the later feudal nobility. The nation in arms forms the equal council, in which all men give voice and vote alike; justice is administered by a hundred-court or *mall*, composed of qualified landowners; if any one is aggrieved by their decision, he can appeal directly to the king. It is round this "hundred" that the Frankish system really moves, for it is out of a group of hundreds that a district with its *graf* is formed; and there seems to be no court of law superior to that of the hundred. All political questions are of course the affair of the national council. There is in the Salian law no trace of a primitive nobility; though the old system of common land has disappeared, giving place to separate ownership, the land does not carry with it any special honour; the Franks are still very far from any ideas as to a territorial nobility.

These were the institutions which Hlodowig transplanted out of the districts of the lower Rhine into Gaul. They came into contact with the tenacious Gallic temper, and the masterful organization of the Romans. The Franks, with singular energy and success, adapted themselves to their new place as conquerors; and, giving and taking, laid the foundations of modern French life. Their settlement was slow and unsystematic; the king, receiving a large portion of the soil as his domain, granted out of it benefices for his immediate friends and followers. These gifts were at first held on pleasure, and were liable to be resumed at any time; after a while this precarious tenure suited neither party; these fiefs became first life-holdings, and finally hereditary possessions, held on tenure of service of some kind. The greater chiefs, with the king, took their share of conquered lands, asserting their rights to an alodial holding, and, if they chose to do so, granting out benefices from these districts to their followers. The common sort of Franks, who were neither king's friends nor independent chiefs and their friends, took what they could get, their share of the spoil as it fell to them; and as their strong arms were useful and marketable possessions, we may be sure that many of them grouped themselves round the king, and, if they were fortunate, were rewarded with small benefices. A considerable part of the land was left in the hands of the Gallo-Romans undisturbed, and became tributary—the tribute being a kind of rent paid by the old owners to their new masters.

Thus the Franks were spread over the whole surface of the soil; they were at home in the country, and shunned the cities; civic life was distasteful to them; the air of the streets too confined for those who loved the forest and the chase as all Germans did. Consequently, in the towns the Gallo-Roman bishops retained sole authority, ruling by the Roman law, and preserving the last remains of the civilization of the past. The church, however, was far from confining herself within these civic limits; though she stood aloof from feudalism at first, deeming her own ways better, she soon showed a consciousness that the centre of power no longer lay in the cities, and that her influence must be felt at the king's court. Consequently, we soon find the bishops grouping themselves round the king, acting as his advisers, modifying the Germanic ideas, and in turn receiving new ambitions from their masters. Ere long the bishops will begin to take place in the feudal hierarchy, and will form a recognized part of the new nobility of the realm; though for a very long time the Franks clearly regarded the clerical life as unsuited to their character, and left the influ-

511-567 ence and fortunes of the church entirely in Gallo-Roman hands.

A.D.

Before Hlodowig died (511) he had destroyed all the old chieftains and knights who ruled in Gaul. He took the place of Roman and Goth; the Visigoth shrank away southward; the Burgundian became tributary; the Frank was recognized as undisputed master of all the country; the northern barrier lines between Gaul and Germany perished; as fresh bands of Franks poured into northern France from time to time, the Austrasian princes renewed the Germanic influence over Gaul; and for five centuries the history of France must be regarded as in most respects subordinate to that of Germany.

Parti-
tion of
the
Frank
kingdom.

Germanic use prevailed in the new kingdom, and when Hlodowig was gone, his four sons all became kings, each representing one of the divisions of the original invasion. Theodorik, the eldest, took the north-eastern part, and became king of what ere long began to be called Austrasia; he lay on both banks of the Rhine, and was almost entirely German, with his capital at Metz. Hildebert, eldest son of Hlotehild, had the central district, the country round Paris, with Paris as his capital. Hlodomir, the next, was king of Orleans, and had western Gaul along the Loire. The youngest, Hlothar, was king over the old Salian land, the north-western corner of Gaul, with his capital at Soissons. The partition was a division of estates rather than of governments; the four kings regarded the country north of the Loire as their home, and divided out all beyond that river at will by arbitrary lines. As yet a king was little more than a leader in war, and his free men, his "leudes," looked to him to give them plentiful employment in that way, even compelling him at times to go on expeditions against his own better judgment. Thus it fell out that this first partition did not weaken the Franks; they attacked their neighbours on every hand. In one of these wars (in 524) Hlodomir, king of Orleans, was killed; his brothers seized his inheritance, and on Hildebert's death (558) Hlothar of Soissons became sole king of the Franks; in 555 he had taken possession of Austrasia. Hlothar's rule Neustria. brings the name of Neustria into prominence. The two branches of the Frankish power become clearly distinguishable,—the German Austrasians coming down to Lorraine, and including the eastern part of Champagne, as these districts were later called, and the Gallic Neustria covering almost all modern France. And Neustria settled quickly into a monarchy of more modern type. Round Hlothar were grouped his reeves or counts; the clergy made their court to him; the "leudes" now become the king's "trustys" men"; not a few Gallo-Romans also held office under him.

Second
parti-
tion of
Frankish
kingdom.

On Hlothar's death (561) the Frankish kingdom was once more divided into four parts—Austrasia, Paris, Soissons, and Burgundy,—the eldest son, Sigebert (as in the earlier partition), taking the north-eastern country. When Haribert, king of Paris, died in 567, Hilperik, his brother, king of Soissons, seized his share, and became king of Neustria. And now the three Frankish kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy take definite forms. Speaking generally, Austrasia lay between the Meuse and the Rhine, Neustria between the Meuse and the Loire, though Austrasia trenched somewhat on Neustria on one hand, and stretched far up and even beyond the Rhine on the other side. Burgundy included the upper waters of these rivers, and of the Saone as well. The rivalry lay between the Austrasians and the Neustrians; the Burgundians, being the weakest and most peaceful of the three, sided sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other. This rivalry finds its expression in the half-legendary strife between the haughty high-born Brunhild, wife of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and Fredegond, the low-born mistress of Hilperik, king of Neustria.

Before the end of the 6th century we discern a new power rising into distinctness,—the power of the mayor of the palace, an officer, as his name denoted, having great authority in the king's court, elected by the chiefs, and acting almost independently of his master. In Neustria we usually find the mayor of the palace siding with the royal power; in Austrasia, where the nobility were much stronger, he checks and overshadows the king; in Burgundy he is only an insignificant person, being of inferior importance to the patrician, whose office, as the name tells us, was a relic of past Roman days. Another, and a far more beneficial influence, also appeared at this time; the Benedictines came across from Italy, and spreading throughout France, formed many centres of fresh life in the confusion of the land. They revived the faith in industry, well-nigh destroyed by the Franks; they did something to rescue the older inhabitants from misery, and culture and letters, thanks to their well-directed energies, again raised their heads.

At the end of the century the two queens, Brunhild and Fredegond, were the two rulers of all the country; for Brunhild had charge of her two grandsons, Theodebert II., king of Austrasia, and Theodoric II., king of Burgundy, while Fredegond governed Neustria for the youthful Hlothar II. So early does the extraordinary prominence of regency appear in French history. After Fredegond's death in 598, Brunhild seized on almost the whole of Neustria, and for a while seemed once more to unite the Merwing lordship under her rule. Her chief aim was the establishment of a solid monarchy in Austrasia, which should curb the power of the nobles; they, in opposition to her, placed at their head two brothers, Arnulf bishop of Metz, and Pippin of Landen, the ancestor of that great family under the auspices of which modern society laid its foundations in both Germany and France, the great Karling or Carolingian dynasty. Led by these two men, heads of the lay and spiritual aristocracies, the Austrasian nobles met the aged queen; her army deserted her, leaving her with her four great-grandchildren in the hands of Hlothar II., the nominal chief. He put the children to death at once, and after shameful indignities, the queen, it is said, was tied to the heels of a wild horse and so dashed to pieces. Her death was a triumph of aristocracy over monarchy. Hlothar II., now sole king of Franks, was entirely in the hands of the mayor of the palace, who became a real power in the state, representing the interests of the nobles as against the centralizing tendencies of the kings.

This victory of Neustria, though it paved the way for the eventual domination of the Carolings, was in itself "the triumph of weakness over strength, of the Gallo-Romans and the priests" (Sismondi). The victorious nobles endeavoured to secure their supremacy. The bishops, who were now found sitting in the assembly of the "leudes," drew up a new ordinance, a "perpetual constitution," a first attempt to substitute ideas of justice in the place of custom based on force. This, however, in the nature of things, could not check the growing power of the nobles, especially in Austrasia; though for a time royalty, under Dagobert (628-638) showed a good front in Neustria. In him the Merwing monarchy reached its highest point; his splendid court at Paris laid the foundations, not altogether sound ones, of the civilization of France. At his death his monarchy crumbled away. Children were kings in both Austrasia and Neustria; we reach the days of the "do-naught" princes, the *rois fainéants*, and of the struggle between the mayors of Austrasia and Neustria. Ebrouin, the Neustrian, for a time held out against his rivals; but the Austrasians placed at their head the representatives of the Caroling family, The Martin and Pippin, grandsons of Pippin of Landen; and, Caroling Ebrouin having been assassinated, Neustria had nothing

687-732. wherewith to resist the onslaught of the German Franks. Led by Pippin of Heristal, they burst into the valley of the Seine, and at Testry in the Vermandois, the long struggle of the two Frankish powers came at last to an end (687). There the Neustrians under Berthar, mayor of the palace to Theodoric III., were entirely defeated, and henceforth, though the line of Merwing kings lasts till 752, they become insignificant and powerless. We turn our eyes with pleasure towards the rising splendour of the Caroling house. France finds herself on the skirts of a new Roman empire, of which the seat is in Germany, and which in its main features belongs to German not to French history.

To no small extent the Neustrian Franks had lost their old Germanic vigour before this time; perhaps among the chief symptoms of change is the fact that many Frankish names may be read among the upper clergy of the time. In the absence of sufficient evidence it is impossible to say how far they had condescended to learn the "rustic Latin" which the older inhabitants all spoke, the parent of the modern French language; still, there can be no doubt that they must have spoken it to some extent, if not as their sole speech. Now, however, the Austrasian conquerors began to bring things back to a German form. The ancient "Fields of March" are held again; thither come the warriors in arms as of old; German conceptions as to justice seem again to prevail over the more orderly Roman law. The new-comers are above all things an army; and it is the fortune of the Austrasians, not only that they have soldiers and love fighting, but that they have great captains at their head. From Testry (687) to the end of his life in 714, Pippin of Heristal was unquestioned master of all Franks, the kings under him being utterly insignificant. While he kept his Neustrian subjects submissive, he applied the enthusiasms of the sword and the cross to the wild Germans on his eastern border. Under him began the heroic labours of those English monks whose is the high honour of having first introduced the Christian faith among the pagan Teutons.

Charles
Martel. On Pippin's death things seemed likely to fall back into confusion; the Neustrians shook off the yoke of their German lords, and Austrasia was threatened at once from every side; Frisians and Saxons, as well as Neustrian Franks, overran the country, vainly opposed by Pippin's widow, Plectrude, who ruled in the name of her grandson, a child. Austrasia, however, was saved by the energy of Pippin's natural son Charles, whom Plectrude had thrown into prison, and who now emerged as a strong leader of the nobles. He defeated the Neustrians at Vincy, near Cambrai, in 717, repelled the Saxons from the Rhine, reduced Plectrude, who had taken refuge at Cologne, and became undoubted head of the Franks, as his father had been before him. His father's rise had been the work of the lay and spiritual nobility; the power of Charles was based on the sword alone; he was regarded by the churchmen as their foe; he took of their lands to reward his soldiers, punishing the noble bishops while he encouraged the more popular monks. Though the clergy treated his memory with vindictive anger, the lay lords were firm on his side, and enabled him to found the great dynasty of the Carolings. For it was their ready sword which won him the victory of Poitiers (or Tours), in which Europe set a limit to the advance of Asia, in 732. The Arabs, possessors of almost the whole of Spain, had for several years poured over the Pyrenees into southern Gaul; held in check awhile by the vigorous Odo (or Eudes) king of Aquitaine, they proved at last too strong for him, and he appealed to Charles to rescue him. The Franks responded nobly to the call, and in a few years Charles had driven the Saracens out of all their points of vantage north of the Pyrenees. It is said that to the battle of Poitiers Charles

owes his name of "Martel," the Hammer, for the vigour 732-771. with which he smote the Mussulmans. Other accounts have been given of this soubriquet; on the whole the common explanation of it is the most probable and the best supported. All the rest of his life this great duke of the Franks struggled against the pertinacious foes who attacked his frontiers. His power may be said to have been limited by the Rhine to the north and east, and by the Loire to the south.

Just before his death he divided his dukedom between his sons Carloman and Pippin the Short. As usual, the elder had the Germanic share, but under the influence of Boniface, the English monk and missionary, whom he made archbishop of Mainz, he, after six years of successful rule, laid down the burden of power and became a Benedictine monk. His ducal rights he handed over to his brother Pippin, who had become sole duke of Franks. His Pippin father and brother had opposed the power of the bishops by the help of the monks; it remained for Pippin to go a step farther, and linking together the monks with the papacy, to win for himself the name of king. The monks had been the papal militia for the conversion of Germans; the converted Germans in their turn became firm friends of the Frankish dukes. The head of the whole movement was St Boniface, the founder of the church in Germany; he it was who, acting under command of Pope Zachary, crowned Pippin king of Franks in the cathedral at Soissons. Pippin thereby became lord by a new title of the eastern and western Francia, or Frank-land, ruling over a large part of modern Germany and of modern France north of the Loire at least. The last of the Merwing shadow-kings, Hilderik III., was deposed, and thrust into the convent of St Omer, where he shortly after died, and the race became extinct. On three sides Pippin was called to combat three powers, foes of his new royalty, foes also of the Church of Rome. The pagan Saxons did not detain him long: in one campaign he extorted from them the right to send his monks among them as missionaries; the rest he left to time. The Lombards, under their king Haistulf (Astolphus), had seized Ravenna, and threatened Rome herself, and Pope Stephen fled to Pippin for help. The Frank king crossed the Alps, and compelled Haistulf to give up to the Church of Rome the town of Ravenna, the Emilia, the Pentapolis, and the duchy of Rome itself. This is the famous "Donation of Pippin," the foundation of that temporal power of the papacy the end of which we have seen with our own eyes. The papacy raised up the Franks as their champions and defenders; they were set as a counterpoise to the grand claims of the empire at Constantinople, and as antagonists to enemies in Italy. No wonder if before long the papacy saw its advantage in the restoration of an empire of the West under new auspices, and if Germany in return willingly interfered in the affairs of Italy. The political life of modern Europe now begins. The rest of Pippin's reign was chiefly occupied with the resistance he found in southern Gaul. In 758 he took Narbonne, the capital of the Arabs, and drove the Mahometans out; he attacked the Aquitanians, who, after their wont, made tenacious resistance. On the death of their duke Waiffer, he overran their whole country, though he never occupied it permanently. Centuries must elapse before northern and southern Gaul could become one France.

In 768 Pippin died at Paris, leaving his dominions to Charles his two sons Charles and Carloman. In 771 Carloman the Great. also died, and Charles became sole king of Franks. The reign of "Charlemagne" is begun, the great German lord who in fact and legend filled all the world. The seat of his father's power lay, on the whole, in Neustria, and his chief struggles had been for dominion over Aquitaine; the

771-814. seat of the power of Charles himself lay on or near the Rhine; his three chief palaces were at Engelenheim, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Nimwegen. His whole temper, history, relations, were strictly German; the part played in his life by Neustria and Aquitaine was, by comparison, insignificant, for Charles the Great belongs to world's history, not to the history of France.

His first task after his father's death was to complete the reduction of Aquitaine; for here war had broken out again when Pippin's death seemed to the southerners to give them their opportunity. Charles beat the old Duke Hunold in the field, and drove him to take refuge with the Lombards, where some time later he fell, helping to defend Verona against his and their hereditary foe. The struggle in Aquitaine, hopeless if vexatious, lingered on, until at last the wise king, as imperial ideas grew stronger in him, saw that his one hope of success with them lay in giving them an independent life of their own, under due restrictions. He therefore set over them his little son Hlodowig as king, and appointed William Courtnez, count of Toulouse, as his tutor. The child was established at Toulouse, and brought up as an Aquitanian. The south retained its distinctive characteristics, and was saved from the degradation of having to fall back to the lower level in art and civilization which prevailed among the Franks. The kingdom of Aquitaine had for its southern frontier the river Ebro in Spain, and crossing the mountains reached the open sea just below Bayonne; the northern frontier at first was less well-defined; before the end of the 8th century it was pushed on as far as to the Loire.

And just as Hlodowig was established in Aquitaine, so in 776 Charles set his second son Pippin over the Lombards, thereby securing his permanent influence over the see of Rome. The papacy throughout leant on him for support, and was even content to recognize his supremacy. For a quarter of a century Charles's life was spent in ceaseless wars on every side, in which he slowly though surely beat down the resistance of heathen Saxons, of Huns, of Lombards, of Saracens. Within the limits of modern France, after the pacification of Aquitaine, the only war was that against the Armoricans, inhabitants of Brittany,—a slow stubborn contest, which lasted till near the end of his life. For a short time Brittany became a portion of the empire, without, however, in the least losing any part of its independent character.

Charles crowned emperor, 800. By 796 Charles had secured his ascendancy throughout Europe, so that when in 799 Pope Leo III. was ejected from Rome by the citizens, he fled to him for refuge and help; and Charles in the autumn of 800 replaced him on the pontifical throne, receiving in return, on Christmas day, the solemn titles of Emperor of the Romans, Augustus; and certainly, if ever the great echoes of the past were to be awakened, they could not have been aroused for a worthier prince. "A Latin priest gave to a German soldier the name of that which had ceased to exist," says La Vallée. None the less was Charles a real emperor, ruling over subject princes; the Germans and the Romance peoples alike accepted his sway; and for fourteen years, with less of fighting and more of organization, Charles the Great proved that he was worthy of his high title and revived office of Emperor of the West. In 806 at Thionville he settled the succession to his empire; but as death bereft him of his eldest son Charles and his second son Pippin, he was obliged in 813 to make a fresh arrangement. He made Hlodowig, the one surviving son of his second wife Hildengond, his heir and successor, crowned him, and saw him saluted emperor. After this, he lingered a few months, and died early in 814 at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was doubted whether he should be buried there or at St Denis, where his parents' bones had been laid. Austrasia, however,

prevailed over Neustria, the Germans over the Frenchmen, 814, and he lies at rest these thousand years past in the church he himself had built in the city he loved so well.

The state of what is now France under his care was this. State of The land was cut asunder at the Loire; to the north of France that river was Francia Occidentalis, the earlier Neustria and in his Burgundy; to the south of the Loire lay Hlodowig's kingdom of Aquitaine, governed by Roman law, and home of precious remains of Roman culture. In Francia Occidentalis were Frankish nobles, the clergy, the free Franks, the inhabitants of cities, and the slaves, the last in ever-growing numbers. The first and second of these classes soon began to secure their position as great feudal lords, half independent. They laid the foundations of that system of feudal noblesse which became almost omnipotent under the weaker Carolingian princes, which brought about the revolution placing Hugh Capet on the throne, which resisted the centralizing tendencies of the monarchy under Louis XI. and Louis XIII., which became the devout servants of the Great Monarch, and finally ended with the monarchy at the Revolution. The reign of Charles the Great is the time at which these nobles began to see that their strength was based on the land; their position grew more territorial, their allegiance and honours less personal. Charles endeavoured to resist this tendency, but his hand could not be everywhere, and the nobles on the whole held their own, though so long as he lived they still bent before his power.

The administration of Gaul at this time was in appearance fairly complete, though it doubtless often failed in its practical application. Handed down from former days, in the larger towns there were always two chief personages, the count and the bishop, of whom the former officer was of Frankish origin, the latter of Roman. To a considerable extent, as was the case throughout all early Christendom, the functions and jurisdiction of the bishops originally answered very closely to those of the lay power, the church-organization being copied from the organization of the empire. Now each of these greater officers had his own jurisdiction and court; each administered therein law, the bishop according to the Roman order, the count according to Frankish usage; and, though their functions might sometimes clash, on the whole they joined in preserving peace and quiet within the walls. The counts also attended to the war-force and collected the taxes, while the bishops, on their side, were charged with the teaching and the moral life of their flocks. Between them they preserved a considerable amount of municipal life and character in the ancient cities. Under the counts we find local officers whose business it is to hold lesser courts in the bourgs and villages round about. These were the centeniers, or hundred-men; there were also here and there traces, as in England, of a lower division into decurries or tythings; the counts had also their "vigeurs," their "viscounts," as they were afterwards called, who represented them, and they also appointed (if the work were not done by the Missi Dominici, the imperial commissioners) officers called scabini (échevins, or in German Schöffen), local judges who held lesser courts in country places. In addition to these courts, each chief and each considerable churchman held his own pleas; by these the condition of the free Franks, of the slaves, and of such persons as were still just above the servile state, was decided, all questions between them and those above them adjudged, with no very happy results in the main.

The emperor, honestly desiring, so far as he could, to arrest the downward progress of the feeble free Franks and of the still more wretched slaves, sent forth the above named Missi Dominici to travel through the different districts of the empire, and to see with their own eyes the state of the people. Usually, they went out in pairs, a

314. layman and an ecclesiastic, so that the secular and church courts and benefices should each be inspected by a man of the same order as the lord whom they visited. They traversed the districts assigned to them in circuit four times a year, held courts to which even the counts were bound to come, looked into the details of government, reformed gross abuses, reported to their master on all persons, even the highest, appointed when needed fresh scabini and others, removed unworthy persons, looked to the poor, protecting them as far as possible from want and want's kinsman the oppressor. The great evil of the time was injustice defended by bribery; the local judges could not resist the powerful or wealthy ill-doer, and so the wrongs of the poor remained unredressed. The Missi, with more or less success, endeavoured to lessen these evils. We may believe that in the main the clergy worked willingly with them: they had closer relations with and warmer sympathies for the poor folk; they administered a more stable and intelligent code of laws; they were the depositaries of learning, and desired to educate those around them; even in the worst times the humane morality of the Gospel gleams forth. In the days of Charles the Great all churchmen turned to the emperor and paid willing allegiance to him; the ancient political coolness between the Carolings and the episcopate entirely disappears.

The elements of society in Gaul at this time may be easily summed up. There were great Frankish lords, gradually diminishing in numbers as they grew in power and territorial independence; there were great bishops, chiefly in the cities, and lordly abbots in country places, who were all by degrees becoming assimilated in condition to the Frankish nobles; there was also a rustic clergy, whose state was poor in the extreme; then there were the free Franks, scarcely above the level of slaves, and ever slipping down into the servile class; then Gallo-Romans in much the same condition; and lastly the slaves, who are said to have formed nine-tenths of the population. The picture is one of great wretchedness, oppression, injustice; the great Charles himself felt no sure ground under his feet in dealing with the social condition of his subjects. It is clear that society must pass through vast changes before anything like an orderly and flourishing community could exist, and that even the splendid climate and soil of Gaul would long do little to better the condition of its inhabitants. The wretched period which comes to Gaul after the death of Charles is the time in which, from the older relations of chief, free Frank, and slave of war, we pass gradually and almost insensibly to the later feudal relation of lord and vassal and serf. The coming time was, as has been said by Hallam, "the age of the bishops;" but in fact the bishops were only doing in their sphere what the lay chiefs were also achieving in theirs,—laying the foundations of a feudal independence which was for ever striving to lapse into feudal anarchy.

Louis
the
Pious. On the death of Charles the Great, the eyes of all turned hopefully to his only surviving son the gentle Hlodowig, Louis the Pious. His father had summoned him to Aix-la-Chapelle, had made him emperor, and then had sent him again to Aquitaine till his time should come. In him all sweet qualities of piety, morality, culture, seemed to find their home. His Aquitanian rule had brought with it untold blessings to the south; he, too, had learnt their best lore, had become acquainted with their art, their poetry, above all with the Roman law; he was a man of thirty-five when he became emperor, vigorous, pure-souled, intelligent. Men thought that his father had done the rough-hewing of his great work, and that the new emperor would be the organizing Augustus following the creative Caesar. His soul was full of high and conscientious aims; he would make reforms which should regenerate without weakening society;

he would restore the clergy to high authority, would give full powers to the great lords, would save free Franks from slavery, and thus secure harmony and peace throughout his vast dominions. How different was the actual result! This noble prince, so dignified, earnest, right-minded, of "sound mind in sound body," gentle and simple, had all the dangerous virtues which grow to be calamities in rough times; his monkish tastes, his Christian forbearance, his want of an unscrupulous will, all pointed towards failure. Even within his house he was not master; and in the broad wild territories of the empire he was destined to a like failure. On the death of his first wife, Hermingond, who had borne him three sons, Hlothar, Pippin, and Hludwig, he married Judith, daughter of Welf the Bavarian, a dangerous and ambitious lady. Her son Charles, afterwards styled "the Bald," brought the emperor many troubles, for the natural jealousies sprang up between the children of the first bed and the second wife and her son. War soon followed, in which personal ambitions were seconded by the ancient enmity between German and Gallic Franks. Struggle followed struggle, partition led to partition; there is no drearier piece of history than Nithard's short chronicle of those years. The unlucky Hlodowig was buffeted about, now deposed, then restored again; now bowing his head before the clergy of Roman France at Compiègne, now recalled to rule, as it seemed, by the unanimous voice of his sons and his subjects. The main result was the separation, which then began, of France from Germany. In the midst of it Hlodowig the Pious died in 840, and was buried at Metz.

His death was the signal for the final disruption of the empire of Charles the Great. Hlothar, his eldest-born son, took the imperial name, and claimed supreme headship over the Franks. The Bavarian or German Hludwig, and Charles, who represented the Franks in France, both resisted; the Franks in Italy, Aquitaine, and Gothia, rallied to the emperor. War broke out at once. As soon as ever the Aquitanians had joined his forces Hlothar challenged his brothers to battle, and they at once accepted his wager. On the banks of the Cure, near Troyes, was fought the great battle of Fontanet, which brought the griefs of the age to a point. There the whole Frankish race struggled for the mastery. From Italy, Austrasia, Aquitaine, Gothia, came the emperor's supporters; Germany, Neustria, Burgundy, supported Charles and Hludwig. The carnage was terrible; Fontanet is the burial ground of the old Frankish life; free Franks are heard of no more; "there remained in Gaul only lords and serfs; all things are made ready for the increasing of feudalism." Hlothar was entirely defeated and fled northwards to Aix-la-Chapelle; Charles and Bavarian Hludwig were masters of the field. When next year the two brothers found themselves once more menaced by the emperor, they met with all their forces at Strasburg, and took solemn oath each to other, Hludwig swearing in the "Roman" tongue, the earliest French in existence, and Charles the Bald in the "Tendisc" or German; and the armies standing round them repeated the words, the German Franks in German, the Gallic Franks in French. The text of the oaths is preserved for us in Nithard;¹ they are a striking evidence of the way in which Germany and France were asserting each its independent character. The "Romance tongue," the speech of the common people in France, their modification of the Latin they had learnt long before, henceforth took the place of the Latin language on the one side, and of the native Germanic speech of the Franks on the other; henceforth the name of Frenchman may come into use.

¹ Nithard, *Hist.*, iii. (ed. Pertz, p. 38, 39).

Charles the Bald. As a result of this agreement between Charles and Hlodwig, Hlothar was driven back to Aix-la-Chapelle. He thence fled to Lyons, to be near his southern friends; and, finally, finding himself completely overborne by their opposition, he made with them the famous Treaty of Verdun in 843, in which three kingdoms were distinctly marked off:—France for Charles the Bald; Germany for Ludwig the Bavarian; for the emperor Italy and a long narrow strip lying between Germany and France, a conventional district, which a little later received from its lord, the second Hlothar, the conventional name of Lotharingia or Lorraine. Charles the Bald had for his kingdom all Gaul west of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saone, and Rhone; it ran down to the Mediterranean, and was thence bounded by the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. It included therefore the chief part of modern France. It was Charles the Bald also who allowed the county of Paris to become a part of the duchy of France, so that the dukes of France were also counts of Paris; from this arrangement sprang eventually the decision of the momentous question as to what city should become the capital of modern France. In this manner the magnificent empire of Charles the Great came to an end, and in its place arose the nations of Europe. Speaking of the year 841, Nitard tells us that throughout the breadth of France the utmost confusion and rapine oppressed the people; in thirty years there had been five partitions of the Frankish empire, each marked with its own violence and misery; and the condition of the inhabitants, groaning under the ambitious foreign rule of quarrelsome princes, was as bad as well could be. The time, however, was now coming in which the greater lords of Neustria began to forget their German interests and nature, and to move towards a national French life. At first their action was chiefly disruptive, aiming at a local territorial independence; lay lords and great bishops alike pushed their pretensions to the farthest point; hostile to the imperial ideas of Germany, they had no sympathy with any national ideas for France. Nor is this strange, for France can hardly in any sense be said to have existed in their day. We have reached the time in which feudalism emerges from its earliest stages, and strives to lay the foundations of its independence. From the Treaty of Verdun in 843 to the accession of Hugh Capet in 987, France passes through a dreary and confused period of formation.

X Charles the Bald is a fit representative of such an age; he passed a long life sweeping together territories under his nominal sovereignty, and endeavouring to secure to himself the imperial dignity and the commanding position of his great namesake and grandfather; and though he was at the outset king of Neustria, his interests lay far more outside than inside France; the instincts and sympathies of Charles, as of all his family, were German. His schemes and struggles, rewarded in the end with apparent success,—for just before his death he was crowned king of Italy and emperor,—in reality were fatal to the Caroling dynasty. He bought his advancement first by subservience to the greater clergy, and afterwards by granting to the feudal lords the charter of their independence. After the Treaty of Verdun had apparently given to Charles the Bald undisputed lordship over the western portion of the empire, three states still resisted his authority:—Brittany, which, under Nomenoe, asserted and secured her independence; Septimania, which drove out his armies for a while; and Aquitaine, in which the vices of Pippin gave Charles a footing, and made a way to his success. For several years his whole energies were engaged in these bootless struggles, while at the same time his coasts were being ravaged by the Northmen. He was obliged to pay a heavy scot before he could deliver at one

time the rich valley of the Somme, at another the walls of 843–875. Paris herself, from their devastations. In a capitulary of 877, the last year of his reign, we have the levy of a contribution in order to buy them off from the Seine. In 855 the death of the emperor Hlothar was the signal for a fresh division of lands, in which Charles got his share in Lorraine and the kingdom of Provence. His fortunes, however, scarcely mended; overshadowed by nobles and bishops, his tenure of his kingly throne was ever precarious. The great lords, seeing in him a tendency towards resistance of their claims, called in German aid to dispossess him; and Ludwig the German came to their help. The inhabitants of Gaul, roused by the appearance on their soil of these German antagonists, rose and drove them back to the Rhine. Charles seized the opportunity of strengthening himself, as he hoped, by appealing to the church; the church by its spokesman, the great Hincmar of Rheims, replied by accepting the call, by declaring her authority over kings, and by tracing the lines of episcopal and royal power:—“If kings rule after God's will, they are subject to none; if they be great sinners, then is their judgment in the hands of the bishops.” Hincmar, in these words, stretched wide the rule by which the clergy had claimed to exercise judicial functions in the case of ordinary malefactors. And thus the clergy rewarded themselves for having saved Charles from the hands of the nobles and the Germans. The reins of power were now entirely left in Hincmar's hands, and the dreary capitularies of the reign bear evidence in every page of the overwhelming influence of the clergy. Not satisfied with his supremacy in church and state, the great archbishop pressed forward into philosophical and theological controversy, and took his share in those discussions which heralded the incoming of scholasticism. He opposed the views and influence of John Scotus Erigena, the head of the palace school of Charles, and may be perhaps said to have given that direction to thought and speculation which marks in the main the course of the whole philosophy of the schools.

Towards the end of his reign there was only one prince, Ludwig the German, who shared with him the vast empire of Charles the Great. And in 875 on the death of Ludwig II., emperor and king of Italy, a handful of bishops and counts assembled at Pavia offered the imperial crown to both these princes. Charles arriving first was forthwith proclaimed “protector, lord, and king of Italy” by the pope. In the next year Ludwig the German also died, and Charles, not content with the imperial dignity, which he already possessed, nor with the ample extent of the territories nominally subject to him, desired to restore the old imperial unity, and to obtain the crown of Germany in addition to those of the west and south. The sons of Ludwig naturally resisted; and then, in order to secure the hearty aid of his followers, he held the diet of Quiers-sur-Oise (Carisiacum) in which was drawn up the great capitulary sometimes styled the Magna Charta of French feudalism. Beneath a cumbrous covering of words, and connecting the hereditary succession of his own son with his large concessions to his nobles, Charles in fact conceded hereditary rights to all freeholders. Any lord who should desire to renounce the world might leave his benefices and honours to his son, or otherwise as might seem good to him; and any lord whose hold on his worldly goods was brought to an end by death might leave his dignity to his son (Baluze, *Capitularies*, ii. p. 259), and thus in definite terms the hereditary usage of centuries became hereditary right. Hitherto, in France at least, a fiefholder held at his lord's pleasure, and was, in theory, liable to deprivation at any time; henceforth, he was as secure in law as in fact, and could transmit his lands

877-888. and dignities to his son without risk of loss. The title of duke or count is henceforth attached to one family; as the royal and the imperial power become weaker, the great families grow in strength; until a century of *fainéant* Carolings comes at last to an end, and their place is taken by the representative of one of the great houses, the duke of France and count of Paris. Then the new kingdom of France with its new capital will begin with Hugh Capet in 975. For the family of the counts of Paris had come to occupy the ground abandoned by the Carolings; they were the champions of the Gallic people against the Northmen. Only twenty-seven years after the death of Charles the Great, in 841, Rouen had fallen into Norman hands, opening the way for them up the rich Seine valley as far as to Paris. From that moment the city had no peace; and in 861 Charles the Bald invested a brave adventurer, Robert the Strong, with the county of Paris, and set him to resist the invaders. Bravely he struggled against them, and in the end gave up his life in defence of his people. In so doing he laid the foundations of the first French monarchy: his two sons were, to all practical intents, local kings of France; his great-grandson was Hugh Capet. Very different was the career of Charles the Bald. His famous order to his assembled lords, "Let each man defend himself in his fortress," with which high sanction for castle building and local independence he dismissed his feudal levies to shift for themselves, showed that the centre of power was completely gone. The king abandoned his people to any one who would defend them; their defenders rose to greatness, and the Caroling house sank into supine nothingness. Yet he still struggled, though in vain, against the sons of Ludwig the German; after an unsuccessful campaign in North Italy, death overtook him as he was recrossing the Mont Cenis pass (877). Louis his son succeeded him, the Louis II. of French historians, the "Stammerer." He had been for ten years king of Aquitaine, and, when he succeeded to his father's throne, found himself little but the slave and puppet of the great nobles. He soon died (879), leaving a kingship weakened and divided. His two sons, Louis III. in the north and Carloman in the south, were set on their thrones by the nobles, headed by Count Hugh, "first of abbots." These also soon died,—Louis in 882, Carloman in 884; and the representatives of the Caroling family were reduced to two princes of the name of Charles,—Charles the Fat, the emperor, son of Ludwig the German, and Charles "the Simple," "the Fool," a child of five years, youngest son of the stammering king. To the emperor fell the nominal sovereignty over the chief part of the Caroling territories. He, however, was incapable, lazy, a most degenerate shoot of the great house of Pippin. In France he did almost nothing; the Northmen scourged the land incessantly, and in 885-886 laid terrible siege to Paris. The citizens, led by their bishop Gozlin, by Hugh, "first of abbots" (for he was abbot of St Martin at Tours as well as of St Denis), and by Odo (or Eudes), count of Paris, made heroic and dauntless resistance. In vain did Hrolf the Northman press the town with active siege or dull blockade; the death of Gozlin and Hugh could not shake the fortitude of the defenders; Count Eudes repulsed attack after attack, and held his own. At last Charles the Fat appeared on Montmartre with a great host of Germans; and the Parisians hoped to see vengeance taken on their pagan foes. Charles the Fat, however, had none of their heroism; he contented himself with buying the Northmen off. As they retired, the citizens rushed out and inflicted one great blow on them, and the great siege was over. Charles withdrew into Germany, and in 887 was deposed and abandoned by all. He died the next year at Reichenau.

On his death in 888 the nobles of France, irritated

against their half-foreign Caroling lords, chose Eudes, the 888-912. stout defender of Paris, the elder son of Robert the Strong, as their king; he ruled over the land between the Meuse and the Loire, and was the forerunner of the Capetian line of princes, the first person who may be spoken of as a French king. The Carolings still spoke German, and had small love for France; the family of Robert the Strong was patriotic and vigorous, and had shown in the great siege that it might be trusted for defence. In the election of Eudes we see the victory of the feudal lords over the imperial or royal power; we feel that the Frankish name and influence are dying out, and that another set of lords and defenders is rising up to cope with the Northmen, and to reduce the land into something like order. Eudes ruled from 888 to 893, striving manfully against the Northmen, whom he so far quelled as to induce them to cease from their devastations of France, and to turn their arms against the English shores. He tried in vain to conquer the southern part of France, and after a long struggle was fain to leave them in their independence. Then the southern lords held a great assembly with the Caroling party of the north at Rheims in 893, and elected Charles the Simple their king. He placed himself under the protection of Arnulf, king of Germany, who formally invested him with the kingdom of France, and sent soldiers to assert his claims. This was quite natural; for in the eyes of the Carolings the head of the German branch was the head of the whole family; all other members of it were his vassals, them he protected, to him they swore allegiance. After a struggle of some years Eudes died, and Charles then became sole king of France. Robert, brother of Eudes, received the great title of duke of France; and these two personages headed the two parties, the Germanic Carolings and the French-speaking nobles.

Charles the Simple reigned undisturbed for many years: Charles perhaps he was not altogether so foolish as his name declares him. In his day the Northmen, hitherto mere predators, became permanent settlers in France. Everything there was so weak and defenceless that the invaders had only to choose; the miserable people, the old Celtic inhabitants of Gaul, welcomed their settling; it was a relief from the infinite woes under which the land was suffering. One band of Northmen established themselves on the Loire; another, under Hrolf, the fierce leader of the attack on Paris, settled at Rouen (911) and subdued all the country round, on both sides of the Seine. An orderly and strong government once more grew up in France, and Charles the Simple, advised by the churchmen, made terms with Hrolf, giving him his daughter Gisela to wife, and on due feudal tenure granting him the lands he had won by the sword (912). The stout pagan was baptized by the name of Robert; his followers, after their fashion, loyally did as he had done, and the history of Normandy began: Hrolf becomes Duke Robert, his people become Frenchmen. The duchy soon grew into a compact and orderly state, prosperous and vigorous; Norman towns and churches sprang up on all hands, French manners and speech soon ruled supreme, and in all the arts of peace, in building, commerce, letters, the Normans forthwith took the lead. The noble Scandinavian race, destined to influence so large a portion of the world's history, herein made worthy mark on the soil and the institutions of France.

Soon after this time the French lords, headed by Robert, duke of France, the "king of the barons," second son of Robert the Strong, rose against their Caroling king, and shut him up in Laon, the last stronghold of his family; thence he fled into Lorraine. On the death of Robert, the barons made Rodolf of Burgundy their king, and continued the strife; and Charles, falling into the hands of Hubert of Vermandois, was held by him as a hostage till his death in

929-987. 929. Rodolf then became undisturbed king till he too died in 936. The barons under the guidance of Hugh "the White" or "the Great," son of Robert, the greatest man of his age, sent over to England for Louis, son of Charles, who had been carried thither by his mother for safety. This is that "Louis d'Outremer," "Louis from Over-sea," who now became king; after showing unusual vigour in a struggle with Otho the Great of Germany, who claimed the kingship over France, he was recognized by all in 941. His reign could be nothing but the miserable record of a struggle against the great lords, Hugh the Great and Richard of Normandy. In this perpetual and wearisome strife he spent his latter days, and died, still a young man, in 954. He was the only man of energy among all the later Carolings. His son Lothair succeeded; his was a long and inglorious reign, ending in 986. His son Louis followed, ruling for a single year. He died childless in 987; and the only heir to the throne—if the feudal lords chose to recognize an hereditary claim—was his uncle Charles, duke of Lorraine. The barons did not choose to be so tied; they set the Caroling prince aside, and elected Hugh, duke of France, to be king. He was afterwards solemnly crowned at Rheims by Archbishop Adalberon.

Thus did Hugh Capet, founder of a great dynasty, come to the throne. With him begins the true history of the kingdom of France; we have reached the epoch of the feudal monarchy.

II. THE FEUDAL MONARCHY.

Hugh Capet, eldest son of Hugh the Great, duke of France, was but a Neustrian noble when he was elected king. The house of the Carolings was entirely set aside, its claims and rights denied, by the new force now growing up, the force of feudalism. The head of the barons should be one of themselves; he should stand clear of the imperial ideas and ambitions which had ruled the conduct of his predecessors; he should be a Frenchman in speech and birth and thought, and not a German; but, above all, he must be strong enough to hold his own. And among the great lords of northern France, the representative of the house of Robert the Strong held the most central position, and united in himself most elements of strength. His lands lay between the Burgundians and the Normans, and stretched, north and south, from Flanders to Aquitaine. Not so long ago the duke of France had been the champion of the whole land against the invasions of the Northmen, and the successful defence of Paris had assured to the duke that position of protector of French interests which passed naturally into a kingship. The connexions of the house were also a great source of strength; the duke was abbot of St Martin near Tours, the spiritual lord of the Loire, and abbot of St Denis near Paris, the spiritual lord of the Seine. And not only in connexion with the church was he strong; his alliances with the lay-lords were equally fortunate. The lesser barons looked up to him; he was brother to Eudes Henry, duke of Burgundy, on the one side, and Richard the Fearless, duke of Normandy, on the other side, was his brother-in-law. Lastly, his was a compact and central territory: he was feudal lord of all Picardy, and held a large part of Champagne; Paris, Orleans, Chartres, the counties of Blois, Perche, Tours, Maine, were also his. The domains of the dukes of France formed a long and rather narrow strip; the western border running nearly north and south touched the sea just above the mouth of the Somme, and reached the Loire a little below Orleans. Paris was as nearly as might be the centre of this district, which was bounded to the north by Flanders and Hainault, to the east by Champagne and a corner of Burgundy, to the south by Aquitaine, to the west by

Normandy. The lords of these districts regarded themselves as at least the equals of the new king; the chief of them were the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, and the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Vermandois.

The accession of Hugh to the throne was not undisputed. Charles of Lorraine, rightful heir to the Caroling throne, resisted him for a time, and was upheld by a formidable party among the nobles and churchmen. Their headquarters were at Laon, on the northern frontier of Hugh's domain; their strongest friend was William Fier-à-Bras, duke of Aquitaine, on its southern limit. The hearty support of the Normans alone secured the new king's throne. After a short, sharp struggle, in which clerical treachery was as prominent as knightly valour, Hugh got his rival into his hands, and imprisoned him at Orleans, where he died. In a short time all the princes north of the Loire had recognized his authority. The clergy of his domains and territories looked up to him as their friend and champion, and, willingly, as an end of strife, deposed Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims, who was nephew of the fallen Caroling prince, and elected in his room the famous Gerbert (afterwards pope as Sylvester II.), the most learned man of his age, who had dared to visit Saracenic Spain, and to bring thence to the north some of that science which gave him the fascinating reputation of being a sorcerer. He had been also in Italy, welcomed and rewarded by Otho the Great; he had taken the lead in the election of Hugh Capet. His elevation to the archbishopric of Rheims placed Hugh in direct antagonism to the papacy, and added much to the troubles of the king's life. And in truth his reign was a constant struggle; he won his kingly name with a life-time of anxious work, and with loss of much of his own domain, which he had to grant out as rewards to the faithfulness of his followers. At the time of his death in 996 it looked as if he was a weaker man than he had been nine years before. The Norman and Aquitanian dukes were stronger than he was, stronger than they themselves had been nine years before; in Burgundy his brother's power was little more than a nominal lordship; the eastern frontier of France seemed to be split up into a chain of independent principalities.

On the Christmas day after his election in 987, Hugh Hered-Capet had called together his friends at Orleans, and had persuaded them to elect his eldest son Robert as a joint-king. Himself king by the will of his peers, he clearly desired to give the new kingship the hereditary impress, and to secure it to his family; and it may be noticed that in no country has the strict law of hereditary succession been so potent as in France, overbearing, as it did in the extreme case of Henry IV., even the opposition which that prince aroused, and securing an unbroken male descent down to the Revolution.

Robert succeeded as sole king in 996,—not a good ex-Robert. change for the infant kingship. For if the vigorous Hugh was embarrassed by both friends and foes, Robert, with far more piety and far less force of character, seemed certain to be overwhelmed. For Robert "the Pious" or "the Debonair," was an easy kindly man, the delight of monkish chroniclers, endowed with all the charming and dangerous virtues which commend themselves in the man, and often prove fatal to the king. His was a long inglorious reign of twenty-five years,—a constant struggle, first with the church for his wife, afterwards with his barons for his existence.

His first wife had been his distant cousin. The papacy, which could do nothing against his father, forced him to put her away; and though he did so very reluctantly, he speedily took another wife, Constance of Aquitaine, politically an important alliance, though she led him but a wretched,

997-
1059.

life. The followers who came with her from the south introduced new tastes and ideas into the ruder north, and were regarded with detestation by the clergy as effeminate and vicious foreigners. We note a national feeling springing up,—for nationality is nowhere so marked as in its hatreds; to the barons and clergy of the Seine the people of the Garonne were aliens. The opposition also which existed between feudal nobles and churchmen, and the oppressed people struggling for some liberty of action and belief, expressed itself in the futile rising of the peasantry in Normandy (997), and in the slaughter of the Manichaean heretics of Orleans. The whole country was also vexed with civil strife; the king had to contend with his masterful queen, backed by her rebellious sons Henry, heir to the throne, and Robert, duke of Burgundy; in Normandy Richard the Fearless died in 1027, leaving war between his sons; the successful brother Robert secured the dukedom, and, thanks to dark suspicions as to his methods, went by the title of "the Devil."

Henry I. Robert I. died in 1031, to the great grief of his poor people, to whom, after his way, he had tried to be as a father. His son Henry, whom he had crowned as joint-king in 1017, succeeding to the throne, had to face the bitter hostility of his mother and of the duke of Burgundy. The duke of Normandy, following the policy of his house, sided with the king, and, crushing the revolted barons on his flank and that of France, made his already terrible name a curse to central France. A peace was patched up by Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou; Robert was confined in his duchy of Burgundy, and ere long Constance, by dying, smoothed the way to tranquillity; the weak king gave in before the strong nature of Robert le Diable, and Normandy became the most powerful state in France. The condition of the whole country, scourged with incessant private war, and lacking all central authority, became so bad that the church at last intervened; in 1036 the "Peace of God" was proclaimed, and accepted in southern and eastern France; the bishops of Burgundy also did their best for peace, and at last the bishops of the north also followed their example. In 1041 was proclaimed the famous "Treuga Dei," the Truce of God, in which all fighting was forbidden from Thursday evening to Monday morning, on all feast days, in Advent and in Lent; religion thus endeavoured to extend her protection over almost all the year, and greatly mitigated, if it did not abolish, the evils of private warfare. Many were the signs that some great change was coming. The terrors and hopes roused at the millennial year; those feelings renewed and strengthened, only to be disappointed, at the date of the thousandth year from the crucifixion of our Lord; the fearful contrast between the famine and misery desolating France and the brilliant dreams of the coming kingdom of the just; the slow but real entry of Oriental learning into the west of Europe; the steady set of a stream of pilgrims toward the Holy Land, pre-eminent among whom was Robert of Normandy; the renewal of Norman adventure and conquest, specially in southern Italy; the establishment of the ascendancy of monasticism with its champion Hildebrand at Rome, and its renewed vigour in both France and Germany,—all these things mark the reign of Henry I. as a time of preparation for the world's struggle that was coming, for the terrible strife of Christian and Saracen over the holy places of Palestine. The conquest of Sicily and southern Italy, as well as that of England a few years later, made the Normans the foremost champions of the papacy, and the leading power in Europe.

During these years the kingship of France was in very unworthy hands: Robert, weak and pious, had done nothing to strengthen his throne; his son Henry, immersed in petty warfare, fared no better, and feeling his end to be drawing

near, in 1059 had his son Philip crowned as joint-king 1059-96 with himself. He died in 1060, leaving his throne to a prince weaker even than himself. The contrast between these petty kings of France and the grim dukes of Normandy must strike every one: Richard the Fearless, Robert the Devil, William the Conqueror, colossal figures, strong and fierce, take all the sunlight from gentle Robert, weak Henry, dissolute Philip, kings of France. And, in fact, a history of France which should take account only of her kings and their reigns would be completely delusive; the royal power is felt in this 11th century over a very small part of the surface of the country; the great lords are stronger by far than the king in their midst. Normandy rises to very great eminence; Aquitaine is fairly consolidated into a strong southern power; though towards the east the more Germanic princes split the land into petty lordships, the two Lorraines are sometimes under one duke; on the other side Brittany was entirely independent. Across the whole northern frontier the German influence was supreme. Philip was little able to cope with these antagonists. He made an attempt, which failed, to secure Flanders; he withstood William the Bastard in 1076, and made peace with him; and when, after the Conqueror's death, Norman and English interests were somewhat parted, the dangers of a Norman ascendancy over France diminished. Somewhat later (1094) Philip was involved in a contest with Rome, the church being now the champion of Fulk of Anjou, whom the king had wronged by carrying off his wife,—a struggle as honourable for the papacy as it was discreditable to Philip. The church, however, was not now led by the mighty hand of Hildebrand. Gregory VII. had died in 1085, and in the reaction which followed it looked as if the papacy itself might fall. Germany, ever protesting, opposed its claims, often with an anti-pope of her own; the French king, a weak man with a wretched cause, was yet able to defy the pontiff; William the Bastard, even in Hildebrand's days, had refused to acknowledge his claims; the Normans in Italy were at best but turbulent friends; the Saracen was still a threatening neighbour. In these dark, cloudy times the papacy, by a wise instinct, took for its motto the ancient "ex Oriente lux," and placed itself in the van of that general movement which led to the crusades. The pope who took the great step was Urban II., The Crusader, a Frenchman by birth; it seemed to him that if he could stir the warm blood of turbulent French nobles, and the sterner valour of the Norman character, he might head a holy enterprise, and so doing deliver the papacy from all its difficulties, and perhaps assert its lordship over the world.

Urban crossed the Alps in 1095, and came to Clermont in Auvergne. There he was in a central position, within reach of both southern and northern France, and yet not within the domain of the excommunicated Philip, sitting sulkily at Paris. The pope's famous sermon at the council, though at the moment it seemed to fall flat on princely ears, set the crusades in motion, and was the prelude to great events, great changes in Asia and Europe. France took the foremost part in the movement; she seemed to lead the half-formed nations of Europe in the common enterprise; her great men are the heroes of the epoch; "the crusades," says Michelet, "had their ideal in two Frenchmen; they are begun by Godfrey of Bouillon [who, however, was not strictly a Frenchman], and Saint Louis closes them." The latent uneasiness and misery of the people needed only the call; a countless multitude of the common folk flocked to the banner of Peter the Hermit. The excitement went on increasing throughout the year 1096, and as it slowly gathered force and form, bystanders must have looked with amazement at the strange materials out of which so great a movement grew. The first crusade was altogether popu-

lar in character ; there was in it little of knowledge or discipline ; it was rather like those instinctive emigrations which, flowing from the north or east from time to time, have overwhelmed the more civilized portions of the world. In the pope's sermon at Clermont there was a striking passage which contrasted the wretchedness of men's daily life in France with the comfort of the "land flowing with milk and honey" towards which he directed their eyes. Religious enthusiasm joined with present misery ; the dream of a millennial home in Palestine instead of famine and pestilence in France—here is the force which set the first army moving towards the East. And, naturally enough, that first army was almost entirely composed of the common people ; the feudal lord felt none of the stings of want, and as yet had no interest in Eastern adventure.

The first crusade: The vast throng of crusaders who set off eastwards in the summer of 1096 was divided into three hosts. The van was led by the one soldier of the company, Walter the Pennyless,—he had at his back about fifteen thousand footmen ; the main body of French pilgrims, led by Peter the Hermit, followed next ; then came a rabble of German peasants, under the guidance of Godescalc, a monk ; on the skirts of the whole force hung an independent body of horsemen. A small band of Norman knights alone saved this crusade from absolute contempt. With great loss the host traversed Europe, and were put across the Bosphorus by the emperor Alexius. There they met the Turk at last, and found him more than their match. The energy of Kilidg Arslan, the sultan of Nicæa, soon destroyed them all ; they perished far from the walls of Jerusalem.

Meanwhile the interest in the holy places was far from growing less in France. It at last attracted the attention of the lord as well as of the vassal, and the second expedition promised to be very different from the first. Like the first, it was also divided into three hosts,—a northern, a central, and a southern. The northern army was composed of Flemings and Lorrainers, under command of Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, a Caroling prince ; it had little or no French blood in it. The central army was French, Norman, and Burgundian, headed by Hugh, count of Vermandois, King Philip's brother, who commanded the Frenchmen ; by Robert, duke of Normandy, leading Englishmen and Normans ; by Alan of Brittany, with his Celtic following ; and by Stephen of Blois, head of that powerful house, who had espoused Adela, the daughter of William the Bastard, and was father of Stephen afterwards king of England. The third army, by far the most complete and best equipped, was composed of the southerners subject to Raymond of Toulouse. The Italian Normans, under Tancred and Bohemond, set forth by themselves. These all, by sea or land, converged on Constantinople, and great was the anxiety of Alexius, who had but one wish, that he might see them safely across the narrow strait which severs Europe from Asia. At last they were all passed over ; and William of Tyre declares that at a great muster held on the Asiatic shore there stood forth seven hundred thousand men in all. The figures may be extravagant ; there is no doubt that the host was vast and strong. And so Kilidg Arslan found it. He attacked them again and again as they moved southwards through Asia Minor ; but they defeated and crippled him so that he could not stay their advance. They reached Antioch, and took it after a long siege and fierce fighting, which broke the power of the Seljukian Turks. They left Bohemond the Norman as prince of Antioch, and marched onwards. Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, moving eastward to succour the Christian lord of Edessa, took the place for himself, and founded the Frankish county of Edessa in 1097. The main body, reduced by many causes to about forty thousand warriors, reached Jerusalem, and after a desperate siege, signalized

by prodigies of valour, stormed the holy city on the 15th 1099 of July 1099. The crusaders at once elected Godfrey of Bouillon king of Jerusalem ; and though he did not accept so sacred a title, he became lord of the holy city, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem began. So long as he lived, he ruled with vigour and success ; and the year 1100 seemed to have almost fulfilled the millennial hopes which had been so bright a century before. The battle of Antioch in 1098 had broken the Seljukian power ; that of Ascalon in 1099 checked the Fatimites ; and Godfrey seemed likely to found a permanent Christian lordship in the East. But death soon closed his career, and the organization of the great conquest was left to others. Four Latin principalities, Jerusalem, Tripolis, Antioch, and Edessa, were formed, and arranged on the strictest principles of conscious feudalism : the new kingdom of Jerusalem held only of the papacy.

At home the French monarchy was far from quiet, indolent Philip being threatened by the vigorous attack of William II. of England, who claimed once more the French Vexin, and also made war on the count of Maine. In this obscure warfare Philip's eldest son Louis, to whom was entrusted the defence of the western frontier, showed ample promise of his vigour, though it was the arrow in the New Forest which in 1100 relieved the French king of all fear of his rival. Henry Beauclerc, the Conqueror's youngest son, succeeded William in England, and before long (1106) had conquered and captured at Tinchebray his elder brother Robert Courthoise, the crusading duke of Normandy. Under his capable government England and Normandy enjoyed repose and prosperity.

When it was known in the West that Godfrey of Bouillon was dead, and that the infant kingdom of Jerusalem was in danger, William IX. of Aquitaine, who, now that Raymond of Toulouse had settled at Tripolis, had become the foremost prince of southern France, set forth with new levies to the succour of the cause. He was joined by some few northern barons, one of whom, Herpin of Bourges, sold his lordship to Philip of France, and began that transfer of feudal territory which was of the highest service to the kingly power. With Bourges the French monarchy for the first time got footing on the south bank of the Loire. The expedition failed ignominiously ; William came home to Aquitaine almost alone ; and an attempt made somewhat later by Bohemond of Antioch on Constantinople itself came also to nothing. With these two failures the first crusade ended. As yet its effects on France could hardly be felt ; the papacy alone was at first seen to be a gainer by the movement. For the new and rigid feudalism of Jerusalem, with its hierarchy of lords, and its code of justice, the famous Assises, all eventually looked to the papacy as its head. While the Western monarchs all strove against the pope, the pope was the sole support and undisputed master of the monarchy of the East. In one respect this first crusade is specially interesting to France ; her language, newly assured of independent life, no longer a patois or a dialect of the common Latin, received fresh recognition, and spread abroad in the world. As Latin was the common speech of the church, so French became the common speech of warlike Christendom. It had been carried by the Normans into England and Sicily ; now it was the recognized tongue of the Latinized East ; and from this time onward it was adopted as the language of feudal and political life.

In the year 1100 Philip, following the traditional usage Louis VI. of his house, had made his son Louis joint-king, and put off the burdens of his royalty. The young man, full of vigour and a true king, had a hard struggle at the first ; the limits of the royal power were very narrow ; Louis is said to have built the greater Châtelet at Paris as a defence against the

1100-24. neighbouring lord of Montmorency, who disputed with him the mastership over the plain of St Denis; on the other side, he had much ado to come by the castle of Montleheri, which barred his way southwards to Orleans; his mastery over his own barons was very slight; his suzerainty in districts farther off, over Champagne and Burgundy, over Normandy and elsewhere, was scarcely more than nominal. But Louis had force of character; his nicknames testify thereto, for was he not styled "the Eveillé, the Wideawake," and "the Batailleur, the Bruiser"? He knew how to rouse enthusiasm among his followers; no prince ever had a more loyal household or a stronger; the crusades relieved him of some of his most turbulent neighbours; the upspringing of the communes, with their civic liberties, afforded a counterpoise to the feudal violence of the baron's castle; above all, the royal domains under him were well administered. First of Capetian kings, he was felt to be the fount of justice, and it was seen that, as his wise biographer Suger says, "he studied the peace and comfort of ploughmen, labourers, and poor folk, a thing long unwonted," and all the more grateful for its novelty. The most marked of these characteristics of King Louis VI.'s reign was the growth of town liberties, which began just before and after the year 1100. France has always been remarkable for the large number of her small towns and her deficiency in large ones; the time we have reached gives us the beginning of this phenomenon. The little towns all through central France now became the refuge of the population against feudal lawlessness and oppression; and in the very centre, in the district round Paris, they took up the defence of the royal power against its most dangerous feudal neighbour, the duke of Normandy. "At this period," says Ordericus Vitalis, "popular communities were established by the bishops, in such sort that parish priests accompanied the king to siege or battle, bearing the parish flag, and followed by all the youth of the township." This movement showed itself most clearly in the towns just to the north of Paris. Laon, Noyon, Beauvais, the three seats of the clerical party, Saint Quentin, and a few others, all at this time bargained for and bought their liberties. The king placed himself at their head. As each parish priest, representing some little town, marched with the banner of that saint to whom his church was dedicated, so did King Louis go forth with the flag of his own church, the oriflamme of St Denis. He is the first king of France who bore it officially; by it he declared himself champion of the Church of France, and of the new burgher-life which was springing up around him. The peasant also was glad to be on the same side. In the king's struggle against feudal independence we see continually how well he was seconded by the aggrieved rustics as well as by the civic levies, or by the "damsels," the young gentlemen who formed his warlike court. It would be misleading to say that this new burgher-life was the king's doing; he seems to have felt but little interest in it, great as was its influence on the future. He granted and withdrew charters according as it suited him, or as men offered him more or less. Even to the larger towns, the chief cities of the royal domain, Paris, Orleans, Melun, Étampes, and Compiègne, he only granted privileges, not any real constitutional rights. It is one of the misfortunes of French history that constitutional liberties never seem possible,—that even in the outset they are blighted, and in the end they perish.

By degrees Louis VI. secured his frontiers to the east, the north, and the south; with the west, where lay the fiercer Norman, it was a harder task. In 1119 he lost the battle of Brenneville, and had to abandon the cause of William Clito, son of Robert duke of Normandy, who claimed the duchy against Henry I. of England. In 1124 he was once more in collision with his Norman neighbour;

for Henry Beauclerc had allied himself with his son-in-law 1124-37. Henry V. of Germany, who promised to attack the French king from the east, while Henry I. should assault him in the west. Louis VI. raised all central France to the rescue; it was seen how powerful he had become. His own men came in at once, and formed the nucleus of his army; his body-guard and the men of Paris, Orleans, and Étampes were in the centre round the sacred oriflamme, which Louis now brought forth for the first time. Champagne and Burgundy were there; Vermandois also with horse and foot; Pontoise, Amiens, and Beauvais sent the men of their communes. The greater lords farther off, though they held back, did not contest the king's right to call them out. The emperor, struck by this show of energy, or aware of troubles behind his back in Germany, abandoned all his plans of revenge against Rheims, where the council of French clergy had excommunicated him. The king soon made peace with Henry of England, and the storm passed over.

The fortunate issue of this war, and the king's interposition in the affairs of his neighbours, the submission of William of Aquitaine to his judgment, his attempt to find a lordship in Flanders for his friend William Clito, marked Louis VI. out as a powerful king, who had in fact triumphed over opposition at home and abroad. He followed precedent, and had Philip his eldest son crowned in 1129; he, however, was killed by accident in 1131, and the king then took his younger son Louis, "Louis the Young," as men called him, and crowned him as joint-king. The troubles of England, connected with the reign of Stephen, relieved him of anxiety for the rest of his days on his western borders; and the offer of William of Aquitaine to wed his daughter Eleanor to the young joint-king seemed to promise the happiest future for France. Louis VI. just lived to arrange the marriage, and then, on his way to St Denis, where he yearned to end his days, for it was the school of his youth and the home of Abbot Suger his dearest friend, he was taken ill at Paris, and there died in the year 1137.

This was the first real king of France, a man of noble nature and true kingly gifts. His greatest cross was his unwieldy bulk, though it could not hinder his activity; he was humble of heart and kindly, cheerful in health or sickness, a true father to his people. Had his successor been a man like himself, the task of welding France into one kingdom might have been achieved centuries ere it was at last brought to pass.

But Louis VII., the Young, and his queen Eleanor of Louis Aquitaine, left by her father's death at this same time VII. heirress of his great possessions in the south, were far below the level of the fat king, and retarded instead of forwarding the growth of the French monarchy. The advance of the country in mental and material prosperity during the late reign had been immense. Thanks to the crusades, and to the tranquillity which prevailed at home, town-life flourished, religion woke to new life, church-building took a fresh departure, philosophy began to feel her strength. If these are the days of St Bernard, last of fathers, they were also the days of Abélard, one of the first of intellectual inquirers. To him is due the mental reputation of Paris, which in its turn led on at the end of the century to the establishment of the university of Paris, mother of all the learned corporations of modern Europe.

Louis VII. was no sooner sole king than he began to show how far he was below his great father; he was weak, timid before the church, vexed with a scrupulous conscience, the delight of monkish chroniclers, the contempt of men. From the beginning of his ventures failed. He tried to coerce the great count of Toulouse into submission, and was ignominiously repulsed; he carried on a quarrel with the papacy

1137-54 over the cathedral at Bourges ; declared, with Suger's support, that he had the right to nominate to that archbishopric ; found Theobald count of Champagne for his own purposes opposed to him ; attacked him impetuously, and burnt down Vitry church, in which a crowd of poor folk had taken refuge. The village bears in consequence to this day the name of Vitry le Brûlé, the Burnt. Then, stung with remorse, he gave way before the pope, who enjoined on him a crusade as a penance. In vain did the prudent and patriotic Suger oppose the royal impulse.

The second crusade. Weak and excitable, the young king could not be held ; the passionate appeals of St Bernard were far more to his taste. It is interesting to note these two great and rival churchmen pitted against one another : St Bernard champion of the universal lordship of the papacy, Suger endeavouring to defend the independence of the French monarchy. St Bernard was the life of the movement ; he was, however, too prudent to undertake the leading of it ; he would provide the impulse, others must shape it to its end. In this crusade (1147) Germany preceded France, and the expeditions were headed by Conrad the emperor, and by the French king, who entrusted the charge of his

country to his old preceptor Suger, although he would not follow his advice. This great churchman, a little man, weakly and thin, was of obscure and ignoble origin ; he was educated at St Denis, side by side with the good king Louis VI, and afterwards appointed abbot of that famous church. While St Bernard represented patristic learning, and Abélard Greek philosophy, Suger was noted as a diligent student of holy scripture. He was the trusted adviser of both Louis VI. and Louis VII., and by his conduct as regent justified their confidence, and earned the name of *Pater Patriæ*. He has left in his writings more than one proof of his interest in the wellbeing of the French people, and of their wretchedness under their feudal masters,—one village “under the lord's castle trodden down and as miserable as if it were under Saracen oppression ;” another, “subject to three tallages,—almost entirely destitute through the rapacity of its masters ;” another, “so ravaged by the lord that it became utterly unfruitful and useless ;” or again, in a fourth place, “the poor folk could scarce exist under the burden of so wicked an oppression.” Under Suger's eye prosperity in part came back ; but he could not hinder the failure of the crusading king, whose career in the East was a discredit and calamity. It alienated Queen Eleanor, lost him southern France, made him the contempt of his subjects. In 1149 he returned home with the merest fragment of an army, and Suger humbly withdrew from public life to St Denis, spending the remnant of his days in good works and wise reforms within that narrower sphere.

The abbot Suger. At once Queen Eleanor sent to the pope for a divorce, and Louis VII. made but a half-hearted opposition, for she was in truth far too proud and vehement for him. The pope granted her wish in 1152, and immediately after Henry of Anjou wooed and won her, becoming thereby the strongest prince in France. The king tried in vain to make a league against him. Henry compelled all his foes to make peace with him, and became lord over France from the Norman frontier across to the Gulf of Lyons. In 1154 he ascended the English throne as Henry II. Vigorous and determined, fortunate in his marriage, his own resources, his kingship in England, it seemed certain that he would overthrow his feeble rival, and wear on his head the two crowns of France and England. Forthwith began the struggle which lasted all his life. He made Rouen his chief and favourite capital,—for he was far less English than French,—attempted Toulouse, attacked the Bretons, reduced Louis VII. to peace, getting Margaret the daughter of Louis as wife for his eldest son Henry. She brought him some

frontier castles, which much strengthened his hold on Normandy. By about the year 1160 Henry II. had reached the highest limit of his almost imperial power. He had planted out his sons as vassal kings in Normandy, Anjou, Ireland ; he completely overshadowed all the other princes of Europe. It was not till he tried to restrain the clergy that his troubles began. The Constitutions of Clarendon were passed in 1164 ; the quarrel with Becket did not tarry. The French king gladly supported Henry's foe, and the struggle lasted till Becket's murder in 1172, a crime which was fatal to the fortunes of Henry II. In 1172 Eleanor, deeming herself wronged by her spouse, set her Aquitanians in revolt against him ; her sons also joined her, and Louis VII. entered once more into the strife. He was soon taught that it was folly for him to measure swords with Henry ; the great Angevin monarch held firm hold of all his Continental possessions.

Then Louis in 1179, feeling himself old, caused his son Philip, then aged fifteen, to be crowned as joint-king. At the coronation of Philip Augustus at Rheims it is said that the twelve peers of France,—six laymen, six ecclesiastics,—were all present. They were the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Guienne, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse, the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishops of Laon, Noyon, Chalons, Beauvais, and Langres.

This was the last act of this long-reigning prince, who died in 1180. He had been sole king since 1137, and in the main had done little harm if little good. He was kindly and pious, learned beyond the princes of his age ; and so long as he listened to the sage counsels of Suger he reigned not amiss. In his days agriculture largely improved, lands were brought under tillage, the countryman had peace and felt some sunshine of prosperity ; the lesser towns also flourished, for Louis VII. was friendly on the whole to the communal advance, and issued no less than twenty-four civic charters. His greatest misfortune was his spouse, his greatest blunder his crusade ; for a weak well-meaning man, it is wonderful how little harm he did. As so often occurs in history, he is the mean prince between two great men ; we are obliged to contrast him with Louis VI., his active and able father, and with Philip Augustus, his proud, unscrupulous, and vigorous son. It is under these three princes that the French feudal monarchy takes definite shape.

Philip Augustus, cold and patient, proud and firm, with Philip out high impulses, lacking in enthusiasm, ungenerous, ^{Augus-} sometimes even deceitful and mean, a hard man and terrible ^{tua.} rather than noble, a man who trusted in law and cared little for justice, was clearly a formidable person. His reign of forty-three years—just the same in length with that of his father—could not fail to have great influence on the fortunes of his country. History must favour him : the contrasts, “Louis the Young,” his father, and John Lackland of England, are all entirely in his favour ; the rivalry between the houses of Capet and Anjou turned to his advantage ; the sum of results in his reign leaves on us the sense of greatness and strength, supported by good fortune.

Philip Augustus began his long reign with acts of vigour and severity. His gentler father could not be persuaded to touch the Jews : but Philip banished them from the realm in 1182 ; he issued edicts, which he also enforced, against vices, and against heretics ; in all he showed signs of a strong and unpleasant character. In 1185 he began with his neighbours,—had a little war with the count of Flanders, which won him the county of Vermandois and the border city of Amiens, key of the line of the Somme. Next, he fell to blows with the duke of Burgundy, and reduced him to submission. In 1186 we find him holding peaceful discussions with his most formidable neighbour, the duke of Normandy, and beginning a movement which after long

The fortunes of Henry II.

At once Queen Eleanor sent to the pope for a divorce, and Louis VII. made but a half-hearted opposition, for she was in truth far too proud and vehement for him. The pope granted her wish in 1152, and immediately after Henry of Anjou wooed and won her, becoming thereby the strongest prince in France. The king tried in vain to make a league against him. Henry compelled all his foes to make peace with him, and became lord over France from the Norman frontier across to the Gulf of Lyons. In 1154 he ascended the English throne as Henry II. Vigorous and determined, fortunate in his marriage, his own resources, his kingship in England, it seemed certain that he would overthrow his feeble rival, and wear on his head the two crowns of France and England. Forthwith began the struggle which lasted all his life. He made Rouen his chief and favourite capital,—for he was far less English than French,—attempted Toulouse, attacked the Bretons, reduced Louis VII. to peace, getting Margaret the daughter of Louis as wife for his eldest son Henry. She brought him some

1186-99. years ended in the annexation of the proud duchy to the kingdom. Richard Cœur de Lion was too turbulent a prince to let things long remain at peace. Disputes sprang up as to frontier districts, such as the Vexin, and as to the falling-in of the Breton dukedom. Sometimes with Henry II., sometimes with his rebellious son, Philip was constantly conferring or quarrelling, though the grandeur of the old king of England overawed his young rival, whose policy with respect to him looks to us timid and irresolute, and sometimes mean. So things went on till 1187, when tidings of the fall of Jerusalem seemed to still all lesser controversy; and Philip and Henry, meeting once more under the Gisors oak, made peace and took the cross. All Europe was stirred into action; the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the chief German dukes, Richard Cœur de Lion, with all the greater lords and barons, prepared to set forth. But ere they went troubles again broke out between the two kings, and Henry, deserted by his sons, was forced to a shameful peace, which involved the cession of Berri to France, and involved also the death of the broken-hearted monarch (1189).

With the death of Henry II. we feel that we have passed the highest point in the fortunes of the house of Anjou, and that now the Capets must prevail in France.

~~The third crusade.~~ Now followed the third crusade, which brought much barren glory to the new king of England, which caused the death of Barbarossa, drowned in the little river Cydnus (Carasu) in Cilicia, which added nothing to the honour or the power of Philip Augustus. He saw the taking of Ptolemais, and ere long, wearying of the uncongenial sport, handed over his Frenchmen to his kinsman the duke of Burgundy, and, swearing not to molest Richard's territories, set sail for Europe. He broke his word at once by allying himself with John, and fanning that mean prince's jealousy of his nephew Arthur of Brittany. When tidings reached Philip that Richard had been taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria, the French king did not hesitate at once to take advantage of his misfortune. He attacked Normandy, and, in concert with John, laid siege to Rouen. When, however, the emperor let Richard go free, his onward course was checked, and the war ended by a truce, Philip becoming master of Auvergne and withdrawing his hand from Normandy (1196). Richard at once did his best to raise up obstacles against him. Now rose the noble walls of Chateau Gaillard to protect Rouen, which, since Gisors had returned to France, was entirely open towards the east. For a while his warlike genius and skill in fortification seemed to check the French king's ambition. His end, however, was at hand; besieging Chalus, he was wounded by an arrow, and the wound was fatal. He died in 1199, leaving his crown to his brother John, whose weakness was sure to be Philip's opportunity. Of all the great house of Aujou none remained save John and little Arthur of Brittany; it was clear that ill-will must spring up between these two princes, and what so clear as that Philip would be ready to pluck advantage from the quarrel. At once, on John's accession, while England and Normandy accepted him, the other French-speaking districts, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine, as well as Brittany, declared for Arthur, and placed themselves under the willing protection of Philip, who suggested a fair division—the French-speaking lands, including Normandy, for Arthur, England for King John. It was clearly impossible that John, with his un-English character and bringing up, should accept banishment to the island; war broke out, and Philip, in Arthur's name, seized on Brittany, and presently making peace with John, abandoned Arthur's cause. He made his profit out of the short war and peace, no doubt; but the true reason for his peaceable humour was his controversy with the pope, who had interfered with him over the old royal difficulty, his wife.

Philip had sent away Ingeborg, his Danish queen, and had taken the fair Agnes of Meran. The pope, Innocent III., came to the rescue of the wronged lady, threatening Philip with excommunication and France with interdict. In 1200 he carried out his threat. The proud king struggled awhile against papal interference; in the end he found it better to yield, and replaced Ingeborg on his throne. He was now ready to interpose once more between King John and hapless Arthur. In 1202 John gave him the chance. Arthur fell into his uncle's hands, was lodged in the castle at Rouen, and from that day vanished from life and history. His subjects at once rose in his behalf, and Philip marched southwards into Poitou. Having there secured his authority as Arthur's avenger, he turned north again and swiftly fell on Normandy. In the autumn of 1203 he laid siege to Chateau Gaillard, then defended by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester. In vain did Innocent III. interfere between the kings. Philip now had justice and an outraged people on his side, and soon showed the pope that his intervention would not be allowed. Early in 1204 the great fortress fell. John, who had done nothing to avert the blow, had actually fled from his capital Rouen to England; from that day onward the centre of the kingdom was destined to be at London; the controversy for precedence between England and Normandy on that day came to an end. Philip passed triumphantly through Normandy. Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, also placed themselves in his hand, and King John retained a few places near the coast, with Rochelle as his one port of entry into France. Brittany, hitherto a fief of Normandy, henceforth must pay homage to the conqueror of that duchy.

The next decade of years was marked by the beginning of great troubles in the south. There flourished sciences, big literature, the arts; there men thought and spoke as they would; there the Jew and the infidel could live side by side with the Christian; there the church was weak and feudalism had no hold. The earlier efforts of Innocent III. bearing little fruit, in 1208 his vengeance fell on Raymond of Toulouse, and the Albigensian crusade began. The pope called on the French to help; and, though Philip himself did not interfere, he did not hinder crowds of his ecclesiastics and lay lords from taking the cross. Under the command of St Dominic, the spiritual power plied its merciless arms; led by Simon of Montfort the elder, the lay sword vigorously supported the thunders of the church. Languedoc was laid waste, her fair culture trodden in the dust, her ancient cities, centres of civilization, burnt and ravaged. No war was ever more atrocious; the grim fanaticism of Simon ably seconded the pitiless orthodoxy of Dominic. The war raged till 1212, when Raymond was forced to flee into Aragon, while Montfort seemed certain to found for himself a great southern principality. The attempt of Peter of Aragon to drive him out, and to keep back the northerner from his borders, ended in that prince's defeat and death, and by 1215 Simon was lord of almost all the south; the great Lateran Council, held in that year, confirmed him and his crusaders in possession of it. The two Raymonds of Toulouse, father and son, now made yet one more effort; the south was weary of the foreign invader, and made common cause with them; Toulouse rose against Simon, and in the siege which followed he was killed (1217). Philip now interfered at last, with an army reinforcing Amaury, Simon's son; the heroic south resisted gallantly, and the elder Raymond was able to bequeath his whole inheritance to his son. For a few years the invader and the persecutor were driven out of the land.

Meanwhile Philip had not been idle; the crusade was doing his work in the south, and the incapacity of king John of England gave him an opening in the north. In

23. both he showed himself as the chief friend of the papacy; but while in the south he mainly contented himself with passive approval till towards the end of the struggle, in the north he set himself to take an active part, and in 1213 called an assembly of barons at Soissons, to prepare for an invasion of England. From this, however, he was stayed by Pandulf, the pope's legate, and turned his hand instead against Ferrand of Flanders, who had refused to obey his summons. His fleet, sent up to occupy the mouth of the Scheldt, was attacked and ruined by English ships, and Philip got but a poor consolation by pillaging some of the wealthy Flemish cities. In 1214 he had to face a grand coalition of enemies. Ferrand was supported on one hand by the king of England, on the other by the emperor Otho,—the former undertaking to attack Poitou, the latter to enter Flanders. The moment was very critical for Philip; his barons went in heart with the feudal lords against their royal master. John, however, though he landed at La Rochelle and took Angers, fell back on the first resistance, and was of no avail. Otho entered Flanders, and Philip came up to meet him. They met at Bouvines (29th Aug. 1214), and there Philip won a great victory over Flemings, Germans, and English. Otho fled, a ruined man; Ferrand of Flanders, the earl of Salisbury, and Renaud of Boulogne were prisoners. To the battle of Bouvines are due on the one hand the firm establishment of the French monarchy, on the other the security of English baronial liberties by Magna Charta. Philip had now secured the west, weakened the south, and crushed the great coalition of the north. Little remained for him but to consolidate his power. He had sent his son Louis into England to support the barons against King John; when, however, John died the English barons and people refused to depose his son Henry III.; Louis had to withdraw to France.

Character of Philip Augustus.

For the remainder of his life Philip lived in peace, save when he interposed to support the northern invaders of the south of France. His government was wise and tranquil; he allied himself closely with the church throughout; and when he died in 1223 he left a large part of the fortune he had amassed to his clergy, while he took care to hand his great territories unbroken to his son Louis VIII.

Philip Augustus was, as has been said, "a great king, not a great man." His name survives to France in the memory of the fact that by conquering Normandy he made royalty great. He was also king of Paris, for he built the present Notre Dame, erected her market, paved and cleansed the streets, built almshouses, secured a good water-supply, strengthened her defences by making new walls around the city; above all, he sanctioned and supported, if he did not actually found, her university. To his action in this and to the abatement of grudges between France and England we owe it that the first of English universities, Oxford, drew her earliest inspiration from Paris, and was established in the main on the same lines. New branches of study were cultivated; medicine, experimental philosophy, and law began to occupy the minds of men. And Philip was, by character and knowledge of his position, a lawyer. If great men are noted for their passion for justice, great kings are irresistibly attracted towards law; and Philip, with his delight in the newly-revived Roman law, stands fair comparison with the "English Justinian," Edward I. For the Roman law provided high sanction for his kingly claims,—a sharp instrument for the punishing of popes and princes. The king's sagacity carried him safely through great crises of the fate of royalty, through his struggles with the papacy and with the powerful feudal princes. Besides Normandy and Brittany, Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc had to bow before his authority; while he reduced the power of the great lords, he actually had the courage to give them a special organization by establishing

the great court of peers, whom he called together to help 1223-45 him in condemning King John. Proud, cold, and sagacious, Philip is among the greatest of the founders of the later French royalty.

His successor Louis VIII. reigned only three years Louis (1223-1226). In an attempt to carry out the wishes of the VIII. church in the south, and to crush the heretics, he was attacked by camp fever after the siege of Avignon. He died, leaving behind him a young son Louis, then twelve years Saint old, under the care of his vigorous and ambitious widow Louis Blanche of Castile. The early years of the reign of Louis IX. were spent in ceaseless strife. The great lords thought that they discerned in the accession of a child their watched-for opportunity; but the vigour of Queen Blanche, and the hearty support of Paris and the towns, made them accept the treaty of St Aubin du Cormier in 1231; the king's position was secured, and his troubles came to an end. Henry III. of England, on whose aid the princes had depended, failed them, and they were fain to make the best terms they could. This struggle was followed by a long contest with the bishops, in which the young king learnt lessons which stood him in good stead; it is probably to this contest that he owed the successes of his later life,—that he was able, as few kings had been, to combine earnest devotion with an absolute superiority to priestly rule and influence. In many ways circumstances proved friendly to the young king. Theobald of Champagne, becoming king of Navarre, sold some valuable fiefs to Louis; the Treaty of Meaux a little time before had closed the contest between north and south by the submission of Raymond VII., count of Toulouse; one after another the leading nobles ceased to compete with the crown. During all these early years of his reign Louis had constant help from the strong hand of his mother; imperious and masterful, she ruled him and the land thoroughly and successfully. He stood wisely clear of the great struggle which went on all these years between Frederick II. and the papacy.

In 1242 came the king's first serious warfare. He had tried to set his brother Alphonse over Poitou and Auvergne, whereon the reluctant nobles called in Henry III. to their help. Henry came with a small army and large supplies. Louis, however, hastened down to meet him, reduced all the country north of the Charente, defeated him twice, and that incompetent prince fell back to Bordeaux, where he wasted his time and means. In 1243 he was obliged to make his peace with Louis, and gladly withdrew to England. At this same time Raymond VII. also rose against the king; he was, however, soon reduced to order. In 1244 the last of the Albigensians perished at Mont Segur, the whole of them preferring to be burnt rather than retract their opinions. Fitly to end this period of his life, Louis IX. issued an edict that no lord should hold fiefs under both the king of France and the king of England; almost all his lords abandoned their English allegiance, and rallied round him alone. This movement made the distinction between English and French feeling stronger, and rendered the wars of the future more really national. In 1245 Charles of Anjou, the king's brother, wedded the great heiress of the south, the Countess Beatrice. This fortunate marriage closed the independent political life of Provence, which thus passed to the house of Anjou; its fortunes were consequently long bound up with those of the kingdom of Sicily.

Up to this time Louis IX., being mostly under the command of his mother, had shown little sign of greater qualities; now came the crisis which called them forth. He had acted with singular prudence in the contests which surrounded his earlier years, had held aloof from the investiture wars, had stood clear of eastern complications, had kept his barons quiet. Now, however, he was no longer

1245-59. to confine himself to affairs at home ; the East, with its dazzling attractions of religion and romance, called for his care ; by going thither he would escape from the conflict nearer home, the internecine struggle between the emperor Frederick II. and the papacy, under Innocent IV., and would fulfil the devout longings of his pious spirit by succouring the afflicted Christians against the Moslem and the Tartar. Louis took the cross in 1244, with his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers, and Charles of Anjou ; at Christmas 1245, "the day of new clothes," when his courtiers donned their new-made cloaks, they found the significant cross on every shoulder ; still nothing was done awhile, for in truth France was rightly very reluctant to embark in eastern politics. It was not till 1248 that Louis set sail from Aigues-Mortes for Cyprus, the rendezvous for this crusade. The sultan of Cairo was now lord of Palestine ; the Tartars had destroyed the power of the sultan of Konieh ; Jerusalem was a defenceless heap of ruins. It therefore seemed best to attack the Moslem power at its centre ; and this crusade, instead of making for Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Jerusalem, began on the other side by an attack on the headquarters of the Mahometan power in Egypt. In June 1249 the good king landed on the Egyptian shore and took Damietta without a blow. There the crusaders lingered till the place became a Capua to them ; for idleness brought on debauch, and debauch disease ; and fever, the avenger of war, soon attacked the army. After nearly six months of ruinous delay the king marched southward, fought the heroic though inconclusive battle of Massourah, which finally arrested his farther progress towards Cairo ; and after another long delay the Christians were obliged to retire towards Damietta. On the retreat the whole army was taken by the Saracens, who massacred the common folk and held the nobles to ransom. Louis had to surrender Damietta, and to pay a heavy sum before he could sail from Egypt ; and even so, he was obliged to leave behind a vast number of Christian captives. Of the remnant of his great host only about one hundred knights followed him to Palestine,—a fever-stricken company depressed with ill-fortune and defeat ; the rest made for home. Louis landed at Ptolemais, one of the very few cities left in Christian hands, and found little to restore his confidence or the spirits of his followers. He remained four years in the Holy Land, chiefly engaged in arranging the ransom of his captive soldiers ; he freed all the prisoners left in Egypt, strengthened the few places held by the Christians, and was almost unmolested by the Saracens, who were nearly as weak in Palestine as he was. At last, on the death of his noble mother Blanche in 1253, finding that his army had almost entirely melted away, that he could not hope to achieve anything in Palestine, and that he was much wanted at home, he set sail at last, and reached France in September 1254, a sorrowful and beaten man. The one bright spot in this crusade was the development of the king's character ; men recognized in him the hero and saint, and what was least wise in his career has covered him with greatest glory.

Still, the best part of his reign was to come ; nowhere had better government ever been seen in Europe than that which Louis carried on for the sixteen peaceful years which followed his first crusade. Some of his acts have been sharply criticized ; all, however, were in the direction and interests of peace. In 1258 he made treaty with King James of Aragon, settling all points of lordship at issue on that frontier ; in 1259 he came to terms with Henry III. of England, yielding to him the Limousin, Perigord, and parts of Saintonge, in return for Henry's abandonment of all claims on the rest of France. Louis hoped thereby to secure perpetual peace and amity between the two countries. At home all his action tended to good. His noble char-

acter, his recognized justice, fairness, and holiness, enabled him 1267-73. to intervene as a peacemaker between his lords ; there was in him a generous vein of sympathy and love for his people, which prompted him to succour those in distress, to govern well because mercifully, to rule in church and state as one who loved justice and judgment, and to whom the welfare of his subjects was a chief object and the aim of life.

Throughout it all, however, he still cherished in heart the enthusiasm of the crusading spirit. He had failed once ; he would try again for the faith against the miscreant. And so in 1267 he again took the cross, and in 1270, in spite of the remonstrances of his wisest friends, set sail once more,—this time not for Constantinople or Palestine, or even Egypt, but for Tunis. The probable motive of this attack on Tunis was the ambition of the king's brother, Charles of Anjou ; for a strong Saracen power on that shore was always a menace to his newly acquired Sicilian and Neapolitan kingdom. Be that as it may, the expedition, as a crusade, attacking the very outskirt instead of the heart of the Moslem strength, was foredoomed to fail. The failure came from the beginning ; hardly were the crusaders landed when fever and dysentery set in. The king caught it and died. With him ended the crusading era (St Bartholomew's day, 1270).

Louis the Saint had been a great king, as well as a pious and a virtuous one ; in this he stands almost alone in French history. Nor was he backward in matters of learning ; his age is an epoch in the growth of French literature. The university of Paris under his care rose to high repute ; the greatest learned men in Europe are connected with this period of its history ; Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Saint Thomas Aquinas, all studied at Paris. In his reign Robert of Sorbon (1252) founded his college for ecclesiastics, and the famous Sorbonne began its long career. Literature flourished in prose and poetry ; the arts took a fresh beginning ; Saint Louis raised that chief ornament of architecture in Paris, the Sainte Chapelle.

Above all, the king was notable for his justice, and the use he made of the law. The law, the natural ally of the throne in France, came to his help : by its aid he attacked or undermined feudal privileges ; he established a higher jurisdiction than that of the feudal courts, appointed itinerant justices, insisted on a real right of appeal in last resort to himself, curtailed the powers of baronial courts, and the freedom of baronial warfare, and finally rendered the king's "parliament" a great law-court. His legists issued a new code, the "Establishments of Saint Louis," in which feudal custom was largely modified by the Roman law. The king also increased and consolidated the royal domain, acquiring property whenever it was possible, and administering throughout a uniform rule of law. The kingdom also was greatly enlarged by his care : a large portion of the lands of the count of Toulouse, Chartres also, Blois, Sancerre, Macon, Perche, Arles, and Foix, all became his ; Normandy was formally made over to him by Henry III. His brother Charles of Anjou not only secured Provence for himself, and eventually for France, but by finally conquering the last of the Hohenstaufen secured, a doubtful good, French influence in southern Italy. Frederick II. had died in 1250 ; Manfred, his base-born son, became king of Naples ; and Charles, invoked against the hated Hohenstaufen by pope Urban IV., defeated Manfred in 1266, and his nephew Conradi, the last of the house, in 1268, thereby becoming king of the Two Sicilies. Then began that system of traditional savagery and cruelty which characterizes all the mediæval relations of France with Italy. The "Pragmatic Sanction of Saint Louis" is placed in the year 1269, and (if genuine, which is doubtful) laid down the maxims on which the liberties of the Gallican Church

1270-
1300.

are founded. The king and his lawyers were certainly quite as unwilling to allow the church as the baronage to win independence, and to plunge the kingdom into confusion.

Philip
III.

Philip III., the Rash, succeeded on his father's death,—an unlearned, weak man, whose history is uneventful, save that it is the period in which the foreign influence of France received a great check through the Sicilian Vespers (1282), which deprived Charles of Anjou of his throne, in spite of the urgent efforts of the papacy. Philip was also unlucky in his dealings with Aragon; on his return from an expedition into Spain, in which he ruined a great fleet and army, he fell ill and died, in 1285.

Philip
IV., the
Fair.

In 1274 the count of Champagne, Henry of Navarre, had died, leaving one child, a girl, three years old. She was affianced in 1276 to Philip, son of Philip III., and Navarre was thus brought into the French kingdom. And so it fell out that when Philip IV., the "Fair," that proud young prince, succeeded, he was already master of the fortunes of a larger France than had ever yet been known. Lawyers surrounded his throne from the beginning; he was the fitting leader in a great revival of the Roman law, that terrible enemy to feudalism and the mediæval papacy.

In the beginning of his reign Philip IV. worked by means of his lawyers; they put a stop, in large part, to clerical administration; the parliament fell completely into their hands, and ere long (1302) was permanently fixed at Paris, and became the chief legal authority in the realm. The king's fiscal necessities threatened to overwhelm him; the older system of sustenance, based on the royal domain, had completely given way. To this reign France owes the first beginnings of a formidable system of taxation; to Philip IV. is due the ill-sounding malâtote, the "ill-leved" tax. He seized what he could, wrung the Jews, confiscated the wealth of the Templars, turned everything into hard cash, sold privileges to towns, tampered with the coin; by sumptuary laws he succeeded in taxing even his nobles. This state of need and greed brought on the great strife of his reign, the quarrel with Boniface VIII. It was a many-sided struggle,—that of the temporal against the spiritual authority; that of the civil against the canon law; that of the lawyers against the clergy; that of France against Italy. Soon after his accession in 1294 Boniface VIII. had tried to mediate between the two great lawyer-princes, Edward I. of England and Philip the Fair. The kings took it much amiss; and when in 1296 Boniface issued the famous bull *Clericis laicos*, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the civil power unless the papal power sanctioned them, Philip answered by an ordinance which prohibited the export of valuables of all kinds from the kingdom. The pope's reply created open breach, and Philip let loose his lawyers on the Italian priests. The strife, however, was speedily allayed, and a seeming reconciliation took place over the canonization of Louis IX., which occurred on the anniversary of his death, St Bartholomew's day 1297. Boniface also mediated successfully between the French and English kings, securing a large part of Aquitaine to France. It was, however, but a truce, which enabled Philip, not only to win this portion of Aquitaine, but to attach to himself the friendship of the duke of Brittany, and to occupy Flanders. So things went on till the year of jubilee, 1300, when Boniface seemed to have been lifted up above all the princes of the earth. About this time the pope nominated as his legate in France Saisset bishop of Pamiers, an open foe to the French crown. He made use of his new authority to stir up strife in the south, and Philip IV. arrested him at Pamiers as a traitor. Forthwith the old strife broke out again,—a terrible war of words ensuing, lawyer's pamphlets

met by papal bulls, which affirmed (as in the great *Ausculta filii* bull) the supremacy of the pope over all kings. The king threw himself on the patriotism of his people, and called together the three Estates of France, nobles, clergy, and burghers, to sit at Paris and consider his grievances. The nobles and burghers spoke out bravely for their king against the papal claims; the clergy applied for leave to attend the council convoked at Rome. Their request was refused; if they went their goods would be forfeited.

Just before this had broken out a revolt at Bruges (1302), in which the enraged Flemish had risen on and destroyed their new masters; the French nobles, eager for vengeance and spoil, hastily assembled and marched northwards, under the guidance of Robert of Artois; hard by Courtrai the Flemish burghers, led by Guy of Namur, inflicted on them the worst defeat ever yet sustained by French chivalry; the "Day of the Spurs" was a fitting name for a carnage after which four thousand gilt spurs were hung as trophies in Courtrai cathedral.

The foremost men of France had perished in a ditch; and though for the moment Boniface rejoiced, and deemed his rival to be ruined, in the event this overthrow of feudalism turned completely to the king's advantage. The bishops, thinking also that the royal power was broken, set forth for Rome. For the moment even Philip seemed to lose confidence, and the papacy enunciated its highest claims. The king, however, soon recovered force; he made peace with Edward of England, ceding Guienne to him, and marrying his daughter Isabella to the younger Edward. It was now that he debased the coin and imposed the odious malâtote. William of Nogaret was sent to Italy to lodge with the pope the king's appeal from his authority to a general council and a legitimate pope. In reply the pope announced that he was about to lay an interdict on the kingdom. Then Nogaret called in the help of the Colonnas, the family foes of Boniface, who gladly seized the pope at Anagni; the mortifications and privations of the moment were too much for the aged pontiff, and though the Romans delivered him from captivity, he gave way and died. Thus was Philip IV. delivered from his worst antagonist. In 1304 he made peace with the Flemish, giving up his claim to Flanders, and drawing himself together to complete his victory over the papacy. In 1305 he succeeded in forcing on the conclave of cardinals his nominee Bertrand de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, who became pope as Clement V., and was consecrated at Lyons; then the great "captivity" began. Clement, as the price of his elevation, cancelled the bulls of Boniface, and pardoned the king's lawyers; he created nine French cardinals, so as to secure the king's influence in the conclave. Philip pressed him to condemn the memory of Boniface, and to consent to the ruin of the Templars; this, however, the poor pope avoided, with pretexts sufficient for the time. When Philip pressed him still more closely, for the Templars were rich and unpopular, and busy rumour had darkened their character with fancied details of unholy crimes, Clement endeavoured to escape by flight. The king arrested him, and brought him back to Poitiers. In 1309 this miserable pontiff was allowed to travel southward, though Philip absolutely refused to let him return to Rome, and was fain to fix his seat at Avignon on the Rhone, a city then in the possession of Charles V. of Anjou, and hard by the papal county of the Venaissin. Here the papacy abode in discredit and subjection to the French crown for seventy years.

The condemnation of Boniface was deferred awhile; it was but a barren revenge, and the Templars were a richer spoil. In spite of their heroic defence and resistance, they were condemned in 1310, and perished as martyrs to their cause. In 1312 the abolition of the Order was

1314-28, decreed by Clement V., and their wealth, in large part, fell into the king's hands. These gloomy years fitly close the reign of Philip IV.; he died in 1314 from the effects of a hunting accident. He had not added much to the dimensions of the kingdom; the addition of Lyons (1312) was his greatest achievement in this way; he had immensely increased the royal authority at home, and had triumphed over the papacy, the conqueror of the empire.

The sons of Philip IV. died, leaving three sons, who all succeeded of Philip him. In the house of Capet, there had hitherto been alternately weak and strong monarchs; now, however, the vigour of the race was gone. The reign of Louis X., "le Hutin," the quarreller, was brief and unimportant; it was naturally enough a time of reaction, in which things seemed to fall back into feudal anarchy and weakness. There was great distress and famine in France in 1315-1316, and a campaign against the Flemings was a complete failure. In June 1316 Louis died, leaving his queen with child. She bore a son, named John, who lived seven days, being during that time nominal king of France; on his death, the late king's next brother Philip V., "the Tall," succeeded to the throne, basing his claims on the so-styled Salic law of France, according to which "no woman could succeed to Salian soil," and, *a fortiori*, no woman could succeed to the Salian, that is, to the French throne. He reigned six miserable years, without credit, though he published not a few ordinances. He died in 1322, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Charles IV., "the Fair," whose six years' reign ended in 1328. With him the direct line of the house of Capet came to an end,—cursed with barrenness and incapacity, men held, by the curse of the dying Templiers.

The house of Valois. Charles, count of Valois, was the younger brother of Philip the Fair, and therefore uncle of the three sovereigns Valois, lately dead. His eldest son Philip had been appointed guardian to the queen of Charles IV.; and when it appeared that she had given birth to a daughter and not a son, the barons, joining with the notables of Paris and the good towns, met to decide who was by right the heir to the throne, "for the twelve peers of France said and say that the crown of France is of such noble estate that by no succession can it come to a woman nor to a woman's son," as Froissart tells us. This being their view, the baby daughter of Charles IV. was at once set aside, and the claim of Edward III. of England, if, indeed, he ever made it, rested on Isabella of France, his mother, sister of the three sovereigns. And if succession through a female had been possible, then the daughters of those three kings had rights to be reserved. It was, however, clear that the throne must go to a man, and the crown was given to Philip of Valois, founder of a new house of sovereigns.

Philip VI. The new monarch was a very formidable person. He had been a great feudal lord, hot and vehement, after feudal fashion; he was now to show that he could be a severe master, a terrible king. He began his reign by subduing the revolted Flemings on behalf of his cousin Louis of Flanders, and having replaced him in his dignities, returned to Paris, and there held high state as king. And he clearly was a great sovereign: the weakness of the late king had not seriously injured France; the new king was the elect of the great lords, and they believed that his would be a new feudal monarchy; they were in the glow of their revenge over the Flemings for the day of Courtrai; his cousins reigned in Hungary and Naples, his sisters were married to the greatest of the lords; the queen of Navarre was his cousin; even the youthful king of England did him homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. The barons soon found out their mistake. Philip VI., supported by the lawyers, struck them whenever they gave him open-

ing; he also dealt harshly with the traders, hampering and all but ruining them, till the country was alarmed and discontented. On the other hand, young Edward of England had succeeded to a troubled inheritance, and at the beginning was far weaker than his rival; his own sagacity, and the advance of constitutional rights in England, soon enabled him to repair the breaches in his kingdom, and to gather fresh strength from the prosperity and good-will of a united people. While France followed a more restrictive policy, England threw open her ports to all comers; trade grew in London as it waned in Paris; by his marriage with Philippa of Hainault, Edward secured a noble queen, and with her the happiness of his subjects and the all-important friendship of the Low Countries. In 1336 the folly of Philip VI. persuaded Louis of Flanders to arrest the English merchants then in Flanders; whereon Edward retaliated by stopping the export of wool; and Jacquemart van Arteveldt of Ghent, then at the beginning of his power, and persuaded the Flemish cities to throw off all allegiance to France. Their French-loving count, and to place themselves under the protection of Edward. In return Philip VI. put himself in communication with the Scots, the hereditary foes of England; and the great wars which were destined to last 116 years, and to exhaust the strength of two strong nations, were now about to begin. They brought brilliant and barren triumphs to England, and, like most wars, were a wasteful and terrible mistake, which, if crowned with ultimate success, might, by removing the centre of the kingdom into France, have marred the future welfare of England; for the happy constitutional development of the country could never have taken place with a sovereign living at Paris, and French interests becoming ever more powerful. Fortunately, therefore, while the war evoked by its brilliant successes the national pride of Englishmen, by its eventual failure it was prevented from inflicting permanent damage on England.

The war began in 1337, and ended in 1453; the epochs in it are the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, the treaty of Troyes in 1422, the final expulsion of the English in 1453.

The French king seems to have believed himself equal to the burdens of a great war, and able to carry out the "Hundred Years' War." The French king seems to have believed himself equal to the burdens of a great war, and able to carry out the "Hundred Years' War." The pope was entirely in his hands, and useful as a humble instrument to curb and harass the emperor. Philip had proved himself master of the Flemish, and, with help of the king of Scotland, hoped so to embarrass Edward III. as to have no difficulty in eventually driving him to cede all his French possessions. While he thought it his interest to wear out his antagonist without any open fighting, it was Edward's interest to make vigorous and striking war. France therefore stood on the defensive; England was always the attacking party. On two sides, in Flanders and in Brittany, France had outposts which, if well-defended, might long keep the English power far away from her vitals. Unluckily for his side, Philip was harsh and rash, and threw these advantages away. In Flanders the repressive commercial policy of the count, dictated from Paris, gave Edward the opportunity, in the end of 1337, of sending the earl of Derby with a strong fleet to raise the blockade of Cadiz, and to open the Flemish markets by a brilliant action, in which the French chivalry was found powerless against the English yeomen-archers; and in 1338 Edward crossed over to Antwerp to see what forward movement could be made. The other frontier war was that of Brittany, which began a little later (1341). The openings of the war were gloomy and wasteful, without glory. Edward did not actually send defiance to Philip till 1339, when he proclaimed himself king of France, and quartered the lilies of France on the royal shield. The Flemish proved a very reed; and though the French army came up to meet the English in the

1339-50. Vermandois country, no fighting took place, and the campaign of 1339 ended obscurely. Norman and Genoese ships threatened the southern shores of England, landing at Southampton and in the Isle of Wight unopposed. In 1340 Edward returned to Flanders; on his way he attacked the French fleet which lay at Sluys, and utterly destroyed it. The great victory of Sluys gave England for centuries the mastery of the British Channel. But, important as it was, it gave no success to the land-campaign. Edward wasted his strength on an unsuccessful siege of Tournai, and, ill-supported by his Flemish allies, could achieve nothing. The French king in this year seized on Guienne; and from Scotland tidings came that Edinburgh castle, the strongest place held by the English, had fallen into the hands of Douglas. Neither from Flanders nor from Guienne could Edward hope to reach the heart of the French power; a third inlet now presented itself in Brittany. On the death of John III. of Brittany in 1341, John of Montfort, his youngest brother, claimed the great fief against his niece Jeanne, daughter of his elder brother Guy, count of Penthièvre. He urged that the Salic law which had been recognized in the case of the crown, should also apply to this great duchy, so nearly an independent sovereignty. Jeanne had been married to Charles of Blois, whom John III. of Brittany had chosen as his heir; Charles was also nephew of king Philip, who gladly espoused his cause. Thereon John of Montfort appealed to Edward, and the two kings again met in border strife in Brittany. The Bretons sided with John against the influence of France. Both the claimants were made prisoners; the ladies carried on a chivalric warfare, Jeanne of Montfort against Jeanne of Blois, and all went favourably for the French party till Philip, with a barbarity as foolish as it was scandalous, tempted the chief Breton lords to Paris and beheaded them without trial. The war, suspended by a truce, broke out again, and the English raised large forces and supplies, meaning to attack on three sides at once,—from Flanders, Brittany, and Guienne. The Flemish expedition came to nothing; for the people of Ghent in 1345 murdered Jacques van Artevelde as he was endeavouring to persuade them to receive the Prince of Wales as their count; and Edward, on learning this adverse news, returned to England. Thence in July 1346 he sailed for Normandy, and landing at La Hogue overran with ease the country up to Paris. He was not, however, strong enough to attack the capital, for Philip lay with a large army watching him at St Denis. After a short hesitation Edward crossed the Seine at Poissy, and struck northwards, closely followed by Philip. He got across the Somme safely, and at Crécy in Ponthieu stood at bay to await the French. Though his numbers were far less than theirs, he had a good position, and his men were of good stuff; and when it came to the battle, the defeat of the French was crushing. Philip had to fall back with his shattered army; Edward withdrew unmolested to Calais, which he took after a long siege in 1347. Philip had been obliged to call up his son John from the south, where he was observing the English under the earl of Derby; thereupon the English overran all the south, taking Pritiers, and finding no opposition. Queen Philippa of Hainault had also defeated and taken David of Scotland at Neville's Cross.

The campaign of 1346-1347 was on all hands disastrous to King Philip. He sued for and obtained a truce for ten months. These were the days of the "black death," which raged in France from 1347 to 1349, and completed the gloom of the country, vexed by an arbitrary and grasping monarch, by unsuccessful war, and now by the black cloud of pestilence. In 1350 King Philip died, leaving his crown to John of Normandy. He had added two districts and a title to France: he bought Montpellier from James

of Aragon, and in 1349 also bought the territories of 1349-56. Humbert, dauphin of Vienne, who resigned the world, under influence of the revived religion of the time, a consequence of the plague, and became a Carmelite friar. The fief and the title of dauphin were granted to Charles, the king's grandson, who was the first person who attached that title to the heir to the French throne. Apart from these small advantages the kingdom of France had suffered terribly from the reign of the false and heartless Philip VI. Nor was France destined to enjoy better things under John "the Good," one of the worst sovereigns with John whom she has been cursed. He took as his model and "the Good," example the chivalric John of Bohemia, who had been one of the most extravagant and worthless of the princes of his time, and had perished in his old age at Crécy. The first act of the new king was to take from his kinsman, Charles "the Bad" of Navarre, Champagne and other lands; and Charles went over to the English king. King John was keen to fight; the States-General gave him the means for carrying on war, by establishing the odious "gabelle" on salt and other imposts. John hoped with his new army to drive the English completely out of the country. Petty war began again on all the frontiers,—an abortive attack on Calais, a guerilla warfare in Brittany, slight fighting also in Guienne. Edward in 1355 landed at Calais, but was recalled to pacify Scotland; Charles of Navarre and the duke of Lancaster were on the Breton border; the Black Prince sailed for Bordeaux. In 1356 he rode northward with a small army to the Loire, and King John, hastily summoning all his nobles and fiefholders, set out to meet him. Hereon the Black Prince, whose forces were weak, began to retreat; but the French king outmarched and intercepted him near Poitiers. He had the English completely in his power, and with a little patience could have starved them into submission; instead, he deemed it his chivalric duty to avenge Crécy in arms, and the great battle of Poitiers was the result (19th September 1356). The carnage and utter ruin of the French feudal army was quite incredible; the dead seemed more than the whole army of the Black Prince; the prisoners were too many to be held. The French army, bereft of leaders, melted away, and the Black Prince rode triumphantly back to Bordeaux with the captive King John and his brave little son in his train. A two years' truce ensued; King John was carried over to London, where he found a fellow in misfortune in David of Scotland, who had been for 11 years a captive in English hands. The utter degradation of the nobles, and the misery of the country, gave to the cities of France an opportunity which one great man, Étienne Marcel, provost of the traders at Paris, was not slow to grasp. He fortified the capital and armed the citizens; the civic clergy made common cause with him; and when the dauphin Charles convoked the three Estates at Paris, it was soon seen that the nobles had become completely discredited and powerless. It was a moment in which a new life might have begun for France; in vain did the noble order clamour for war and taxes,—they to do the war, with what skill and success all men now knew, and the others to pay the taxes. Clergy, however, and burghers resisted. The Estates parted, leaving what power there was still in France in the hands of Étienne Marcel. He strove in vain to reconcile Charles the dauphin with Charles of Navarre, who stood forward as a champion of the towns. Very reluctantly did Marcel entrust his fortunes to such hands. With help of Lecocq, bishop of Laon, he called the Estates again together, and endeavoured to lay down sound principles of government, which Charles the dauphin was compelled to accept. Paris, however, stood alone, and even there all were not agreed. Marcel and Bishop

- 1358-64. Leecocq, seeing the critical state of things, obtained the release of Charles of Navarre, then a prisoner. The result was that ere long the dauphin-regent was at open war with Navarre and with Paris. The outbreak of the miserable peasantry, the Jacquerie, who fought partly for revenge against the nobles, partly to help Paris, darkened the time; they were repressed with savage bloodshed, and in 1358 the dauphin's party in Paris assassinated the only great man France had seen for long. With Etienne Marcel's death all hope of a constitutional life died out from France; the dauphin entered Paris, and set his foot on the conquered liberties of his country. Paris had stood almost alone; civic strength is wanting in France; the towns but feebly supported Marcel; they compelled the movement to lose its popular and general character, and to become a first attempt to govern France from Paris alone. After some in sincere negotiations, and a fear of desultory warfare, in which Edward III. traversed France without meeting with a single foe to fight, peace was at last agreed to at Bretigny in May 1360. By this act Edward III. renounced the French throne, and gave up all he claimed or held north of the Loire, while he was secured in the lordship of the south and west, as well as of that part of northern Picardy which included Calais, Guines, and Ponthieu. The treaty also fixed the ransom to be paid by King John.

The peace of Brahman

France was left smaller than she had been under Philip Augustus, yet she received this treaty with infinite thankfulness ; worn out with war and weakness, any diminution of territory seemed better to her than a continuance of her unbearable misfortunes. Under Charles, first as regent, then as king, she enjoyed an uneasy rest and peace for 20 years. The monarchy was disgraced by failure and captivity ; the nobles weakened and discredited in war and peace, headed by factious and self-seeking lords, could offer no hope for France ; the cities had shown, during the effort of Marcel, that rare man of energy and genius, that they were unfit to take the command ; the Jacquerie had declared the peasantry to be wretched and powerless ; the black death with equal hand had smitten all, and had shown with lurid light the scandalous manners of the Avignon papacy, the want of patriotic or religious energy in the clergy ; the country was pitilessly ravaged by the free companies, the inheritance of the war. In all Europe it was a dark and gloomy time ; in France men might well despair. King John, after returning for a brief space to France, went back into his pleasant captivity in England, leaving his country to be ruled by the regent the dauphin.

In 1364 he died, and Charles V., "the Wise," became king in name, as he had now been for some years in fact. This cold, prudent, sickly prince, a scholar who laid the foundations of the great library of Paris by placing 900 MSS. in three chambers in the Louvre, had nothing to dazzle the ordinary eye; to the timid spirits of that age he seemed to be a malevolent wizard, and his name of "Wise" had in it more of fear than of love. Yet he was a successful prince for the times; he discerned that nothing could be gained by fighting battles,—that Ennius had given him the clue to victory in describing Fabius as one who "cunctando restituit rom"; and he had the passive coldness of heart needful to carry out such a plan. He also is notable for two things: he reformed the current coin, and

Du Guesclin was notable for two things: he reformed the current coin, and recognized the real worth of Du Guesclin, the first great leader of mercenaries in France, a grim fighting-man, hostile to the show of feudal warfare, and herald of a new age of contests, in which the feudal levies would fall into the background. The invention of gunpowder in this century, the incapacity of the great lords, the rise of free lances and mercenary troops, all told that a new era had arrived. It was by the hand of Du Guesclin that Charles overcame his cousin and namesake Charles of Navarre, and

compelled him to peace. On the other hand, in the Breton war which followed just after, he was defeated by Sir John Chandos and the partisans of John of Montfort, who made him prisoner; the treaty of Guerande which followed gave them the dukedom of Brittany; and Charles V., unable to resist, was fain to receive the new duke's homage, and to confirm him in the duchy. The king did not rest till he had ransomed Du Guesclin from the hands of Chandos; he then gave him commission to raise a paid army of freebooters, the scourge of France, and to march with them to support, against the Black Prince, the claims of Henry of Trastamare to the crown of Castile. Successful at first, by help of the king of Aragon, he was made constable of Spain at the coronation of Henry at Burgos; Edward the Black Prince, however, intervened, and at the battle of Najara (1367) Du Guesclin was again a prisoner in English hands, and Henry lost his throne. Fever destroyed the victorious host, and the Black Prince, withdrawing into Gascony, carried with him the seeds of the disorder which shortened his days. Du Guesclin soon got his liberty again; and Charles V., seeing how much his great rival of England was weakened, determined at last on open war. He allied himself with Henry of Trastamare, listened to the grievances of the Aquitanians, summoned the Black Prince to appear and answer the complaints. In 1369 Henry defeated Pedro, took him prisoner, and murdered him in a brawl; thus perished the hopes of the English party in the south. About the same time Charles V. sent open defiance and declaration of war to England. Without delay he surprised the English in the north, recovering all Ponthieu at once; the national pride was aroused; Philip, duke of Burgundy, who had, through the prudent help of Charles, lately won as a bride the heiress of Flanders, was stationed at Rognon, to cover the western approach to Paris, with strict orders not to fight; the Aquitanians were more than half French at heart. The record of the war is as the smoke of a furnace. We see the reek of burnt and plundered towns; there were no brilliant feasts of arms; the Black Prince, gloomy and sick, abandoned the struggle, and returned to England to die; the new governor, the earl of Pembroke, did not even succeed in landing: he was attacked and defeated off Rochelle by Henry of Castille, his whole fleet with all its treasure and stores taken or sunk, and he himself was a prisoner in Henry's hands. Du Guesclin had already driven the English out of the west into Brittany; he now overran Poitou, which received him gladly; all the south seemed to be at his feet. The attempt of Edward III. to relieve the little that remained to him in France failed utterly, and by 1372 Poitou was finally lost to England. Charles set himself to reduce Brittany with considerable success; a diversion from Calais caused plentiful misery in the open country; but, as the French again refused to fight, it did nothing to restore the English cause. By 1375 England held nothing in France except Calais, Cherbourg, Bayonne, and Bordeaux. Edward III., utterly worn out with war, agreed to a truce, through intervention of the pope; it was signed in 1375. In 1377, on its expiry, Charles, who in the two years had sedulously improved the state of France, renewed the war. By sea and land the English were utterly overmatched, and by 1378 Charles was master of the situation on all hands. Now, however, he pushed his advantages too far; and the cold skill which had overthrown the English was used in vain against the Bretons, whose duchy he desired to absorb. Languedoc and Flanders also revolted against him. France was heavily burdened with taxes, and the future was dark and threatening. In the midst of these things, death overtook the coldly-calculating monarch in September 1380.

Little had France to hope from the boy who was now

1380-90. called on to fill the throne. Charles VI was not twelve years old, a light-witted, handsome boy, under the guardianship of the royal dukes his uncles, who had no principles except that of their own interest to guide them in bringing up the king and ruling the people. They selfishly quarrelled round his person; the duke of Anjou stole his money and set off to make good his claims on Naples and Sicily; the duke of Burgundy had great prospects in the Low Countries; the duke of Berri ruled in southern France, and was a man of no character or worth; the duke of Bourbon, the late king's brother-in-law, with Burgundy, had charge of the boy's education; Oliver Clisson was made constable of France in the room of Du Guesclin. Before Charles VI had reached years of discretion he was involved by the French nobles in war against the Flemish cities, which, under guidance of the great Philip van Arteveldt, had overthrown the authority of the count of Flanders. The French cities showed ominous signs of being inclined to ally themselves with the civic movement in the north. The men of Ghent came out to meet their French foes, and at the battle of Roosebek (1382) were utterly defeated and crushed. Philip van Arteveldt himself was slain. It was a great triumph of the nobles over the cities; and Paris felt it when the king returned. All movement there and in the other northern cities of France was ruthlessly repressed; the noble reaction also overthrew the "new men" and the lawyers, by whose means the late king had chiefly governed. Two years later, the royal dukes signed a truce with England, including Ghent in it; and Louis de Male, count of Flanders, having perished at the same time, Margaret, his daughter, wife of Philip of Burgundy, succeeded to his inheritance (1384). Thus began the high fortunes of the house of Burgundy, which at one time seemed to overshadow emperor and king of France. In 1385 another of the brothers, Louis, duke of Anjou, died, with all his Italian ambitions unfulfilled. In 1386 Charles VI, under guidance of his uncles, declared war on England, and exhausted all France in preparations; the attempt proved the sorriest failure. The regency of the dukes became daily more unpopular, until in 1388 Charles dismissed his two uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, and began to rule. For a while all went much better; he recalled his father's friends and advisers, lightened the burdens of the people, allowed the new ministers free hand in making prudent government; and learning how bad had been the state of the south under the duke of Berri, deprived him of that command in 1390. Men thought that the young king, if not good himself, was well content to allow good men to govern in his name; at any rate the rule of the selfish dukes seemed to be over. Their bad influences, however, still surrounded him; an attempt to assassinate Oliver Clisson the constable was connected with their intrigues and those of the duke of Brittany; and in setting forth to punish the attempt on his favourite the constable, the unlucky young king, who had sapped his health by debauchery, suddenly became mad. The dukes of Burgundy and Berri at once seized the reins, and put aside his brother the young duke of Orleans. It was the beginning of that great civil discord between Burgundy and Orleans, the Burgundians and Armagnacs, which worked so much ill for France in the earlier part of the next century. The rule of the uncles was disastrous for France; no good government seemed even possible for that unhappy land. From time to time the unfortunate king had lucid intervals; he seems even to have tried to put a stop to the great schism of the West, that struggle between rival popes, the scandalous quarrel of "Urbanists," followers of Urban VI., elected at Rome (in 1378) in opposition to the French power, and of "Clementines,"

followers of the Avignon pope, Clement VII. But his lucid intervals were too short and few; and the French court ¹³⁹⁰⁻³⁰ was also too much engaged in the Burgundian and Orleanist contest to care much for the peace of the church. There is no more gloomy period of French history than the coming 50 years. It is the record of party strife of a mean and unscrupulous kind, in which also Paris begins her new rôle of partisan. The struggle in the 15th century between royalty and aristocracy is an unlovely sight, whether it be watched in England, in Germany, or in France. In France the contest took a peculiar form; the whole country seemed to be arrayed under two hostile banners—that of the house of Burgundy, and that of the duke of Orleans. The house of Burgundy was headed by men of grasp and power, and its party bore the name of Burgundians, little as it expressed the true position; while the duke of Orleans was a mean and foolish person, and his party did not go by his name, but, by some accident, took that of the count of Armagnac, who was father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, and a prince of great name and vigour in the south of France. The duke of Burgundy was Philip the Bold, fourth son of King John of France, to whom his father had granted the duchy on the death of Philip de Rouvres, who had left no heirs, so that his inheritance had escheated to the crown. The duke was therefore uncle to Charles VI, and to his rival in France, Louis, duke of Orleans. By his marriage with Margaret of Flanders, to whom the county of Burgundy had descended by female succession, he reunited the duchy and county, and also became lord of Flanders. Though the county (Franche Comté) carried him to the east of France into the empire, his chief power lay in the north. His connexion with Germany led him to espouse the side of the Urbanists against the corrupt Avignon papacy. The policy of the duke made him popular with the cities of the north of France, and specially with Paris—a popularity in no way impaired by his terrible punishment of Liège, which opposed him in 1408; that policy professed to relieve the cities of their worst burdens, and to give them a position of some independence in the presence of their unhappy sovereign and the corrupt court around him. In his foreign politics the duke had also added much to his strength by supporting the house of Lancaster in its successful attack on Richard II; the friendship of Henry IV. and Henry V. of England was the result. In resources the house of Burgundy was deemed the richest in the world, and its magnificence on great occasions rivalled all that had been dreamt in fable. Lastly, while the French monarchs were a weary series of diseased or dissolute princes, their Burgundian cousins were all strong men,—men of faults enough, no doubt, but not of weak vices.

On the other hand, the duke of Orleans, with his following of nobles, was of the south; all his strength lay beyond the Loire, and his party represented the old aristocracy against the modern princes and the popular instincts of the cities. There is no greater mistake than that of speaking of the Burgundian dukes as the last great leaders of feudalism; the feudalism of the age was far more definitely on the side of the Armagnacs. In his church politics Orleans supported the southern Avignon pope against the Germanic and Italian Urbanists; in his foreign politics he and the court went with the losing Yorkist party in England, Richard II. having in 1396 espoused Isabelle of Valois, eldest daughter of Charles VI. At the beginning the Armagnacs were a mere court and noble party; no general or patriotic feelings seemed to be in question; as, however, time went on, and the house of Burgundy drew closer and closer to that of Lancaster, and when England and Burgundy in the days of Henry V. and Bedford seemed to be subjecting France for ever to the foreigner, then the Armagnac party gradually asserted

1404-18. a far higher position for itself, took up the national cause, and rousing the hitherto unconscious patriotism of the people, swept away the invader and his friends.

Party strife in France. An obscure strife went on until 1404, when Duke Philip of Burgundy died, leaving his vast inheritance to John the Fearless, the deadly foe of Louis of Orleans. Paris was with him, as with his father before him; the duke entered the capital in 1405, and issued a popular proclamation against the ill-government of the queen-regent and Orleans. Much profession of a desire for better things was made, with small results. So things went on till 1407, when, after the duke of Berri, who tried to play the part of a mediator, had brought the two princes together, the duke of Orleans was foully assassinated by a Burgundian partisan. The duke of Burgundy, though he at first withdrew from Paris, speedily returned, avowed the act, and was received with plaudits by the mob. For a few years the strife continued, obscure and bad; a great league of French princes and nobles was made to stem the success of the Burgundians; and it was about this time that the Armagnac name became common. Paris, however, dominated by the "Cabochians," the butchers' party, the party of the "marrowbones and cleavers," and entirely devoted to the Burgundians, enabled John the Fearless to hold his own in France; the king himself seemed favourable to the same party. In 1412 the princes were obliged to come to terms, and the Burgundian triumph seemed complete. In 1413 the wheel went round, and we find the Armagnacs in Paris, rudely sweeping away all the Cabochians with their professions of good civic rule. The duke of Berri was made captain of Paris, and for a while all went against the Burgundians, until in 1414 Duke John was fain to make the first peace of Arras, and to confess himself worsted in the strife. The young dauphin Louis took the nominal lead of the national party, and, ruled supreme in Paris in great ease and self-indulgence.

Henry V. of England. The year before Henry V. had succeeded to the throne of England,—a bright and vigorous young man, eager to be stirring in the world, brave and fearless, with a stern grasp of things beneath all,—a very sheet anchor of firmness and determined character. Almost at the very opening of his reign, the moment he had secured his throne, he began a negotiation with France which boded no good. He offered to marry Catharine, the king's third daughter, and therewith to renew the old treaty of Bretigny, if her dower were Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, not without a good sum of money. The French court, on the other hand, offered him her hand with Aquitaine and the money, an offer rejected instantly; and Henry made ready for a rough wooing in arms. In 1415 he crossed to Harfleur, and while parties still fought in France, after a long and exhausting siege took the place; thence he rode northward for Calais, feeling his army too much reduced to attempt more. The Armagnacs, who had gathered at Rouen, also pushed fast to the north, and having choice of passage over the Somme, Amiens being in their hands, got before King Henry, while he had to make a long round before he could get across that stream. Consequently, when on his way he reached Azincourt, he found the whole chivalry of France arrayed against him in his path. The great battle of Azincourt followed, with frightful ruin and carnage of the French. With a huge crowd of prisoners the young king passed on to Calais, and thence to England. The Armagnacs' party lay buried in the hasty graves of Azincourt; never had there been such slaughter of nobles. Still, for three years they made head against their foes; till in 1418 the duke of Burgundy's friends opened Paris' gates to his soldiers, and for the time the Armagnacs seemed to be completely defeated; only the dauphin Charles made feeble war from Poitiers. Henry V. with a

fresh army had already made another descent on the 1417-29. Normandy coast; the dukes of Anjou, Brittany, and Burgundy made several and independent treaties with him; and it seemed as though France had completely fallen in pieces. Henry took Rouen, and although the common peril somewhat silenced the strife of faction, no steps were taken to meet him or check his course; on the contrary, matters were made even more hopeless by the murder of John, duke of Burgundy, in 1419, even as he was kneeling and offering reconciliation at the young dauphin's feet. The young Duke Philip now drew at once towards Henry, whom his father had apparently wished with sincerity to check; Paris, too, was weary of the Armagnac struggle, and desired to welcome Henry of England; the queen of France also went over to the Anglo-Burgundian side. The end of it was that on May 21, 1420, was signed the famous treaty of Troyes, which secured the crown of France to Henry, by the The exclusion of the dauphin Charles, whenever poor mad Charles VI. should cease to live. Meanwhile Henry was made regent of France, promising to maintain all rights and privileges of the parliament and nobles, and to crush the dauphin with his Armagnac friends, in token whereof he was at once wedded to Catharine of France, and set forth to quell the opposition of the provinces. By Christmas all France north of the Loire was in English hands. All the lands to the south of the river remained firmly fixed in their allegiance to the dauphin and the Armagnacs, and these began to feel themselves to be the true French party, as opposed to the foreign rule of the English. For barely two years that rule was carried on by Henry V. with inflexible justice, and northern France saw with amazement the presence of a real king and an orderly government. In 1422 King Henry died; a few weeks later Charles VI. died also; and the face of affairs began to change, although at the first Charles VII. the "Well-served," the lazy, listless Charles prince, seemed to have little heart for the perils and efforts VII. of his position. He was proclaimed king at Mehun in Berri, for the true France for the time lay on that side of the Loire; and the regent Bedford, who took the reins at Paris, was a vigorous and powerful prince, who was not likely to give way to an idle dreamer. At the outset Charles suffered two defeats, at Crevant in 1423 and at Verneuil in 1424, and things seemed to be come to their worst. Yet he was prudent, conciliatory, and willing to wait; and as the English power in France,—that triangle of which the base was the sea line from Harfleur to Calais, and the apex Paris,—was unnatural, and far from being really strong, and as the relations between Bedford and Burgundy might not always be friendly, the man who could wait had many chances in his favour. Before long things began to mend; Charles wedded Mary of Anjou, and won over that great house to the French side; more and more was he regarded as the nation's king; symptoms of a wish for reconciliation with Burgundy appeared; the most vehement Armagnacs were sent away from court. Causes of disagreement also shook the friendship between Burgundy and England.

Feeling the evils of inaction most, Bedford in 1428 decided on a forward movement, and sent the earl of Salisbury to the south. He first secured his position on the north of the Loire, then, crossing that river, laid siege to Orleans, the key to the south, and the last bulwark of the national party. All efforts to vex or dislodge him failed; the attempt early in 1429 to stop the English supplies was completely defeated at Bouvray; from the salt fish captured, the battle has taken the name of "the Day of the Herrings." Dunois, bastard of Orleans, was wounded; the Scots, the king's bodyguard, on whom fell ever the grimdest of the fighting, suffered terribly, and their leader was killed. All went well for Bedford, till it suited the duke of Burgundy to withdraw from his side, carrying

1429-31. with him a large part of the fighting power of the besiegers. Things were already looking rather gloomy in the English camp, when a new and unexpected rumour struck all hearts cold with fear. A virgin, an Amazon, had been raised up as a deliverer for France, and would soon be on them, armed with mysterious powers.

The Maid of Orleans. A young peasant girl, one Jeanne Darc, had been brought up in the village of Domrémy, hard by the Lorraine border. The district, always French in feeling, had lately suffered much from Burgundian raids; and this young damsel, brooding over the treatment of her village and her country, and filled with that strange vision-power which is no rare phenomenon in itself with young girls, came at last to believe with warm and active faith in heavenly appearances and messages, all urging her to deliver France and her king. From faith to action the bridge is short; and ere long the young dreamer of seventeen set forth to work her miracle. Her history is quite unique in the world; and though probably France would ere many years have shaken off the English yoke, for its strength was rapidly going, still to her is the credit of having proved its weakness, and of having asserted the triumphant power of a great belief. All gave way before her; Charles VII., persuaded doubtless by his mother-in-law Yolande of Aragon, who warmly espoused her cause, listened readily to the maiden's voice; and as that voice urged only what was noble and pure, she carried conviction as she went. In the end she received the king's commission to undertake the relief of Orleans. Her coming was fresh blood to the defence; a new spirit seemed to be poured out on all her followers, and in like manner a deep dejection settled down on the English. The blockade was forced, and in eight days the besiegers raised the siege and marched away. They withdrew to Jargeau, where they were attacked and routed with great loss. A little later Talbot himself, who had marched to help them, was also defeated and taken. Then, compelling Charles to come out from his inglorious ease, she carried him triumphantly with her to Rheims, where he was duly crowned king, the Maid of Orleans standing by, and holding aloft the royal standard.

She would gladly have gone home to Domrémy now, her mission being accomplished; for she was entirely free from all ambitious or secondary aims. But she was too great a power to be spared. Northern France was still in English hands, and till the English were cast out her work was not complete; so they made her stay, sweet child, to do the work which, had there been any manliness in them, they ought to have found it easy to achieve for themselves. The dread of her went before her,—a pillar of cloud and darkness to the English, but light and hope to her countrymen. Men believed that she was called of God to regenerate the world, to destroy the Saracen at last, to bring in the millennial age. Her statue was set up in the churches, and crowds prayed before her image as before a popular saint.

The incapacity and ill-faith of those round the king gave the English some time to recover themselves; Bedford and Burgundy drew together again, and steps were taken to secure Paris. When, however, Jeanne, weary of courtly delays, marched, contemptuous of the king, as far as to St Denis, friends sprang up on every side. In Normandy, on the English line of communications, four strong places were surprised; and Bedford, made timid as to his supplies, fell back to Rouen, leaving only a small garrison in Paris. Jeanne, ill-supported by the royal troops, failed in her attack on the city walls, and was made prisoner by the Burgundians; they handed her over to the English, and she was, after grievous indignities, and such treatment as chivalry alone could have dealt her, condemned as a witch, and burnt as a relapsed heretic at Rouen in 1431.

Betrayed by the French court, sold by the Burgundians, 1431-32. murdered by the English, unrescued by the people of France which she so much loved, Jeanne Darc died the martyr's death, a pious, simple soul, a heroine of the purest metal. She saved her country, for the English power never recovered from the shock. The churchmen who burnt her, the Frenchmen of the unpatriotic party, would have been amazed could they have foreseen that nearly 450 years afterwards, churchmen again would glorify her name as the saint of the church, in opposition to both the religious liberties and the national feelings of her country.

The war, after having greatly weakened the noblesse, and having caused infinite sufferings to France, now drew towards a close; the duke of Burgundy at last agreed to abandon his English allies, and at a great congress at Arras in 1435 signed a treaty with Charles VII., by which he treaty solemnly came over to the French side. On condition that he should get Auxerre and Macon as well as the towns on and near the river Somme, he was willing to recognize Charles as king of France. His price was high, yet it was worth all that was given; for after all he was of the French blood royal, and not a foreigner. The death of Bedford, which took place about the same time, was almost a more terrible blow to the fortunes of the English. Paris opened her gates to her king in April 1436; the long war kept on with slight movements now and then for several years. In these same days the council of Basel sat, and declared the supremacy of councils over the papacy; the long evils of schism had brought the pontiff very low. In connexion with this council Charles VII. in 1438 held a national council at Bourges, and enacted therein his Pragmatic Sanction, in which the French church repeated The conclusions of the Basel council, and affirmed the Pragmatic Sanction of the Gallican Church, in close connexion with its allegiance rather to the king than the pope; it also claimed of Bourges for capitular bodies and monasteries the right of electing their heads, declared the worst of the taxes levied by the papacy on the church illegal, and restrained the right of appeal to Rome. The French Church received the proclamation with gratitude and applause, while the papacy protested, and the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy refused to recognize it or adopt its principles within their dominions. It continued to be the church-law of France till the necessities of Francis I. bartered it away in 1516 for the Bologna concordat.

The next year was marked by the meeting of the States-General, and the establishment, in principle at least, of a standing army. The Estates petitioned the willing king that the system of finance in the realm should be remodelled, and a permanent tax established for the support of an army. Thus, it was thought, solidity would be given to the royal power, and the long standing curse of the freebooters and brigands cleared away. No sooner was this done than the nobles began to chafe under it; they scented in the air the coming troubles; they took as their head, poor innocents, the young dauphin Louis, who was willing enough to resist the concentration of power in royal hands. Their champion of 1439, the leader of the "Praguerie," as this new league was called, in imitation, it is said, of the Hussite movement at Prague, the enthusiastic guerie. defender of noble privilege against the royal power, was the man who afterwards, as Louis XI., was the destroyer of the noblesse on behalf of royalty. Some of the nobles stood firmly by the king, and, aided by them and by an army of paid soldiers serving under the new conditions, Charles VII., no contemptible antagonist when once aroused, attacked and overthrew the Praguerie: the cities and the country people would have none of it; they preferred peace under a king's strong hand. Louis was sent down to the east to govern Dauphiny; the lessons of

1441-53. the civil war were not lost on Charles; he crushed the freebooters of Champagne, drove the English out of Pontoise in 1441, moved actively up and down France, reducing anarchy, restoring order, resisting English attacks. In the last he was loyally supported by the dauphin, who was glad to find a field for his restless temper. He repulsed the English at Dieppe, and put down the count of Armagnac in the south. During the two years' truce with England which now followed, Charles VII. and Louis drew off their free-lances eastward, and the dauphin came into rude collision with the Swiss not far from Basel, in 1444. Some sixteen hundred mountaineers long and heroically withstood at Saint Jacob the attack of several thousand Frenchmen, fighting stubbornly till they all perished. It is said that the experience so dearly bought on the field of Saint Jacob was very useful to Louis in after days, when he was content to leave Charles the Bold to ruin himself by his attacks on Switzerland. The red wine grown on the slope of the graveyard where they fell is called "Schweitzer-blut," Swiss-blood, to this day. It was at this time also that the cardinal of Winchester wedded Henry VI. of England to Margaret of Anjou, the ambitious daughter of King René, the laughter-loving troubadour of Provence, who cared so much for poetry and so little for kingship. The king and dauphin returned to Paris, having defended their border-lands with credit, and having much reduced the numbers of the lawless free-lances. They next set themselves to organize a regular army of fifteen companies of one hundred lances (each lance representing six fighting men), led by fifteen captains appointed by the king, and raised in different districts of France. This army partly absorbed and partly crushed the troublesome free-lances, and became a powerful police, which restored security and made good government once more possible. Round his own person Charles placed those sturdy and faithful fighting men the Scottish guard; under John Stewart d'Aubigné they served the French king well, and at the end of his troubles were placed as a colony at St Martin d'Auxigny near Bourges, where their descendants still live in the enjoyment of special village-advantages, preserved to them by long use and tradition through all the changes of French history. This army, with the contingent due from the nobles, which was also reduced to order and made to receive pay, raised the power of the French monarchy far above anything that had as yet been seen; and had Charles VII. been more ambitious he might have begun to play the part reserved for his son. The dauphin, discontented again, was obliged once more to withdraw into Dauphiny, where he governed prudently and with activity.

In 1449 the last scene of the Anglo-French war began. In that year English adventurers landed on the Breton coast; the duke called the French king to his aid. Charles did not tarry this time; he broke the truce with England, sent Dunois into Normandy, and himself soon followed. In both duchies, Brittany and Normandy, the French were welcomed with delight; no love for England lingered in the west. Somerset and Talbot failed to defend Rouen, and were driven from point to point, till every stronghold was lost to them. Dunois then passed into Guienne, and in a few months Bayonne, the last stronghold of the English, fell into his hands (1451). When Talbot was sent over to Bordeaux with 5000 men to recover the south, the old English feeling revived,—for England was their best customer, and they had little in common with France. It was, however, but a last flicker of the flame; in July 1453, at the siege of Castillon, the aged Talbot was slain, and the war at once came to an end; the south passed finally into the kingdom of France. Normandy and Guienne were assimilated to France in taxation and army organization; and all that remained to England across the Channel was

Calais with Havre and Guines Castle. Her foreign ambitions and struggles over, England was left to consume herself in civil strife, while France might rest and recover from the terrible sufferings she had undergone. The state of the country had become utterly wretched. We are told that from the Loire to the Somme, as fertile a part as any in France, all lay desert, given up to wolves, and traversed only by the robber and the free-lance; the peasant, despairing of his tillage, got him a weapon, and took to the roads; the *dance Macabre*, grimly limned on churchyard-walls, was a parable of the age, in which all men lived in the presence of death; mysteries and moralities were the chief literature of the time; Froissart was gone, and Comines had not yet come; the duke of Orleans, so long a prisoner in England, is the one true poet of the time; the "good king René" is but in his earlier days, and gave himself most to poetry in his old age; within the walls of a few towns rose some splendid examples of domestic architecture, like the house of Jacques Cœur, the great merchant at Bourges; the stir and movement of the Renaissance finds little sympathy in France in these dark days.

With the end of the English wars new life began to gleam out on France; the people grew more tranquil, finding that State of toil and thrift bore again their wholesome fruits; Charles VII. did not fail in his duty, and took his part in restoring quiet, order, and justice in the land. With the return of peace came also the arts of peace; the poet's song is heard. Olivier Basselin, whose verses were afterwards retouched and published by Jean de Houx, belongs to this period; now, too, comes Villon, the first of French poets, whose writings ring still with some of the misery of the past; and Alain Chartier follows a little later.

The French crown, though it had beaten back the English, was still closely girt in with rival neighbours, the great dukes on every frontier. All round the east and north lay the lands of Philip of Burgundy; to the west was the duke of Brittany, cherishing a jealous independence; the royal dukes, Berri, Bourbon, Anjou, are all so many potential sources of danger and difficulty to the crown. The conditions of the nobility are altogether changed; the old barons have sunk into insignificance; the struggle of the future will lie between the king's cousins and himself, rather than with the older lords. A few non-royal princes, such as Armagnac, or St Pol, or Brittany, remain, and will go down with the others; the "new men" of the day, the bastard Dunois or the constables Du Guesclin and Clisson, grow to greater prominence; it is clear that the old feudalism is giving place to a newer order, in which the aristocracy, from the king's brothers downwards, will group themselves around the throne, and begin the process which reaches its unhappy perfection under Louis XIV.

Directly after the expulsion of the English, troubles began between King Charles VII. and the dauphin Louis; the latter could not brook a quiet life in Dauphiny, and the king refused him that larger sphere in the government of Normandy which he coveted. Against his father's will, Louis married Charlotte of Savoy, daughter of his strongest neighbour in Dauphiny; suspicion and bad feeling grew strong between father and son; Louis was specially afraid of his father's counsellors; the king was specially afraid of his son's craftiness and ambition. It came to an open rupture, and Louis in 1456 fled to the court of Duke Philip of Burgundy. There he lived at refuge at Geneppe, meddling a good deal in Burgundian politics, and already opposing himself to his great rival Charles of Charolais, afterwards. Charles the Bold, the last duke of Burgundy. Bickerings, under his bad influence, took place between king and duke; they never burst out into flame. So things went on uncomfortably enough, till Charles VII. died in 1461, and the reign of Louis XI. began.

1461-64. Between father and son what contrast could be greater? Contrast of Charles VII., "the Well-served," so easy-going, so open and free from guile; Louis XI., so shy of counsellors, so energetic and untiring, so close and guileful. History does but apologize for Charles, and even when she fears and dislikes Louis, she cannot forbear to wonder and admire.

Reign of Louis XI.

Charles VII. and Louis XI.

And yet Louis enslaved his country, while Charles had seen it rescued from foreign rule; Charles restored something of its prosperity, while Louis spent his life in crushing its institutions and in destroying its elements of independence. A great and terrible prince, Louis XI. failed in having little or no constructive power; he was strong to throw down the older society, he built little in its room. It is the fatal evil of absolute monarchy that it is not bound to replace what it crushes; so that the old order passes away, and no new society springs up in its place. It is to this that France owes the barrenness of her constitutional history.

The reign of Louis XI. is well divided into three periods. The first six years of it represent his strife with his great lords (1461-1467); the next period, of nine years, is occupied by his rivalry with Charles the Bold (1469-1476); the third, a time of seven years, gives us the king "triumphant and miserable" (1476-1483).

We are so wont to associate the name of Louis XI. with all that is cold, measured, and crafty that we can scarcely believe we are reading his history when we hear the narrative of his first acts on coming to the throne. He appears as a young impulsive prince, whose frank imprudence calculated no cost. He offended the duke of Burgundy's followers who escorted him to his consecration at Rheims, and thence into Paris, by sending them away empty; he deprived the duke of Bourbon of the government of Guienne, which he held; he dismissed all his father's ministers and friends; he set free the noble captives whom his father had been obliged to restrain; he alienated the nobles and clergy by negotiating with the pope and threatening to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. In all this he seemed inclined to depend on the support of the good towns. Most serious of all was his action with respect to the district of the river Somme, at that time the northern frontier of France. The towns there had been handed over to Philip of Burgundy by the treaty of Arras, with a stipulation that the crown might ransom them at any time, and this Louis succeeded in doing in 1463. The act was quite blameless and patriotic in itself, yet it was exceedingly unwise, for it thoroughly alienated Charles the Bold, and led to the wars of the earlier period of the reign. Lastly, as if he had not done enough to offend the nobles, Louis in 1464 attacked their hunting rights, touching them in their tenderest part. No wonder that this year saw the formation of a great league against him, and the outbreak of a dangerous civil war. The "League of the Public Weal" was nominally headed by his own brother Charles, heir to the throne; it was joined by Charles of Charolais, who had completely taken the command of affairs in the Burgundian territories, his father the old duke being too feeble to withstand him; the dukes of Brittany, Nemours, Bourbon, John of Anjou, duke of Calabria, the count of Armagnac, the aged Dunois, and a host of other princes and nobles flocked in; and the king had scarcely any forces at his back with which to withstand them. His plans for the campaign against the league were admirable, though they were frustrated by the bad faith of his captains, who mostly sympathized with this outbreak of the feudal nobility. Louis himself marched southward to quell the duke of Bourbon and his friends, and returning from that task, only half done for lack of time, he found that Charles of Charolais had passed by Paris, which was faithful to the king, and was coming down southwards intending to join the dukes of Berri and Brittany, who were on their

way towards the capital. The hostile armies met at Montleheri on the Orleans road; and after a strange battle minutely described by Commines—a battle in which both sides ran away, and neither ventured at first to claim a victory—the king withdrew to Corbeil, and then marched into Paris (1465). There the armies of the league closed in on him; and after a siege of several weeks, Louis, feeling disaffection all around him, and doubtful how long Paris herself would bear for him the burdens of blockade, signed the peace of Conflans, which, to all appearances, secured the complete victory to the noblesse, "each man carrying off his piece." Instantly the contented princes broke up their half-starved armies and went home, leaving Louis behind to plot and contrive against them, a far wiser man, thanks to the lesson they had taught him. They did not let him wait long for a chance. The treaty of Conflans had given the duchy of Normandy to the king's brother Charles; he speedily quarrelled with his neighbour the duke of Brittany, and Louis came down at once into Normandy, which threw itself into his arms, and the whole work of the league was broken up. The count of Charolais, occupied with revolts at Dinan and Liége, could not interfere, and presently his father the old Duke Philip died (1467), leaving to him the vast lordships of the house of Burgundy.

And now the "imperial dreamer," Charles the Bold, Charles was brought into immediate rivalry with that royal the trickster, the "universal spider," Louis XI. Charles was by far the nobler spirit of the two: his vigour and intelligence, his industry and wish to raise all around him to a higher cultivation, his wise reforms at home, and attempts to render his father's dissolute and careless rule into a well-ordered lordship,—all these things marked him out as the leading spirit of the time. He was completely free from those mean faults which marked his antagonist: he could not lie nor cheat; he was not cold and heartless; he despised the immoral life, the loose tales, the disorderly company of the dauphin's sojourn at Genepe. Unfortunately, in this noble and otherwise harmonious instrument there was that "one little rift," which gradually ruined all: his pride, which was high, would not have been fatal to him; it was his anger, combined with a certain strength of obstinacy, which brought him to ruin. His territories were partly held under France, partly under the empire: the Artois district, which also may be taken to include the Somme towns, the county of Rhetel, the duchy of Bar, the duchy of Burgundy, with Auxerre and Nevers, were feudally in France; the rest of his lands under the empire. He had therefore interests and means of interference on either hand; and, in fact, it is clear that Charles set before himself two quite different lines of policy, according as he looked one way or the other. He looked towards Paris, and seeing the king there growing stronger, desired to curb him by a league of princes; he looked towards the east, and saw there a splendid field for his ambition, in the scattered territories which lay on the edge of the Holy Roman Empire. At first he followed the former line, seeking to weaken his neighbours, and by coalition against the strongest of them to become undoubted master of the rest; this was in the times of his active hostility towards Louis XI.; afterwards he made truce with the king, and turned his arms against the east, attacking first Lorraine, and then Switzerland.

At the time of Duke Philip's death a new league had been formed against Louis, embracing the king of England, Edward IV., the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the kings of Aragon and Castile. Louis strained every nerve, he conciliated Paris, struck hard at disaffected partisans, and in 1468 convoked the States-General at Tours. The three Estates were asked to give an opinion as to the power

1468-77. of the crown to alienate Normandy, the step insisted on by the duke of Burgundy. Their reply was to the effect that the nation forbids the crown to dismember the realm; they supported their opinion by liberal promises of help. Thus fortified by the sympathy of his people, Louis began to break up the coalition. He made terms with the duke of Bourbon and the house of Anjou; his brother Charles was a cipher; the king of England was paralysed by the antagonism of Warwick; he attacked and reduced Brittany; Burgundy, the most formidable, alone remained to be dealt with. How should he meet him?—by war or by negotiation? His court was divided in opinion; the king decided for himself in favour of the way of negotiation, and came to the astonishing conclusion that he would go and meet the duke and win him over to friendship. He miscalculated both his own powers of persuasion and the force of his antagonist's temper. The interview of Peronne followed; Charles held his visitor as a captive, and in the end compelled him to sign a treaty of peace, on the basis of that of Conflans, which had closed the War of the Public Weal. And as if this were not sufficient humiliation, Charles made the king accompany him on his expedition to punish the men of Liége, who, trusting to the help of Louis, had again revolted (1469). This done, he allowed the degraded monarch to return home to Paris. An assembly of notables at Tours speedily declared the treaty of Peronne null, and the king made some small frontier war on the duke, which was ended by a truce at Amiens in 1471. The truce was spent in preparation for a fresh struggle, which Louis, to whom time was everything, succeeded in deferring from point to point, till the death of his brother Charles, now duke of Guienne, in 1472 broke up the formidable combination. Charles the Bold at once broke truce and made war on the king, marching into northern France, sacking towns and ravaging the country, till he reached Beauvais. There the despair of the citizens and the bravery of the women saved the town. Charles raised the siege and marched on Rouen, hoping to meet the duke of Brittany; but that prince had his hands full, for Louis had overrun his territories, and had reduced him to terms. The duke of Burgundy saw that the coalition had completely failed; he too made fresh truce with Louis at Senlis (1472), and only deferred, he no doubt thought, the direct attack on his dangerous rival. Henceforth Charles the Bold turned his attention mainly to the east, and Louis gladly saw him go forth to spend his strength on distant ventures; saw the interview at Trèves with the emperor Frederick III., at which the duke's plans were foiled by the suspicions of the Germans and the king's intrigues; saw the long siege of Neuss wearing out his power; bought off the hostility of Edward IV. of England, who had undertaken to march on Paris; saw Charles embark on his Swiss enterprise; saw the subjugation of Lorraine and capture of Nancy (1475), the battle of Granson, the still more fatal defeat of Morat (1476), and lastly the final struggle of Nancy, and the duke's death on the field (January 1477).

While Duke Charles had thus been running on his fate, Louis XI. had actively attacked the larger nobles of France, and had either reduced them to submission or had destroyed them. By the time of the fall of the house of Burgundy scarcely one great prince was left who could be formidable; even the power of the duke of Brittany was much straitened. The king had, therefore, free hand to make the best profit he could out of the disasters of his Burgundian rival, and the weakness of his heiress, the young Duchess Mary. As Duke Charles had left no male heir, the king at once resumed the duchy of Burgundy, as a male fief of the kingdom; he also took possession of Franche Comté at the same time; the king's armies recovered all Picardy, and even entered Flanders. Then Mary of Burgundy, hoping

to raise up a barrier against this dangerous neighbour, 1477-83 offered her hand with all her great territories to young Maximilian of Austria, and married him within six months after her father's death. To this wedding is due the rise to real greatness of the house of Austria; it begins the era of the larger politics of modern times.

After a little hesitation Louis determined to continue the struggle against the Burgundian power. He secured Franche Comté, and on his northern frontier retook Arras, that troublesome border city, the "bonny Carlisle" of those days; and advancing to relieve Therouenne, then besieged by Maximilian, fought and lost the battle of Guinegate (1479). The war was languid after this; a truce followed in 1480, and a time of quiet for France. The misconduct of the French cavalry, which had lost the battle of Guinegate, was followed by the abolition of the free-archer army; the cities were ordered to provide money in place of men, and the age of mercenary foreign armies began. In 1480 also, on the death of the old poet-king René, the two important districts of Anjou and Provence fell in to the crown, Margaret of Anjou, René's daughter and heiress, having ceded them to Louis in return for help; and in the end of 1482 the third peace of Arras closed awhile the rivalry between France and Burgundy. Charles the dauphin was engaged to marry the little Margaret, Maximilian's daughter, and as her dower she was to bring Franche Comté and sundry places on the border line disputed between the two princes. In these last days Louis XI. shut himself up in gloomy seclusion in his castle of Plessis near Tours, and there he died in 1483. A great Char-
king and a terrible, he has left an indelible mark on the acter and history of France, for he was the founder of France in its aims of Louis XI.

For Charles VIII., who now succeeded, was but thirteen years old, a weak boy whom his father had entirely neglected, the training of his son not appearing to be an essential part of his work in life. The young prince had amused himself with romances, but had learnt nothing useful. A head, however, was found for him in the person of his elder sister Anne, whom Louis XI. had married to Peter II., lord of Beaujeu and duke of Bourbon. To her France as the dying king entrusted the guardianship of his son; and for more than nine years Anne of France was virtual king. For those years all went well. Her prudence and high intelligence overcame her brother's ill-will, and defeated the plots of the nobles, and, almost in spite of Charles, won for him a complete triumph over feudalism. She was, in

1488-95. truth, a very remarkable woman, and history, because she was just and true and successful, has left her on one side, neglected and forgotten. Yet France flourished greatly under her : she solaced the people according to her father's dying wish ; she also with vigorous and triumphant hand overcame the rivalry of Maximilian of Austria, and the selfish opposition of the princes. She it was who enabled Henry of Richmond to seize the throne of England, and to give peace to that troubled realm ; she it was who defeated the allies at the battle of St Aubin du Cormier (1488), thereby asserting the power of France against Brittany ; she it was who compelled Maximilian, in the treaty of Sablé, to close the struggle, and to leave the French monarchy in peace. Finally, it was she who outmaneuved Maximilian in his wooing of Anne of Brittany, and secured the great prize, the heiress and her lands, for her brother Charles. In 1491 the marriage took place which led to the eventual absorption (in 1515) of Brittany into the kingdom of France. After this "Madame la Grande," as this noble lady was rightly styled, withdrew from public life, leaving the country in a healthier state than it had been in for ages, leaving also to the young king a splendid army and a well-filled treasury.

The Italian expeditions begin.

With her disappearance from the scene, the controlling hand is lost, and France begins the age of her Italian expeditions, which, while they introduced her into the general arena of modern politics, and formed the platform on which the rivalry between the houses of France and Austria displayed itself, also influenced the home-life of France disastrously, and exhausted resources and energies so much needed for the wholesome development of the country. The Italian wars led to the civil wars, and they, in the end, cleared the ground for the despotism of Louis XIV.

When the house of Anjou came to an end in 1481, and Anjou and Maine fell in to the crown, there fell in also a far less valuable piece of property—the claim of that house, descended from Charles the youngest brother of St Louis, on the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. There was much to tempt an ambitious prince in the state of Italy. Savoy, which held the passage into the peninsula, was then thoroughly French in sympathy ; Milan, under Lodovico Sforza, "il Moro," was in alliance with Charles ; Genoa preferred the French to the Aragonese claimants for influence over Italy ; the popular feeling in the cities, especially in Florence, was opposed to the despotism of the Medici, and turned to France for deliverance ; the misrule of the Spanish kings of Naples had made Naples thoroughly discontented ; Venice was, as of old, the friend of France. Tempted by these reasons, in 1494 Charles VIII. set forth for Italy with a splendid host. He displayed before the eyes of Europe the first example of a modern army, in its three well-balanced branches of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. There was nothing in Italy to withstand his onslaught ; he swept through the land in triumph ; Charles believed himself to be a great conqueror, giving law to admiring subject-lands ; he entered Pisa, Florence, Rome itself. Wherever he went, his heedless ignorance, and the gross misconduct of his followers, left behind implacable hostility, and turned all friendship into bitterness. At last he entered Naples, and seemed to have asserted to the full the French claim to be supreme in Italy, whereas at that very time his position had become completely untenable. A league of Italian states was formed behind his back ; Lodovico il Moro, Ferdinand of Naples, the emperor, Pope Alexander VI., Ferdinand and Isabella, who were now welding Spain into a great and united monarchy, all combined against France ; and in presence of this formidable confederacy, Charles VIII. had to cut his way home as promptly as he could. At Fornovo, north of the Apennines, he defeated the allies in July 1495 ; and by November the main

French army had got safely out of Italy. The forces left behind in Naples were worn out by war and pestilence, and the poor remnant of these, too, bringing with them the seeds of horrible contagious diseases, forced their way back to France in 1496. It was the last effort of the king. His health was ruined by debauchery in Italy, repeated in France ; and yet towards the end of his reign he not merely introduced Italian arts, but attempted to reform the state, to rule prudently, to solace the poor ; wherefore when he died in 1498 the people lamented him greatly, for he had been kindly and affable, brave also on the battle-field ; and much is forgiven to a king.

His children died before him, so that Louis of Orleans, Louis his cousin, was nearest heir to the throne, and succeeded XII. as Louis XII. By his accession in 1498 he reunited the fief of Orleans' county to the crown ; by marrying Anne of Brittany, his predecessor's widow, he secured also the great duchy of Brittany. The dispensation of Pope Alexander VI., which enabled him to put away his wife Jeanne, second daughter of Louis XI., was brought into France by Caesar Borgia, who gained thereby his title of duke of Valentinois, a large sum of money, a French bride, and promises of support in his great schemes in Italy.

As a younger man Louis XII. had been idle and dissipated ; and to the end self-indulgence clung to him, as a Nessus-shirt, eating into his bones. Yet he was kindly and humane to his people, friendly and without revenge or malice, even in the case of those who had done him most mischief. His reign was the reversal of all the principles of Louis XI. That prince had avoided foreign complications, and had sternly repressed his nobles at home : Louis XII. began at once to interfere in foreign politics, and desired to strengthen the great nobles round the throne. The days were good for France, with this cheerful "pater patriæ" ruling over it. He tried to govern with economy and care, and to develop the resources of the country : it is said that one-third of the realm was brought under cultivation in his time. His ministers were men of real ability. George of Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, the chief of them, was a prudent and sagacious ruler, who, however, unfortunately wanted to be pope, and urged the king in the direction of Italian politics, which he would have done much better to have left alone. Louis XII. was lazy and of small intelligence ; George of Amboise and Caesar Borgia with their Italian ambitions easily made him take up a spirited foreign policy which was disastrous at home. Louis XII. had different aims in Italy from those of Charles VIII. His grandfather Louis had married, in 1389, Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo, duke of Milan ; and it had been agreed that if the duke had no male heirs, Milan should pass to the descendants of Valentina. This had now taken place ; and Louis XII., as Valentina's grandson, claimed the duchy ; he also asserted his rights to the Two Sicilies. Utterly as the last Italian expedition had failed, the French people were not yet weary of the adventure, and preparations for a new war began at once. In 1499 the king crossed the Alps into the Milanese, and carried all before him for a while. The duchy at first accepted him with enthusiasm ; but in 1500 it had had enough of the French and recalled Lodovico, who returned in triumph to Milan. The Swiss mercenaries, however, betrayed him at Novara into the hands of Louis XII., who carried him off to France. The triumph of the French in 1500 was also the highest point of the fortunes of their ally Caesar Borgia, who seemed for a while to be completely successful. In this year Louis made a treaty at Granada, by which he and Ferdinand the Catholic agreed to despoil Frederick of Naples ; and in 1501 Louis made a second expedition into Italy. Again all seemed easy at the outset, and he seized the kingdom of Naples without difficulty ;

1501-13. falling out, however, with his partner in the bad bargain, Ferdinand the Catholic, he was speedily swept completely out of the peninsula, with terrible loss of honour, men, and wealth.

It now became necessary to arrange for the future of France. Louis XII. had only a daughter, Claude, and it was proposed that she should be affianced to Charles of Austria, the future statesman and emperor. This scheme formed the basis of the three treaties of Blois (1504). In 1500, by the treaty of Granada, Louis had in fact handed Naples over to Spain; now by the three treaties he alienated his best friends, the Venetians and the papacy, while he in fact also handed Milan over to the Austrian house, together with territories considered to be integral parts of France. The marriage with Charles came to nothing; the good sense of some, the popular feeling in the country, the open expressions of the States-General of Tours in 1506, worked against the marriage, which had no strong advocate except Queen Anne. Claude, on intercession of the Estates, was affianced to Francis of Angoulême, her distant cousin, the heir presumptive to the throne.

In 1507 Louis made war on Venice; and in the following year the famous treaty of Cambrai was signed by George of Amboise and Margaret of Austria. It was an agreement for a partition of the Venetian territories,—one of the most shameless public deeds in history. The pope, the king of Aragon, Maximilian, Louis XII., were each to have a share. The war was pushed on with great vigour: the battle of Agnadello (14th May 1509) cleared the king's way towards Venice; Louis was received with open arms by the north Italian towns, and pushed forwards to within sight of Venice. The other princes came up on every side; the proud "Queen of the Adriatic" was compelled to shrink within her walls, and wait till time dissolved the league. This was not long. The pope, Julius II., had no wish to hand northern Italy over to France; he had joined in the shameless league of Cambrai because he wanted to wrest the Romagna cities from Venice, and because he hoped entirely to destroy the ancient friendship between Venice and France. Successful in both aims, he now withdrew from the league, made peace with the Venetians, and stood forward as the head of a new Italian combination, with the Swiss for his fighting men. The strife was close and hot between pope and king; Louis XII. lost his chief adviser and friend George of Amboise, the splendid churchman of the age, the French Wolsey; he thought no weapon better than the dangerous one of a council, with claims opposed to those of the papacy; first a national council at Tours, then an attempted general council at Pisa, were called on to resist the papal claims. In reply Julius II. created the Holy League of 1511, with Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII. of England, and the Venetians, as its chief members, against the French. Louis XII. showed vigour; he sent his nephew Gaston of Foix to subdue the Romagna and threaten the Venetian territories. At the battle of Ravenna in 1512, Gaston won a brilliant victory and lost his life. From that moment disaster dogged the footsteps of the French in Italy, and before winter they had been driven completely out of the peninsula; the succession of the Medicean pope, Leo X., to Julius II. seemed to promise the continuance of a policy hostile to France in Italy. Another attempt on northern Italy proved but another failure, although now Louis XII., taught by his mishaps, had secured the alliance of Venice; the disastrous defeat of La Tremoille near Novara (1513) compelled the French once more to withdraw beyond the Alps. In this same year an army under the duke of Longueville, endeavouring to relieve Therouenne, besieged by the English and Maximilian, the emperor-elect, was caught and crushed at Guinegate. A diversion in favour of Louis XII., made by

James IV. of Scotland, failed completely; the Scottish king was defeated and slain at Flodden Field. While his northern frontier was thus exposed, Louis found equal danger threatening him on the east; on this side, however, he managed to buy off the Swiss who had attacked the duchy of Burgundy. He was also reconciled with the papacy and the house of Austria. Early in 1514 the death of Anne of Brittany his spouse, a lady of high ambitions, strong artistic tastes, and humane feelings towards her Bretons, but a bad queen for France, cleared the way for changes. Claude, the king's eldest daughter, was now definitely married to Francis of Angoulême, and invested with the duchy of Brittany; and the king himself, still hoping for a male heir to succeed him, married again, wedding Mary Tudor, the lovely young sister of Henry VIII. This marriage was probably the chief cause of his death, which followed on New Year's Day 1515. His was, in foreign policy, an inglorious and disastrous reign; at home, a time of comfort and material prosperity. Agriculture flourished, the arts of Italy came in, though (save in architecture) France could claim little artistic glory of her own; the organization of justice and administration was carried out; in letters and learning France still lagged behind her neighbours.

The heir to the crown was Francis of Angoulême, great-grandson of that Louis of Orleans who had been assassinated in the bad days of the strife between Burgundians and Armagnacs, in 1407, and great-great-grandson of Charles V. of France. He was still very young, very eager to be king, very full of far-reaching schemes. Few things in history are more striking than the sudden change at this moment, from the rule of middle-aged men or (as men of fifty were then often called) old men, to the rule of youths,—from sagacious, worldly-prudent monarchs to impulsive boys,—from Henry VII. to Henry VIII., from Louis XII. to Francis I., from Ferdinand to Charles. On the whole Francis I. was the least worthy of the three. He was His brilliant, "the king of culture," apt scholar in Renaissance art and immorality; brave also and chivalrous, so long as the chivalry involved no self-denial, for he was also thoroughly selfish, and his personal aims and ideals were mean. His reign was to be a reaction from that of Louis XII.; Francis should set the monarchy once more upright, and secure its autocratic development. He reversed his predecessor's home policy, and was hailed with wild delight by the young nobles, who had found Louis XII. too sparing of gifts. Gifts they wanted now, not power; and they preferred a prince who gave while he crushed them to one who prudently forbore to give, while he allowed them to retain their strength. The reputation of Francis I. is infinitely beyond his deserts; his reign was a real misfortune for France, and led the way to the terrible waste and mismanagement which mark her history throughout the century. For Francis was an altogether shallow person: he could not read the character of his great antagonist Charles V., nor the meaning of the vast movement which was but now beginning to develop itself out of, and to take the place of, the Renaissance. He wasted all the energies of France on bootless foreign wars: never has any land been so sinned against as France; her vast wealth of resources, her intelligent and thrifty people, her commanding central position, were all as nothing to her rulers in comparison with that most wasteful and disastrous of snares, a spirited foreign policy.

From the beginning Francis chose his chief officers unwisely: in Antoine du Prat, his new chancellor, he had a violent and lawless adviser; in Charles of Bourbon, his new constable, an untrustworthy commander. Forthwith, he plunged into Italian politics, being determined to make good his claim both to Naples and to Milan; he made most

1515-25. friendly arrangements with the archduke Charles, his future rival, promising to help him in securing, when the time came, the vast inheritances of his two grandfathers, Maximilian the emperor-elect, and Ferdinand of Aragon : never was a less wise agreement entered on. This done, the Italian war began ; Francis descended into Italy, and won the brilliant battle of Marignano, in which the French chivalry crushed the Swiss burghers and peasant mercenaries. The French then overran the north of Italy, and, in conjunction with the Venetians, carried all before them. But the triumphs of the sword were speedily wrested from him by the adroitness of the politician; in an interview with Leo X at Bologna, Francis bartered the liberties of the Gallican Church for shadowy advantages in Italy ; the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which now for nearly a century had secured to the Church of France independence in the choice of her chief officers, was replaced by a concordat, whereby the king allowed the papacy once more to drain the wealth of the Church of France, while the pope allowed the king almost autocratic power over it. He was to appoint to all benefices, with exception of a few privileged offices ; the pope was no longer to be threatened with general councils, while he should receive again the annates of the church.

The con-
cordat of
Francis I.

The years which followed this brilliantly-disastrous opening brought little good to France. In 1516 the death of Ferdinand the Catholic placed Charles on the throne of Spain ; in 1519 the death of Maximilian threw open to the young princes the most dazzling prize of human ambition, the headship of the Holy Roman Empire. Francis I., Charles, and Henry VIII. were all candidates for the votes of the seven electors, though the last never seriously entered the lists. The struggle lay between Francis, the brilliant young prince, who seemed to represent the new opinions in literature and art, and Charles of Austria and Spain, who was as yet unknown and despised, and, from his education under the virtuous and scholastic Adrian of Utrecht, was thought likely to represent the older and reactionary opinions of the clergy. After a long and sharp competition, the great prize fell to Charles, henceforth known to history as that great monarch and emperor Charles V.

The ri-
valry of
Charles
V. and
Francis I.

The rivalry between the princes could not cease there. Charles, as representative of the house of Burgundy, claimed all that had been lost when Charles the Bold fell ; and in 1521 war broke out between him and Francis, the first of a series of struggles between the two rivals. While the king wasted the resources of his country on these wars, his proud and unwise mother, Louise of Savoy, guided by Antoine du Prat, ruled, to the sorrow of all, at home. The war brought no glory with it : on the Flemish frontier a place or two was taken ; in Biscay Fontarabia fell before the arms of France ; in Italy Francis had to meet a new league of pope and emperor, and his troops were swept completely out of the Milanese. In the midst of all came the defection of that great prince the Constable Bourbon, head of the younger branch of the Bourbon house, the most powerful feudal lord in France. Louise of Savoy had enraged and offended him, or he her ; the king slighted him, and in 1523 the constable made a secret treaty with Charles V. and Henry VIII., and, taking flight into Italy, joined the Spaniards under Lannoy. The French, who had again invaded the Milanese, were again driven out in 1524 ; on the other hand the incursions of the imperialists into Picardy, Provence, and the south-east were all complete failures. Encouraged by the repulse of Bourbon from Marseilles, Francis I. once more crossed the Alps, and overran a great part of the valley of the Po ; at the siege of Pavia he was attacked by Pescara and Bourbon, utterly defeated and taken prisoner (24th February 1525) ; the broken remnants of the French were swept out of Italy at once, and Francis

The
battle of
Pavia.

I. was carried into Spain, a captive at Madrid. His 1525-31 mother, best in adversity, behaved with high pride and spirit ; she overawed disaffection, made preparations for resistance, looked out for friends on every side. Had Francis been in truth a hero, he might even as a prisoner have held his own ; but he was unable to bear the monotony of confinement, and longed for the pleasures of France. On this mean nature Charles V. easily worked, and made the captive monarch sign the treaty of Madrid (January 14, 1526),—a compact which Francis meant to break as soon as he could, for he knew neither heroism nor good faith. The treaty stipulated that Francis should give up the duchy of Burgundy to Charles, and marry Eleanor of Portugal, Charles's sister ; that Francis should also abandon his claims on Flanders, Milan, and Naples, and should place two sons in the emperor's hands as hostages. Following the precedent of Louis XI. in the case of Normandy, he summoned an assembly of nobles and the parliament of Paris to Cognac, where they declared the cession of Burgundy to be impossible. He refused to return to Spain, and made alliances wherever he could,—with the pope, with Venice, Milan, and England. The next year saw the ruin of this league in the discomfiture of Clement VII. and the sack of Rome by the German mercenaries under Bourbon, who was killed in the assault. The war went on till 1529, when Francis having lost two armies in it, and gained nothing but loss and harm, was willing for peace ; Charles V., alarmed at the progress of the Turks, was not less willing ; and in August 1529 the famous Treaty of Cambrai, "the Ladies' Peace," was agreed to by The Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy. Though Charles treaty of V. gave up all claim on the duchy of Burgundy, he had secured to himself Flanders and Artois, and had entirely cleared French influences out of Italy, which now became firmly fixed under the imperial hand, as a connecting link between his Spanish and his German possessions. Francis lost ground and credit by these successive treaties, conceived in bad faith, and not honestly carried out. His whole policy, throughout, was tortuous and uncertain ; he was misled by showy advantages, and not sufficiently sagacious to discern his true interests. He had in fact little grasp of the great movements of his age, and floated to and fro ; neither from the enthusiasm of the Reformation, nor from the instinctive loyalty of his subjects, nor even from the threatening power of Charles, could he succeed in creating for himself a consistent and honourable policy. His Italian ambitions proved a fatal hindrance to his reign ; in hopes of recovering Milan, for example, he let Charles delude him, and displeased his natural allies. His foreign alliances were insecure ; he would not evoke the sympathy and help of his own people.

No sooner had the treaty of Cambrai been effectual in bringing his sons back to France, than Francis began to look out for new pretexts and means for war. Affairs were not unpromising. His mother's death in 1531 left him in possession of a huge fortune, which she had wrung from defenceless France ; the powers which were jealous of Austria, the Turk, the English king, the members of the Smalkald league, all looked to Francis as their leader ; Clement VII., though his misfortunes had thrown him into the emperor's hands, was not unwilling to treat with France ; and in 1533 by the compact of Marseilles the pope broke up the friendship between Francis and Henry VIII., while he married his niece Catherine de' Medici to Catherine Henry, the second son of Francis. This compact was a real rine de' disaster to France ; the promised dowry of Catherine,—Medici, certain Italian cities,—was never paid, and the death of Clement VII. in 1534 made the political alliance with the papacy a failure. The influence of Catherine affected and corrupted French history for half a century. Preparations

1534-44. for war went on; Francis made a new scheme for a national army, though in practice he preferred the tyrant's arm, the foreign mercenary. From his day till the Revolution the French army was largely composed of bodies of men tempted out of other countries, chiefly from Switzerland or Germany.

While the emperor strove to appease the Protestant princes of Germany by the peace of Kadan (1534), Francis strengthened himself with a definite alliance with Soliman; and when on the death of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, who left no heirs, Charles seized the duchy as its over-lord, Francis, after some bootless negotiation, declared war on his great rival (1536). His usual fortunes prevailed so long as he was the attacking party: his forces were soon swept out of Piedmont, and the emperor carried the war over the frontier into Provence. That also failed, and Charles was fain to withdraw after great losses into Italy. The defence of Provence—a defence which took the form of a ruthless destruction of all its resources—had been entrusted to Anne of Montmorency, who henceforward became constable of France, and exerted great influence over Francis I. Though these two campaigns, the French in Italy and the imperialist in Provence, had equally failed in 1536, peace did not follow till 1538, when, after the terrible defeat of Ferdinand of Austria by the Turks, Charles was anxious to have free hand in Germany. Under the mediation of Paul III. the agreement of Nice was come to, which included a ten years' truce, and the abandonment by Francis of all his foreign allies and aims. He seemed a while to have fallen completely under the influence of the sagacious emperor. He gave way entirely to the church party of the time, a party headed by gloomy Henry, now dauphin, who never lost the impress of his Spanish captivity, and by the constable Anne of Montmorency; for a time the artistic or Renaissance party, represented by Anne duchess of Etampes and Catherine de' Medici, fell into disfavour. The emperor even ventured to pass through France, on his way from Spain to the Netherlands. All this friendship, however, fell to dust, when it was found that Charles refused to invest the duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis, with the duchy of Milan, and when the emperor's second expedition against the sea-power of the Turks had proved a complete failure, and Charles had returned to Spain with loss of all his fleet and army. Then Francis hesitated no longer, and declared war against him (1541). The shock the emperor had suffered inspirited all his foes; the sultan and the Protestant German princes were all eager for war; the influence of Anne of Montmorency had to give way before that of the house of Guise, that frontier-family, half French half German, which was destined to play a large part in the troubled history of the coming half-century. Claude, duke of Guise, a veteran of the earliest days of Francis, was vehemently opposed to Charles and the Austro-Spanish power, and ruled in the king's councils. This last war was as mischievous as its predecessors: no great battles were fought; in the frontier affairs the combatants were about equally fortunate; the battle of Cerisoles, won by the French under Enghien (1544), was the only considerable success they had, and even that was almost barren of results, for the danger to northern France was imminent; there a combined invasion had been planned and partly executed by Charles and Henry VIII.; and the country, almost undefended, was at their mercy. The two monarchs, however, distrusted one another; and Charles V., anxious about Germany, sent to Francis proposals for peace from Crespy Couvrant, near Laon, where he had halted his army; Francis, almost in despair, gladly made terms with him. The king gave up his claims on Flanders and Artois, the emperor his on the duchy of Burgundy; the king abandoned his old

Neapolitan ambition, and Charles promised one of the 1544-47. princesses of the house of Austria, with Milan as her dower, to the duke of Orleans, second son of Francis. The duke dying next year, this portion of the agreement was not carried out. The peace of Crespy, which ended the wars between the two great rivals, was signed in autumn, 1544, and like the wars which led to it was indecisive and lame. Charles learnt that with all his great power he could not strike a fatal blow at France; France ought to have learnt that she was very weak for foreign conquest, and that her true business was to consolidate and develop her power at home. Henry VIII. deemed himself wronged by this independent action on the part of Charles, who also had his grievances with the English monarch; he stood out till 1546, and then made peace with Francis, with the aim of forming a fresh combination against Charles. In the midst of new projects, and much activity, the marrer of man's plots came on the scene, and carried off in the same year, 1547, the English king and Francis I, leaving Charles V. undisputed arbiter of the affairs of Europe. In this same year he also crushed the Protestant princes at the battle of Mühlberg.

Francis reigned long enough to have been able to do The char-much for France, and, following Louis XII., might have been another "father of his country," setting it in the way of true grandeur and prosperity. And something of this he seemed to see. He liked in the great movements of the age to take that middle course which commands itself to France: like France herself he wished to be Catholic and yet to become champion of the Reformed cause; he loved letters and art; he was a brilliant and chivalrous personage, who had the French qualities strongly marked in character and action. His people felt that he, in the main, represented them; they honoured and loved him as a part of themselves. They accepted their position as a united nation,—united, that is, under a master who offered them no constitutional rights or liberties; it was enough for them that their master was good-natured and kindly; his vices and weaknesses were little blamed, and much followed. History will record that he was mean and selfish, false and licentious, and that, if he knew what was the nobler path for himself and his country, he could not rise to the heroism of following it, when to do so demanded self-denial. History ought also to remember that he was pitted against the ablest statesman of his age, and that he was called on, with insufficient knowledge and strength, to defend the liberties of Europe against an overwhelming power. That he failed to choose the right weapons, that he failed to make the best use of the weapons he did take up,—this was the real weakness of his life. His reign filled those years in which Renaissance passed into Reformation—in which the new enthusiasm for art and letters made the way ready for a more grave and solemn enthusiasm in religion, an enthusiasm which in its simpler side aimed at restoring purity of faith and manners, while in its more extreme developments it mixed itself up with bold political theories, or with a condemnation of all that learning and culture could do for human life. Under the direct kingship of God, men believed that all the older usages, restrictions, and political principles of life were out of place. The Anabaptists carried out, in harsh developments, many of the ideas proclaimed half a century before by Savonarola at Florence. Now, in the history of France no principle appears so well-established as this, that she ever "subordinated her religious feelings to her political interests." It is almost as generally true that her political interests were ever subordinated to the personal interests of her leaders. Consequently, we shall always expect to find very little movement of public opinion in France, and only a weak influence of religious sentiment on the general current of

1547. affairs; we shall also find her appreciation of political interests weak and ill-informed, her desire for self-government at home as dimly felt as her desire for a right policy abroad; and lastly, we shall see that for ages her history is the history of men not of institutions, and that her worst struggles are caused by personal not national questions. It is one of the grand results of the Revolution that it raised France from this vicious moral and mental state, introducing the rule of ideas and opinions, and the general participation of citizens in their own affairs.

Why the Reformation failed in France. In the reign of Francis I. the court looked not unkindly on the Reformers, more particularly in the earlier years, while the new opinions were mostly those of Luther. Margaret, the king's sister, the duchess of Étampes, his mistress, Renée of France, the daughter of Louis XII., who took Clement Marot as her secretary, and was a declared Protestant,—all these ladies patronized and protected the Reformers. The king himself, regarding them as a people having ideas and some education and enlightenment, was well inclined towards them for a time. Later on, the excesses of the image-breakers, and the tendency of some of them to depreciate carnal learning, entirely alienated him from them. He never had any religious sympathy with them; and though both he and his mother sided in the beginning with the learned world against the monks and

"hypocrites," as Louise of Savoy calls them, they never were interested in those theological questions which, though they might seem to them often to degenerate into unmeaning subtleties, still in reality gave to the reforming movement its true strength. The nobles went with the court, and beyond it. About half the great families with more or less earnestness adopted the Reformed opinions, and that more specially in their second or Calvinistic development. With them went a not inconsiderable body of the upper clergy. With these strong elements in its favour, how did the Reformation come to fail in France? It failed, first because the general body of the people took absolutely no interest in the matter; no popular feeling had been aroused; no discontent with either the clergy or the monasteries existed; and the people, uneducated and unused to political controversy or expression, were in fact never called on to form a judgment in the matter. Personal religion, or personal judgment as to theological questions, even in their more practical bearings, was but little known or cared for in France. And this was true not only of the people, but of the nobles and the court. There was, too, a want of that wholesome cathartic effect which the Reformation worked elsewhere; men's lives became no purer, the family relation was not strengthened, and from the moral side the movement was a failure also. Lastly, France has few great cities though many small ones, and her cities had little or no use of independence of thought and opinion. The towns were much divided; the capital, with its preponderating influence, was distinctly hostile to the Reformers. The Champagne towns, specially Meaux, showed themselves favourable to the new opinions; in the rest of France they had little sway; the persistent piety of the hill country of the south-east and south was an entirely independent phenomenon, which seemed to exert very little influence on the rest of France. In the later days of Francis I., the politico-religious movement connected with the name of Calvin, the series of ideas which formed the basis of Latin Protestantism, as distinct from the Germanic movement of the north, spread over a great part of the south and west of France. It was warmly welcomed by the dissidents of Dauphiny, the Cévennes, the Garonne valley; the nobles also adopted it with enthusiasm. It became a disruptive force in France. While Paris and northern France cling to the old opinions, round which a good number of the great families group themselves, Poitou and the western provinces

are the home of the new ideas in church and state. They 1547-52 utter opinions which combine reform in religion with aristocratic and republican views in politics. France thus divided falls a prey to civil war.

Henry II., who succeeded in 1547, "had all the faults of his father, with a weaker mind"; and as strength of mind was not one of the characteristics of Francis I., we may imagine how little firmness there was in the gloomy king who now reigned. Party spirit ruled at court. Henry Parties II., with his ancient mistress Diana of Poitiers, were at the head of one party, that of the strict Catholics, and were supported by old Anne of Montmorency, most unlucky of soldiers, most fanatical of Catholics, and by the Guises, who chafed a good deal under the stern rule of the constable. This party had almost extinguished its antagonists; in the struggle of the mistresses, the pious and learned Anne of Étampes had to give place to imperious Diana. Catherine, the queen, was content to bide her time, watching with Italian coolness the game as it went on; of no account beside her rival, and yet quite sure to have her day, and ready to play parties against one another. Meanwhile, she brought to her royal husband ten sickly children, most of whom died young, and three wore the crown. Of the many bad things she did for France, that was perhaps among the worst.

On the accession of Henry II. the duchy of Brittany finally lost even nominal independence; he next got the hand of Mary queen of Scots, then but five years old, for Mary the dauphin Francis; she was carried over to France, and queen of being by birth half a Guise, by education and interests of Scots. In her married life she became entirely French. It was a great triumph for Henry, for the protector Somerset had laid his plans to secure her for young Edward VI.; it was even more a triumph for the Guises, who saw opened out a broad and clear field for their ambition.

At first Henry II. showed no desire for war, and seemed to shrink from rivalry or collision with Charles V. He would not listen to Paul III., who, in his anxiety after the fall of the Protestant power in Germany in 1547, urged him to resist the emperor's triumphant advance; he seemed to show a dread of war, even among his neighbours. After he had won his advantage over Edward VI., he escaped the war which seemed almost inevitable, recovered Boulogne from the English by a money-payment, and smoothed the way for peace between England and Scotland. He took much interest in the religious question, and treated the Calvinists with great severity; he was also occupied by troubles in the south and west of France. Meanwhile a new pope, Julius III., was the weak dependant of the emperor, and there seemed to be no head left for any movement against the universal domination of Charles V. His career from 1547 to 1552 was, to all appearance, a triumphal march of unbroken success. Yet Germany was far from acquiescence; the princes were still discontented and watchful; even Ferdinand of Austria, his brother, was offended by the emperor's anxiety to secure everything, even the imperial crown, for his son Philip; Maurice of Saxony, that great problem of the age, was preparing for a second treachery, or, it may be, for a patriotic effort. These German malcontents now appealed to Henry for help; and at last Henry seemed inclined to come. He had lately made alliance with England, and in 1552 formed a league at Chambord with the German princes; the old connexion with the Turk was also talked of. The Germans agreed to allow him to hold (as imperial vicar, not as king of France), the "three bishoprics," Metz, Verdun, and Toul; he also assumed a protectorate over the spiritual princes, those great bishops and electors of the Rhine, whose stake in the empire was so important. The general lines of French foreign politics are all here clearly marked; in this

1562-67. Henry II. is the forerunner of Henry IV. and of Louis XIV.; the imperial politics of Napoleon start from much the same lines; the proclamations of Napoleon III. before the Franco-German war seemed like thin echoes of the same.

Maurice of Saxony. Early in 1552 Maurice of Saxony struck his great blow at his master in the Tyrol, destroying in an instant all the emperor's plans for the suppression of Lutheran opinions, and the reunion of Germany in a Catholic empire; and while Charles V. fled for his life, Henry II. with a splendid army crossed the frontiers of Lorraine. Anne of Montmorency, whose opposition to the war had been overborne by the Guises, who warmly desired to see a French predominance in Lorraine, was sent forward to reduce Metz, and quickly got that important city into his hands; Toul and Verdun soon opened their gates, and were secured, in reality if not in name, to France. Eager to undertake a protectorate of the Rhine, Henry II. tried also to lay hands on Strasburg; the citizens, however, resisted, and he had to withdraw; the same fate befell his troops in an attempt on Spires. Still Metz and the line of the Vosges mountains formed a splendid acquisition for France. The French army, leaving strong garrisons in Lorraine, withdrew through Luxemburg and the northern frontier; its remaining exploits were few and mean, for the one gleam of good fortune enjoyed by Anne of Montmorency, who was unwise and arrogant, and a most inefficient commander, soon deserted him. Charles V., as soon as he could gather forces, laid siege to Metz, but, after nearly three months of late autumnal operations, was fain to break up and withdraw, baffled and with loss of half his army, across the Rhine. Though some success attended his arms on the northern frontier, it was of no permanent value: the loss of Metz, and the failure in the attempt to take it, proved to the worn-out emperor that the day of his power and opportunity was past. The conclusions of the diet of Augsburg in 1555 settled for half a century the struggle between Lutheran and Catholic, but settled it in a way not at all to his mind; for it was the safeguard of princely interests against his plans for an imperial unity. Weary of the losing strife, yearning for ease, ordered by his physicians to withdraw from active life, Charles in the course of 1555 and 1556 resigned all his great lordships and titles, leaving Philip his son to succeed him in Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain, and his brother Ferdinand of Austria to wear in his stead the imperial diadem. These great changes sundered a while the interests of Austria from those of Spain.

Charles V. lays down his dignities. Henry endeavoured to take advantage of the check in the fortunes of his antagonists; he sent Anne of Montmorency to support Gaspard Coligny, the admiral of France, in Picardy, and in harmony with Paul IV., instructed Francis, duke of Guise, to enter Italy to oppose the duke of Alva. As of old, the French arms at first carried all before them, and Guise deeming himself heir to the crown of Naples (for he was the eldest great-grandson of René II., titular king of Naples) pushed eagerly forward as far as the Abruzzi. There he was met and outgeneraled by Alva, who drove him back to Rome, whence he was now recalled by urgent summons to France; for the great disaster of St Quentin had laid Paris itself open to the assault of an enterprising enemy. With the departure of Guise from Italy the age of the Italian expeditions comes to an end. On the northern side of the realm things had gone just as badly. Philibert of Savoy, commanding for Philip with Spanish and English troops, marched into France as far as to the Somme, and laid seige to St Quentin, which was bravely defended by Admiral Coligny. Anne of Montmorency, coming up to relieve the place, managed his movements so clumsily that he was caught by Count

Egmont and the Flemish horse, and with incredibly small loss to the conquerors, was utterly routed (1557). Montmorency himself and a crowd of nobles and soldiers were taken; the slaughter was great. Coligny made a gallant and tenacious stand in the town itself, but at last was overwhelmed, and the place fell. Terrible as these mishaps were to France, Philip II. was not of a temper to push an advantage vigorously; and while his army lingered, Francis of Guise came swiftly back from Italy; and instead of wasting strength in a doubtful attack on the allies in Picardy, by a sudden stroke of genius he assaulted and took Calais (January 1558), and swept the English finally off the soil of France. This unexpected and brilliant blow cheered and solaced the afflicted country, while it finally secured the ascendancy of the house of Guise. The duke's brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, carried all before him in the king's councils; the dauphin, betrothed long before, was now married to Mary of Scots; a secret treaty bound the young queen to bring her kingdom over with her; it was thought that France with Scotland would be at least a match for England joined with Spain. In the same year 1558 the French advance along the coast, after they had taken Dunkirk and Nieuport, was finally checked by the brilliant genius of Count Egmont, who defeated them at Gravelines. All now began to wish for peace, especially Montmorency, weary of being a prisoner, and anxious to get back to court, that he might check the fortunes of the Guises; Philip desired it, that he might have free hand against heresy. And so at Cateau Cambresis a peace was made in April 1559, by which France retained the three Cateau Cambresis. bishoprics and Calais, surrendering Thionville, Montmédy, and one or two other frontier towns, while she recovered Ham and St Quentin; the house of Savoy was reinstated by Philip, as a reward to Philibert for his services, and formed a solid barrier for a time between France and Italy; cross marriages between Spain, France, and Savoy were arranged; and finally the treaty contained secret articles by which the Guises for France and Granvella for the Netherlands agreed to crush heresy with the strong hand. As a sequel to this peace, Henry II. held a great tournament at Paris, at which he was accidentally slain by a Scottish knight in the lists.

The Guises now shot up into unbounded power. The new king, Francis II., was devoted to his young wife, II. and she was entirely led by her uncles the Guises; so strong they seemed that Philip of Spain was alarmed lest Mary Stewart should also win the English crown, and he allowed the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in consequence of his fears, to pass unchallenged. As yet, parties at court were not marked simply by their theological views; that would follow in time. On the Guise side the cardinal of Lorraine was the cleverest man, the true head, while Francis the duke was the arm; he showed leanings towards the Lutherans. On the other side the head was the dull and obstinate Anne of Montmorency, the constable, an unwavering Catholic, supported by the three Coligny brothers, who all were or became Huguenots. The queen-mother, Catherine, fluctuated uneasily between the parties, and though Catholic herself, or rather not a Protestant, did not hesitate to befriend the Huguenots, if the political arena seemed to need their gallant swords. Their noblest leader was Coligny the admiral; their recognized head was Antony king of Navarre, a man as foolish as fearless. He was heir presumptive to the throne after the Valois boys, and claimed to have charge of the young king. Though the Guises had the lead at first, the Huguenots seemed, from their strong aristocratic connexions, to have the fairer prospects before them.

Thirty years of desolate civil strife are before us, and we The civil must set it all down briefly and drily. The prelude to the wars.

1560. troubles was played by the Huguenots, who in 1560, guided by La Renaudie, a Perigord gentleman, formed a plot to carry off the young king; for Francis II. had already treated them with considerable severity, and had dismissed from his councils both the princes of the blood royal and the Constable Montmorency. The plot failed miserably, and La Renaudie lost his life; it only secured more firmly the authority of the Guises. As a counterpoise to their influence, the queen-mother now conferred the vacant chancellorship on one of the wisest men France has ever seen, her Lord Bacon, Michel L'Hôpital, a man of the utmost prudence and moderation, who, had the times been better, might have won constitutional liberties for his country, and appeased her civil strife. As it was, he saved her from the Inquisition; his hand drew the edicts which aimed at enforcing toleration on France; he guided the assembly of notables which gathered at Fontainebleau, and induced them to attempt a compromise which moderate Catholics and Calvinists might accept, and which might lessen the power of the Guises. This assembly was followed by a meeting of the States-General at Orleans, at which the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre were seized by the Guises on a charge of having had to do with La Renaudie's plot. It would have gone hard with them had not the sickly king at this very time fallen ill and died (1560).

Charles IX.

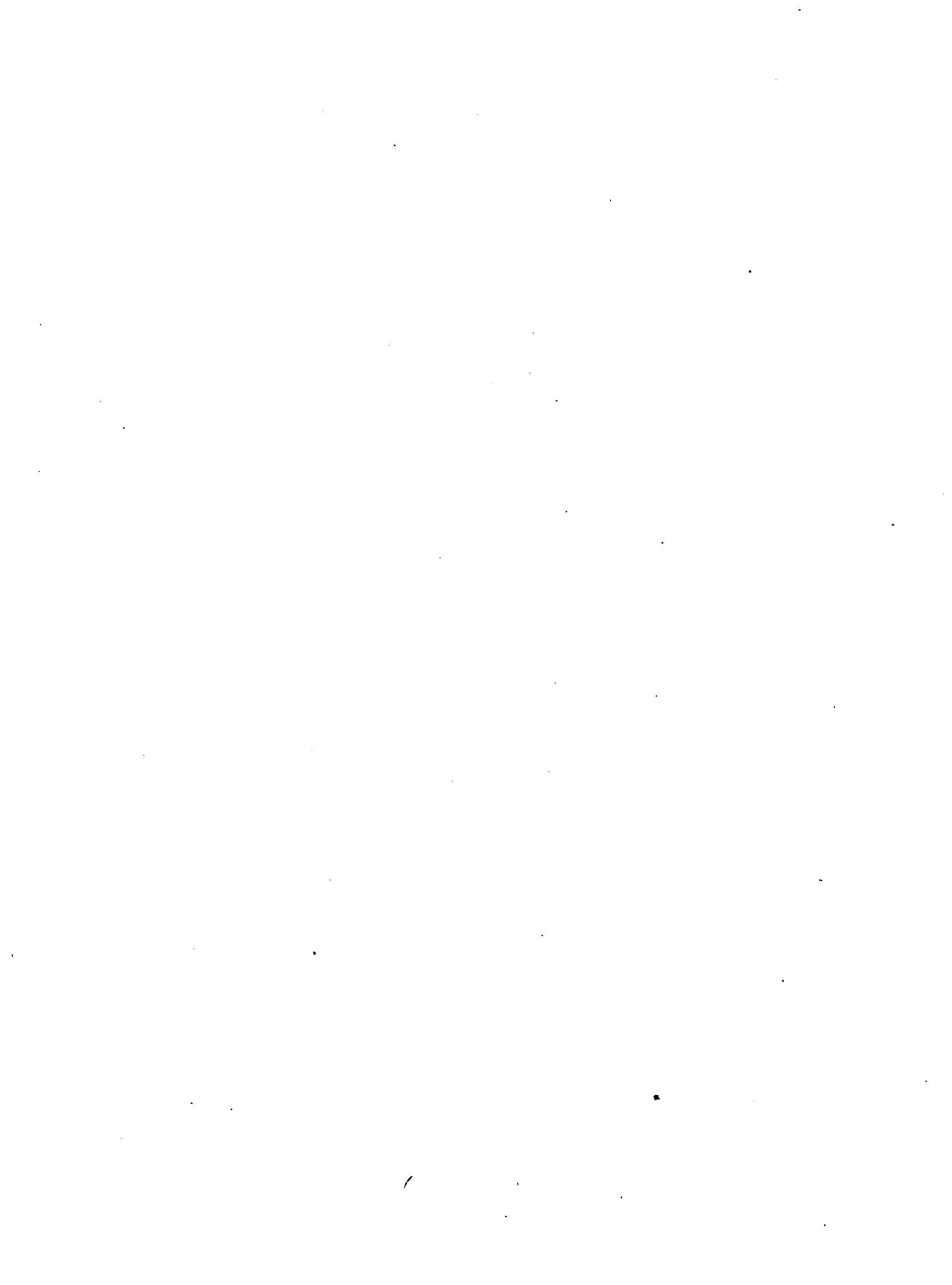
This was a grievous blow to the Guises; they had their hands on their rivals, and would have got rid of them in a few days; they had laid their plans to crush the south, and put down the Huguenots by martial law; the queen-mother was powerless, the middle party behind her was as nothing. Now, as in a moment, all was shattered; Catherine de' Medici rose at once to the command of affairs; the new king, Charles IX., was only ten years old, and her position as regent was assured. The Guises would gladly have ruled with her; but she had no fancy for that; she and Chancellor L'Hôpital were not likely to ally themselves with all that was severe and repressive. Still, parties made a kind of armistice for a while; the queen-mother drew towards easy-tempered Antony of Navarre; the Guises retained much of their power; Condé was set free; the extremer measures proposed by the Huguenots, who wished the king of Navarre to seize the regency for himself, were not regarded with any favour. While the Guises had been omnipotent, the discontented parties excluded by them from power and office were held together by the bonds of a common adversity; the change of affairs loosened their friendship. They fell into three groups:—the princes of the blood, with the queen-mother; the constable Anne of Montmorency and his Catholic friends; and thirdly, the Huguenot nobles and cities of the south and west. The princes of the blood, through Antony of Navarre, had close connexions with the Huguenots; and when the queen-mother had secured him, she doubtless deemed that she would at least be able to neutralize their influence on affairs. She therefore set herself to secure also the constable and his party, and created a kind of triumvirate (composed of herself, Antony of Navarre, and Anne of Montmorency), with which she hoped to rule the country, and to keep the Guises in check. Here was a splendid field for those intrigues in which she had her being; yet the queen's ultimate aim was a good one, for she really desired the tranquillity of France, and hoped to see Catholics and Huguenots dwelling like brethren side by side. It must not be forgotten that the best part of her policy was inspired by the Chancellor L'Hôpital.

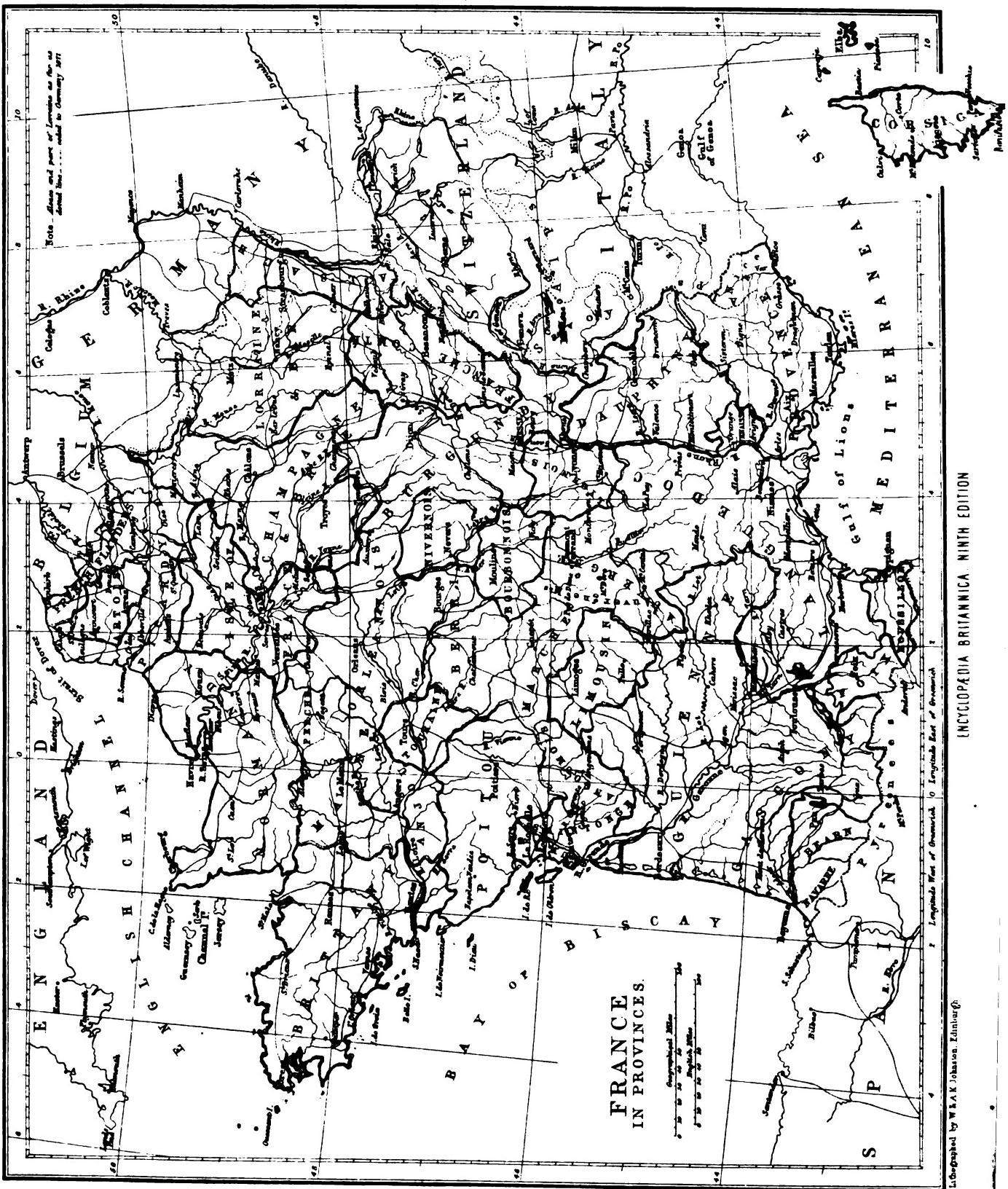
Now it was that Mary Stewart, the queen-dowager, was compelled to leave France for Scotland; her departure clearly marks the fall of the Guises, and it also showed Philip of Spain that it was no longer necessary for him to refuse aid and counsel to the Guises; their claims were no

longer formidable to him on the larger sphere of European 1561-62 politics; no longer could Mary Stewart dream of wearing the triple crown of Scotland, France, and England.

The tolerant language of L'Hôpital at the States-General of Orleans in 1561 satisfied neither side. The Huguenots were restless; the Bourbon princes tried to crush the Guises, in return for their own imprisonment the year before; the constable was offended by the encouragement shown to the Huguenots; it was plain that new changes impended. Montmorency began them by going over to the Guises; and the fatal triumvirate of Francis, duke of Guise, Montmorency, and St André, the marshal, was formed. We find the king of Spain forthwith entering the field of French intrigues and politics, as the support and stay of this triumvirate. Parties take a simpler form at once,—one party of Catholics, and another of Huguenots, with the queen-mother and the moderates left powerless between them. These last, guided still by L'Hôpital, once more convoked States-General at Pontoise: the nobles and the third estate seemed to side completely with the queen and the moderates; a controversy between Huguenots and Jesuits at Poissy only added to the discontent of the Catholics, who were now joined by foolish Antony king of Navarre. The edict of January 1562 is the most remarkable of the attempts made by the queen-mother to satisfy the Huguenots; but party-passion was already too strong for it to succeed; civil war had become inevitable. The recall of the duke of Guise from Lorraine by his party made an outbreak certain. The Guises themselves were not without Lutheran sympathies; their border-position between France and Germany, their literary tastes, and relations with German princes, made this natural enough. Still they were Catholics, and Lutheran sympathies were very different from Huguenot politics. The sudden outbreak at Vassy on the borders of Champagne, which marked the entry of the Guises into France proper, and the murder of Huguenots in the granary in which they were holding service,—a massacre condemned by Francis of Guise himself,—mark the opening of the civil wars (1st March 1562). The period may be divided into four parts:—(1) Periods the wars before the establishment of the League (1562—of the 1570); (2) the period of the St Bartholomew (1570—1573); (3) the struggle of the new Politique party against the Leaguers (1573—1589); (4) the efforts of Henry IV. to crush the League and reduce the country to peace (1589—1598). The period can also be divided by that series of agreements, or peaces, which break it up into eight wars.

1. The war of 1562, on the skirts of which Philip of Spain interfered on the one side, and Queen Elizabeth with war. The Calvinistic German princes on the other, showed at once that the Huguenots were by far the weaker party. The English troops at Havre enabled them at first to command the lower Seine up to Rouen; but the other party, after a long siege which cost poor Antony of Navarre his life, took that place, and relieved Paris of anxiety. The Huguenots had also spread far and wide over the south and west, occupying Orleans; the bridge of Orleans was their point of junction between Poitou and Germany. While the strength of the Catholics lay to the east, in Picardy, and at Paris, the Huguenot power was mostly concentrated in the south and west of France. Condé, who commanded at Orleans, supported by German allies, made an attempt on Paris, but finding the capital too strong for him, turned to the west, intending to join the English troops from Havre. Montmorency, however, caught him at Dreux; and in the battle that ensued the marshal of France, St André, perished; Condé was captured by the Catholics, Montmorency by the Huguenots. Coligny, the admiral, drew off his defeated troops with great skill, and fell back to beyond the Loire; the duke of Guise remained as sole





1563 70. head of the Catholics. Pushing on his advantage, the duke immediately laid siege to Orleans, and there he fell by the hand of a Huguenot assassin. Both parties had suffered so much that the queen-mother thought she might interpose with terms of peace; the edict of Amboise (March 1563) closed the war, allowing the Calvinists freedom of worship in the towns they held, and some other scanty privileges. A three years' quiet followed, though all men suspected their neighbours, and the high Catholic party tried hard to make Catherine sacrifice L'Hôpital and take sharp measures with the Huguenots. They on their side were restless and suspicious, and it was felt that another war could not be far off. Intrigues were incessant, all men thinking to make their profit out of the weakness of France. The struggle between Calvinists and Catholics in the Netherlands roused much feeling, though Catherine refused to favour either party. She collected an army of her own; it was rumoured that she intended to take the Huguenots by surprise, and annihilate them. In autumn 1567 their patience gave way, and they raised the standard of revolt, in harmony with the heroic Netherlanders. Condé and the Châtillons beleaguered Paris from the north, and fought the battle of St Denis, in which the old constable Anne of Montmorency was killed. The Huguenots, however, were defeated and forced to withdraw, Condé marching eastwards to join the German troops now coming up to his aid. No more serious fighting followed; the peace of Longjumeau (March 1568) closed the second war, leaving matters much as they were. The aristocratic resistance against the Catholic sovereigns, against what is often called "the Catholic Reaction," had proved itself hollow; in Germany and the Netherlands, as well as in France, the Protestant cause seemed to fail; it was not until the religious question became mixed up with questions as to political rights and freedom, as in the Low Countries, that a new spirit of hope began to spring up.

The peace of Longjumeau gave no security to the Huguenot nobles; they felt that the assassin might catch them any day. An attempt to seize Condé and Coligny failed, and served only to irritate their party; Cardinal Châtillon escaped to England; Jeanne of Navarre and her young son Henry took refuge at La Rochelle; L'Hôpital was dismissed the court. The queen-mother seemed to have thrown off her cloak of moderation, and to be ready to relieve herself of the Huguenots by any means, fair or foul. War accordingly could not fail to break out again before the end of the year. Condé had never been so strong; with his friends in England and the Low Countries, and the enthusiastic support of a great party of nobles and religious adherents at home, his hopes rose; he even talked of deposing the Valois and reigning in their stead. He lost his life, however, early in 1569, at the battle of Jarnac. Coligny once more with difficulty, as at Dreux, saved the broken remnants of the defeated Huguenots. Condé's death, regarded at the time by the Huguenots as an irreparable calamity, proved in the end to be no serious loss; for it made room for the true head of the party, Henry of Navarre. No sooner had Jeanne of Navarre heard of the mishap of Jarnac than she came into the Huguenot camp, and presented to the soldiers her young son Henry and the young prince of Condé, a mere child. Her gallant bearing and the true soldier-spirit of Coligny, who shone most brightly in adversity, restored their temper; they even won some small advantages. Before long, however, the duke of Anjou, the king's youngest brother, caught and punished them severely at Moncontour. Both parties thenceforward wore themselves out with desultory warfare. In August 1570 the peace of St Germain-en-Laye closed the third war, and ended the first period.

2. It was the most favourable peace the Huguenots had

won as yet; it secured them, beside previous rights, four 1570 72 strongholds. The Catholics were dissatisfied; they could not sympathize with the queen-mother in her alarm at the growing strength of Philip II., head of the Catholics in Europe; they dreaded the existence and growing influence of a party now beginning to receive a definite name, an honourable nickname, the Politiques. These were The Politiques. that large body of French gentlemen who loved the honour of their country rather than their religious party, and who, though Catholics, were yet moderate and tolerant. The day will come when they will assert themselves as the true patriot-party, and, supporting Henry IV., will find out a solution for the vexed questions and the troubles of their times. On the other hand, the Huguenots were frightened by the peace, and regarded its favourable terms as baits and snares. They withdrew sullenly to La Rochelle; the friendly attitude of Charles IX. alarmed them still more: they were scarcely reassured by seeing him ally himself with the house of Austria, then not friendly with Spain. A pair of marriages now proposed by the court amazed them still more. It was suggested that the duke of Anjou should marry Queen Elizabeth of England, and Henry of Navarre Margaret of Valois, the king's sister. Charles IX. hoped thus to be rid of his brother whom he disliked, and to win powerful support against Spain, by the one match, and by the other to bring the civil wars to a close. The sketch of a far-reaching resistance to Philip II. was drawn out; so convinced of his good faith was the prudent and sagacious William of Orange, that on the strength of these plans he refused good terms now offered him by Spain. There seems no doubt that whatever the subtle Catherine may have thought and meant, Charles IX. was sincere. Catherine cared more for her favourite son Henry of Anjou than for the king, whom she despised; she took no pleasure in those schemes for helping the Netherlanders in their revolt, by which Charles hoped to occupy his Huguenot subjects, while he preserved peace at home. She seems all this while to have wished to see some half dozen Huguenot leaders assassinated; thereby she thought the party would be neutralized. She was far from pleased at the ascendancy which Coligny, from the moment the king saw him, exercised in the royal councils. The duke of Alençon, the remaining son of Catherine, the brother who did not come to the throne, was deeply interested in the plans for a war in the Netherlands; Anjou, who had withdrawn from the scheme of marriage with Queen Elizabeth, was at this moment a candidate for the throne of Poland; while negotiations respecting it were going on, Margaret of Valois was married to Henry of Navarre,—the worst of wives to a husband none too good. Coligny, who had strongly opposed the candidature of Anjou for the throne of Poland, was set on by an assassin, employed by the queen-mother and her favourite son, and badly wounded; the Huguenots were in utmost alarm, filling the air with cries and menaces. Charles showed great concern for his friend's recovery, and threatened vengeance on the assassins. What was his astonishment to learn that those assassins were his mother and brother! Catherine worked on his fears, and the plot for the great massacre was combined in an instant. The very next day after the king's consent was wrung from him, 24th August 1572, the massacre of St Bartholomew's day The St took place. The murder of Coligny was completed; his son-in-law Teligny perished; all the chief Huguenots were slain; the slaughter spread to country towns; the church and the civil power were at one, and the victims, taken at unawares, could make no resistance. The two Bourbons, Henry and the prince of Condé, were spared; they bought their lives by a sudden conversion to Catholicism. The chief guilt of this great crime lies with Catherine de' Medici; for though it is certain that she did not plan it long before,

1572-76. assassination was a recognized part of her way of dealing with Huguenots ; only she was too fine to do it in the coarse and wholesale way of the St Bartholomew. It is from her that the taste for murder in France chiefly sprang. The Guises may well share with her ; they planned and executed the hasty act ; they too had long dabbled in murder. The king's share in it was, like himself, weak and impulsive ; he was the last to come in, the first to repent. The evil deed was highly applauded as a master-stroke by pope and Spanish king. Yet it soon became clear that the crime was a blunder also. The effects of it, startling for the moment, enabled the middle party to take the lead. The duke of Alençon never approved of the massacre ; the moderates throughout France were shocked and outraged ; the Huguenots, weakened for a while, were content to unite with the Politiques, and place themselves under their leading ; Catherine lost her power of balancing between the parties, for they are now but two,—that of the League, and that of the rest of France. A short war followed,—a revolt of the southern cities rather than a war. They made tenacious and heroic resistance ; a large part of the royal forces sympathized rather with them than with the League ; and in July 1573, the edict of Boulogne granted them even more than they had been promised by the peace of St Germain.

The fourth war.

The Wars of the League.

The fifth war.

Henry III.

The Catholic League.

3. We have reached the period of the "Wars of the League," as the four later civil wars are often called. The last of the four is alone of any real importance.

Just as the peace of La Rochelle was concluded, the duke of Anjou, having been elected king of Poland, left France ; it was not long before troubles began again. The duke of Alençon was vexed by his mother's neglect ; as heir presumptive to the crown he thought he deserved better treatment, and sought to give himself consideration by drawing towards the middle party ; Catherine seemed to be intriguing for the ruin of that party ; nothing was safe while she was moving. The king had never held up his head since the St Bartholomew ; it was seen that he now was dying, and the queen-mother took the opportunity of laying hands on the middle party. She arrested Alençon, Montmorency, and Henry of Navarre, together with some lesser chiefs ; in the midst of it all Charles IX. died (1574) in misery, leaving the ill-omened crown to Henry of Anjou, king of Poland, his next brother, his mother's favourite, the worst of a bad breed. At the same time the fifth civil war broke out, interesting chiefly because it was during its continuance that the famous League was actually formed.

Henry III., when he heard of his brother's death, was only too eager to slip away like a culprit from Poland, though he showed no alacrity in returning to France, and dallied with the pleasures of Italy for months. An attempt to draw him over to the side of the Politiques failed completely ; he attached himself on the contrary to the Guises, and plunged into the grossest dissipation, while he posed himself before men as a good and zealous Catholic. The Politiques and Huguenots therefore made a compact in 1575, at Milhaud on the Tarn, and chose the prince of Condé as their head ; Henry of Navarre escaped from Paris, threw off his forced Catholicism and joined them. Against them the strict Catholics seemed powerless ; the queen-mother closed this war with the peace of Chastenoy (May 1576), with terms unusually favourable for both Politiques and Huguenots :—for the latter free worship throughout France, except at Paris ; for the chiefs of the former great governments,—for Alençon a large central district, for Condé Picardy, for Henry of Navarre Guyenne.

To resist all this the high Catholic party framed the League they had long been meditating ; it is said that the cardinal of Lorraine had sketched it years before, at the time of the later sittings of the council of Trent. Lesser com-

pacts had already been made from time to time ; now it was 1578-9 proposed to form one great league, towards which all should gravitate. The head of the League was Henry, duke of Guise, the second "Balafré," who had won that title in fighting against the German reiters the year before, when they entered France under Condé. He certainly hoped at this time to succeed to the throne of France, either by deposing the corrupt and feeble Henry III., "as Pippin dealt with Hilderik," or by seizing the throne, when the king's debaucheries should have brought him to the grave. The Catholics of the more advanced type, and specially the Jesuits, now in the first flush of credit and success, supported him warmly. The headquarters of the movement were in Picardy, its first object opposition to the establishment of Condé as governor of that province. The League was also very popular with the common folk, especially in the towns of the north. It soon found that Paris was its natural centre ; thence it spread swiftly across the whole of France ; it was warmly supported by Philip of Spain. The States-General, convoked at Blois in 1576, could bring no rest to France ; opinion was just as much divided there as in the country ; and the year 1577 saw another petty war, ^{The} counted as the sixth, which was closed by the peace of Bergerac, another ineffectual truce, which settled nothing. ^{sixth war.} It was a peace made with the Politiques and Huguenots by the court ; it is significant of the new state of affairs that the League openly refused to be bound by it, and continued a harassing, objectless warfare. The duke of Anjou (he had taken that title on his brother Henry's accession to the throne) in 1578 deserted the court party, towards which his mother had drawn him, and made friends with the Calvinists in the Netherlands. The southern provinces named him "Defender of their liberties" ; they had hopes he might wed Elizabeth of England ; they quite mistook their man. In 1579 "the Gallants' War" ^{The} broke out ; the Leaguers had it all their own way ; but ^{seventh war.} Henry III., not too friendly to them, and urged by his brother Anjou, to whom had been offered sovereignty over the seven United Provinces in 1580, offered the insurgents easy terms, and the treaty of Fleix closed the seventh war. Anjou in the Netherlands could but show his weakness ; nothing went well with him ; and at last, having utterly wearied out his friends, he fled, after the failure of his attempt to secure Antwerp, into France. There he fell ill of consumption, and died in 1584.

This changed at once the complexion of the succession question. Hitherto, though no children seemed likely to be born to him, Henry III. was young and might live long, and his brother was there as his heir. Now, Henry III. was the last prince of the Valois, and Henry of Navarre in hereditary succession was heir presumptive to the throne, unless the Salic law were to be set aside. The fourth son of St Louis, Robert, count of Clermont, who married Beatrix, heiress of Bourbon, was the founder of the house of Bourbon. Of this family the two elder branches had died out :—John, who had been a central figure in the war of the Public Weal, in 1488 ; Peter, husband of Anne of France, in 1503 ; neither of them leaving heirs male. Of the younger branch Francis died in 1525, and the famous Constable Bourbon in 1527. This left as the only representatives of the family the counts of La Marche ; of these the elder had died out in 1438, and the junior alone survived in the counts of Vendôme. The head of this branch, Charles, was made duke of Vendôme by Francis I. in 1515 ; he was father of Antony, duke of Vendôme, who, by marrying the heroic Jeanne of Albret, became king of Navarre, and of Louis, who founded the house of Condé ; lastly, Antony was the father of Henry IV. He was therefore a very distant cousin to Henry III. ; the houses of Capet, of Alençon, of Orleans, of Angoulême, of Maine, and of

584-88. Burgundy, as well as the elder Bourbons, had to fall extinct before Henry of Navarre could become heir to the crown. All this, however, had now happened; and the Huguenots greatly rejoiced in the prospect of a Calvinist king. The Politique party showed no ill-will towards him; both they and the court party declared that if he would become once more a Catholic they would rally to him; the Guises and the League were naturally all the more firmly set against him; and Henry of Navarre saw that he could not as yet safely endanger his influence with the Huguenots, while his conversion would not disarm the hostility of the League. They had before this put forward as heir to the throne Henry's uncle, the wretched old Cardinal Bourbon, who had all the faults and none of the good qualities of his brother Antony. Under cover of his name the duke of Guise hoped to secure the succession for himself; he also sold himself and his party to Philip of Spain, who was now in fullest expectation of a final triumph over his foes. He had assassinated William the Silent; any day Elizabeth or Henry of Navarre might be found murdered; the domination of Spain over Europe seemed almost secured. The pact of Joinville, signed between Philip, Guise, and Mayenne, gives us the measure of the aims of the high Catholic party. Paris warmly sided with them; the new development of the League, the "Sixteen of Paris," one representative for each of the districts of the capital, formed a vigorous organization and called for the king's deposition; they invited Henry, duke of Guise, to Paris. Soon after this Henry III. humbled himself, and signed the treaty of Nemours (1585) with the Leaguers. He hereby became nominal head of the League, and its real slave.

The eighth war, the "War of the Three Henries," that is, of Henry III. and Henry of Guise against Henry of Navarre, now broke out. The pope made his voice heard; Sixtus excommunicated the Bourbons, Henry and Condé, and blessed the leaguers. For the first time there was some real life in one of these civil wars; for Henry of Navarre rose nobly to the level of his troubles. At first the balance of successes was somewhat in favour of the Leaguers; the political atmosphere grew even more threatening, and terrible things, like lightning-flashes, gleamed out now and again. Such, for example, was the execution of Mary Stewart, queen of Scots, in 1586. It was known that Philip II. was preparing to crush England. Elizabeth did what she could to support Henry of Navarre; he had the good fortune to win the battle of Coutras, in which the duke of Joyeuse, one of the favourites of Henry III., was defeated and killed. The duke of Guise, on the other hand, was too strong for the Germans, who had marched into France to join the Huguenots, and defeated them at Vimory and Auneau, after which he marched in triumph to Paris, in spite of the orders and opposition of the king, who, finding himself powerless, withdrew to Chartres. Once more Henry III. was obliged to accept such terms as the Leaguers chose to impose; and with rage in his heart he signed the "Edict of Union" (1588), in which he named the duke of Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and declared that no heretic could succeed to the throne. Unable to endure the humiliation, Henry III. that same winter assassinated the duke and the cardinal of Guise, and seized many leaders of the League, though he missed the duke of Mayenne. This scandalous murder of the "King of Paris," as the capital fondly called the duke, brought the wretched king no solace nor power. His mother did not live to see the end of her son; she died in this the darkest period of his career, and must have been aware that her cunning and her immoral life had brought nothing but misery to herself and all her race. The power of the League party seemed as great as ever; the duke of Mayenne entered Paris, and declared open war on Henry

III., who, after some hesitation, threw himself into the hands of his cousin Henry of Navarre in the spring of 1589. The old Politique party now rallied to the king; the Huguenots were staunch for their old leader; things looked less dark for them since the destruction of the Spanish Armada in the previous summer. The Swiss, aroused by the threats of the duke of Savoy at Geneva, joined the Germans, who once more entered north-eastern France; the Leaguers were unable to make head either against them or against the armies of the two kings; they fell back on Paris, and the allies hemmed them in. The defence of the capital was but languid; the populace missed their idol, the duke of Guise, and the moderate party, never extinguished, recovered strength. All looked as if the royalists would soon reduce the last stronghold of the League, when Henry III. was suddenly slain by the dagger of a fanatical half-witted priest. The king had only time to commend Henry of Navarre to his courtiers as his heir, and to exhort him to become a Catholic, before he closed his eyes, and ended the long roll of his vices and crimes. And thus in crime and shame the house of Valois went down. For a few years the throne remained practically vacant: the heroism of Henry of Navarre, the loss of strength in the Catholic powers, the want of a vigorous head to the League,—these things all sustained the Bourbon in his arduous struggle; the middle party grew in strength daily, and when once Henry had allowed himself to be converted, he became the national sovereign, the national favourite, and the high Catholics fell to the fatal position of an unpatriotic faction depending on the arm of the foreigner.

4. The civil wars were not over, for the heat of party Henry raged as yet unsaked; the Politiques could not all at once adopt a Huguenot king, the League party had pledged itself to resist the heretic, and Henry at first had little more than the Huguenots at his back. There were also formidable claimants for the throne. Charles II., duke of Lorraine, who had married Claude, younger daughter of Henry II., and who was therefore brother-in-law to Henry IV., set up a vague claim; the king of Spain, Philip II., thought that the Salic law had prevailed long enough in France, and that his own wife, the elder daughter of Henry II., had the best claim to the throne; the Guises, though their head was gone, still hoping for the crown, proclaimed their sham-king the cardinal of Bourbon as Charles X., and intrigued behind the shadow of his name. The duke of Mayenne, their present chief, was the most formidable of Henry's opponents; his party called for a convocation of States-General, which should choose a king to succeed, or to replace, their feeble Charles X. During this struggle the high Catholic party, inspired by Jesuit advice, stood forward as the admirers of constitutional principles; they called on the nation to decide the question as to the succession; their Jesuit friends wrote books on the sovereignty of the people. They summoned up troops from every side; the duke of Lorraine sent his son to resist Henry and support his own claim; the king of Spain sent a body of men; the League-princes brought what force they could. Henry of Navarre at the same moment found himself weakened by the silent withdrawal from his camp of the army of Henry III.; the Politique nobles did not care at first to throw in their lot with the Huguenot chieftain; they offered to confer on Henry the post of commander-in-chief, and to reserve the question as to the succession; they let him know that they recognized his hereditary rights, and were hindered only by his heretical opinions; if he would but be converted, they were his. Henry temporized; his true strength, for the time, lay in his Huguenot followers, rugged and faithful fighting-men, whose belief was the motive-power of their allegiance and of their courage. If he joined the Politiques at their price, the

1589-91. price of declaring himself Catholic, the Huguenots would be offended if not alienated. So he neither absolutely refused nor said yes; and the chief Catholic nobles, in the main, stood aloof, watching the struggle between Huguenot and Leaguer, as it worked out its course.

Henry, thus weakened, abandoned the siege of Paris, and fell back; with the bulk of his forces he marched into Normandy, so as to be within reach of English succour; a considerable army went into Champagne, to be ready to join any Swiss or German help that might come. These were the great days of the life of Henry of Navarre. After the rough training of his boyhood, when his noble mother was no more, and he had become entangled with the absolute Valois court, he had taken willing share in their debaucheries, and seemed no better than the rest; after he had secured his throne, he relapsed again into a scandalous life, which dimmed the lustre of his vigorous government. But now he was at his best; in the life of camps, the excitements of the battlefield, in the flashes of genius with which he fought successfully against heavy odds, Henry showed himself a hero, who strove for a great cause—the cause of European freedom—as well as for his own crown.

The duke of Mayenne followed the Huguenots down into the west, and found Henry awaiting him in a strong position at Arques, near Dieppe; here at bay the "Béarnais" inflicted a heavy blow on his assailants; Mayenne fell back into Picardy; the prince of Lorraine drew off altogether; and Henry marched back triumphantly to Paris, ravaged the suburbs, and then withdrew to Tours, where he was recognized as king by the parliament. His campaign of 1589 had been most successful; he had defeated the League in a great battle, thanks to his skilful use of his position at Arques, and the gallantry of his troops, which more than counterbalanced the great disparity in numbers. He had seen dissension break out among his enemies; even the pope, Sixtus V., had shown him some favour, and the Politique nobles were certainly not going against him. Early in 1590 Henry had secured Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, and in March defeated Mayenne in a great pitched battle at Ivry, not far from Dreux. The Leaguers fell back in consternation to Paris. Henry reduced all the country round the capital, and sat down before it for a stubborn siege. The duke of Parma had at that time his hands full in the Low Countries; young prince Maurice was beginning to show his great abilities as a soldier, and had got possession of Breda; all, however, had to be suspended by the Spaniards on that side, rather than let Henry of Navarre take Paris. Parma with great skill relieved the capital without striking a blow, and the campaign of 1590 ended in a failure for Henry. The success of Parma, however, made Frenchmen feel that Henry's was the national cause, and that the League flourished only by interference of the foreigner. Were the king of Navarre but a Catholic, he should be a king of France of whom they might all be proud. This feeling was strengthened by the death of the old Cardinal Bourbon, which re-opened at once the succession question, and compelled Philip of Spain to show his hand. He now claimed the throne for his daughter Elizabeth, as eldest daughter of the eldest daughter of Henry II. All the neighbours of France claimed something; Frenchmen felt that it was either Henry IV. or dismemberment. The "Béarnais" grew in men's minds to be the champion of the Salic law, of the hereditary principle of royalty against feudal weakness, of unity against dismemberment, of the nation against the foreigner.

The middle party, the Politiques of Europe,—the English, that is, and the Germans,—sent help to Henry, by means of which he was able to hold his own in the north-west and south-west throughout 1591. Late in the year the violence of the Sixteen of Paris drew on them severe punishment

from the duke of Mayenne; and consequently the duke 1591-93 ceased to be the recognized head of the League, which now looked entirely to Philip II. and Parma, while Paris ceased to be its headquarters; and more moderate counsels having taken the place of its fierce fanaticism, the capital came under the authority of the lawyers and citizens, instead of the priesthood and the bloodthirsty mob. Henry meanwhile, who was closely beleaguered at Rouen, was again outgeneraled by Parma, and had to raise the siege. Parma, following him westwards, was wounded at Caudebec; and though he carried his army triumphantly back to the Netherlands, his career was ended by this trifling wound. He did no more, and died in 1592.

In 1593, Mayenne having sold his own claims to Philip The con- of Spain, the opposition to Henry looked more solid and ^{versus} dangerous than ever; he therefore thought the time was ^{of Henry} come for the great step which should rally to him all the IV. moderate Catholics. After a decent period of negotiation and conferences, he declared himself convinced, and heard mass at St Denis. The conversion had immediate effect; it took the heart out of the opposition; city after city came in; the longing for peace was strong in every breast, and the conversion seemed to remove the last obstacle. The Huguenots, little as they liked it, could not oppose the step, and hoped to profit by their champion's improved position. Their ablest man, Sully, had even advised Henry to make the plunge. In 1594 Paris opened her gates to Henry, who had been solemnly crowned, just before, at Chartres. He was welcomed with immense enthusiasm, and from that day onwards has ever been the favourite hero of the capital. By 1595 only one foe remained,—the Spanish court. The League was now completely broken up; the parliament of Paris gladly aided the king to expel the Jesuits from France. In November 1595 Henry declared war against War Spain, for anything was better than the existing state of things, in which Philip's hand secretly supported all opposition. The war in 1596 was far from being successful for Henry; he was comforted, however, by receiving at last the papal absolution, which swept away the last scruples of France.

By rewards and kindness,—for Henry was always willing to give and had a pleasant word for all,—most of the reluctant nobles, headed by the duke of Mayenne himself, came in in the course of 1596. Still the war pressed very heavily, and early in 1597 the capture of Amiens by the Spaniards alarmed Paris, and roused the king to fresh energies. With help of Sully (who had not yet received the title by which he is known to history) Henry recovered Amiens, and checked the Spanish advance. It was noticed that while the old Leaguers came very heartily to the king's help, the Huguenots hung back in a discontented and suspicious spirit. After the fall of Amiens the war languished; the pope offered to mediate, and Henry had time to breathe. He felt that his old comrades the offended Huguenots had good cause for complaint; and in April 1598 he issued the famous Edict of Nantes, which secured ^{The} their position for nearly a century. They got toleration ^{Edict of} Nantes. for their opinions; might worship openly in all places, with the exception of a few towns in which the League had been strong; were qualified to hold office in financial posts and in the law; had a Protestant chamber in the parliaments. The number of Huguenots is said to have been at this time rather over a million in all, though little trust can be put in figures; they were strong in Burgundy, Poitou, Saintonge, Provence, Guyenne, and Dauphiny; in the rest of France there were but few of them.

Immediately after the publication of the Edict of Nantes The the Treaty of Vervins was signed. Though Henry by it treaty of broke faith with Queen Elizabeth, he secured an honourable Vervins. peace for his country, and undisputed kingship for himself.

1598. It was the last act of Philip II., the confession that his great schemes were unfulfilled, his policy a failure.

III. THE BOURBON MONARCHY.

The year 1598 closes the mediæval history of France ; henceforth she takes her part in modern history. The power of the feudal noblesse has passed away ; the earlier rivalries between France and Austria take a new character ; the centralized absolutist monarchy begins. We are coming to the days of the great ministers,—first Sully, then Richelieu, lastly Colbert, under whose rule France becomes great, almost in spite of her kings. The age now past had little to look back on with pleasure ; the utter corruption of the court, reign after reign, the selfish partizanship of the nobles, and the harsh incidence of civil war, incline us to believe the age to have been thoroughly wretched. Yet the condition of the French people was less miserable than it had been ; without seeing much prosperity we hear less of famine than in previous or in later ages ; for civil wars do not so much exhaust the well-being of a country as might appear. It has been observed that the wars of the Roses did little to check the progress of England ; and in like manner the wars of the League do not seem to have deeply afflicted France. These wars, in fact, were all the fighting of lords and princes with their retainers ; they were languid and partial ; and though their story might be wretched enough, the wretchedness of it chiefly fell on the heads of the belligerents themselves. There is no Jacquerie in this age, as in the 15th and as in the 18th century in France ; and in some respects the country made a real advance. In arts she has never been really great, and her age of poetry was not yet come. Ronsard and Du Bartas, great as their reputation was once, do not rise into the first rank of poets, and there are no better names. In political and legal writings, on the other hand, we have the great names of Montaigne and L'Hôpital, of Bodin and Hottmann, of Cujas and Etienne Pasquier. Stephanus and Joseph Scaliger represent classical tastes and chronological investigation. Town-life was but little injured, except in Paris herself, by the wars of the period ; and even Paris was not altogether the worse for them, for even Henry III. took an interest in the capital, and tried to develop its resources.

The "Christian Republic," that great political romance, was ever laid before the eyes of Henry IV. we shall never know ; at all events it represents, in a rather extreme form, the broader politics of modern history, and marks a great change in the relations of states. Many of its ideas were, consciously or not, adopted by the imperialism of our own century ; for they favoured the national vanity, which sought to impose its principles and wishes on Europe. It represented the resistance of France to the Austro-Spanish power, affirmed the general principle of toleration, endeavoured to substitute a court of arbitration in place of war, recognized many different forms of government, and sought to weld all civilized Europe into one harmonious community. That it was a dream the world's history has plentifully proved ; that there was in it much to admire, much to strive for, is equally proved by the persistence of many of its ideas, and their agreement with the best parts of the development of Europe in modern times.

Parties at Henry's court. In 1598, on the close of the Spanish war, when Henry IV. was at last fully recognized as king of France on all sides, we find at his court representatives of the two policies which for ages contended for the possession of the great resources of the country. These were the Hispano-Catholic policy, which aimed at uniting French and Spanish interests against the north and west of Europe ; and on the other side, the policy of the tolerant party, which desired to make France the leader of the Protestant and

liberal part of Europe, which allied itself with the Dutch, with the North German Lutherans, with the English, with the Swedes. It is the glory of Sully, of Richelieu, and of Colbert that they advanced the greatness of France by following the latter of these lines ; whereas Louis XIV. lost power from the moment that he abandoned himself to the Spanish policy.

So at Henry's court we find Maximilian of Bethune, lord of Rosny (he was not made duke of Sully till 1606), who headed the liberal party, the party of economy and good government, opposed to Villeroy, who represented the Spanish party, and seemed to have an equal share in the king's regard. Between these two were Jeannin, a great lawyer, and president of the Paris parliament, who worked with Sully and Sillery, who held a middle course, and was the most trusted diplomatist of his time. Villeroy and the Spanish advisers were strongly supported by the court, especially after the appearance of Mary de' Medici. The court of Spain was only too glad to thwart Henry where it could ; the English court, after the accession of James, was too much set on windy schemes and grand impossibilities to afford a counterpoise on the other side. Sully had been made head of the finances in 1597, and had found everything in frightful disorder. His stern temper, severe manners, even his narrow grasp, proved him to be admirably suited for the part he had to play ; a more enlightened statesman might have failed where he succeeded. We find in his finance no large views as to economic principles ; we only see a rigid determination to stop waste, to punish thieves in high places, to make the taxes yield their full worth to the crown. So far as he occupied himself with general politics, Sully's views were right and liberal ; he disliked the Spanish tendencies of the court, and did his best to keep his master clear of them. He could not make the king economical, or reduce the outgoings of the state ; on the contrary, he felt himself obliged to make a strong army and plentiful artillery, and to accumulate good store of coin at the arsenal, so as to be ready for any need. In spite of these expenses, he speedily lessened the severity of the taxation ; and as good government made tranquillity, and tranquillity plenty, France bore her burdens with increasing willingness and ability. The chief failure of Sully's administration lay in his having done nothing to equalize taxation, by compelling noble land to bear its share with the labour of the peasant. He laid on some new taxes, increased some of the worst of the existing imposts, reduced the amount of the public debt, and encouraged agriculture. Henry, who with all his faults had broader views than his finance minister, also did his best for manufactures ; the edicts of the reign are numerous, and for the most part very sensible and helpful.

Though the civil wars were over before 1598, content had not returned to the country. Henry was often ungrateful to his old friends and loyal supporters ; and the leaders of the Politique party, who might well think they had secured his throne for him, were especially dissatisfied. Consequently, when war broke out with the duke of Savoy in 1600 over some frontier question, the duke of Biron entered Biron's into a great plot with Savoy and Spain, and carried with him a formidable party of nobles. Sully, however, was prepared for all ; his artillery and munitions of war were such as had never before been seen ; and the duke of Savoy, seeing Montmélian, an impregnable stronghold, as it was deemed, actually taken, sued for peace. He retained Saluzzo, for Henry had no desire to meddle in Italian politics, and ceded to France Bresse and Bugey, Valromey and Gex, so securing French influences up to the very gates of Geneva, and making it certain that the duke of Savoy must never again hope to crush that vigorous republic. Just before the end of this war, his

1600-10 divorce from Margaret of Valois having come from the pope, Henry married Mary de' Medici (1600), then in the prime of her beauty; later on she grew fat and heavy. She was always stiff and obstinate, a prejudiced follower of the old ways, who spent her life first in thwarting, afterwards in obliterating, the traces of the higher schemes and acts of her spouse. The duke of Biron, utterly dissatisfied at the result of the Savoyard war, plunged into fresh conspiracy; then Henry IV. felt no more pity for him, but seized and beheaded him; it was believed that the queen herself was mixed up in his plot, which had far-reaching ramifications. By 1605 Henry had reduced all the rest of his recalcitrant nobles, treating them without rancour or revenge if they came in, and setting trusty officers of his own to watch over them.

The remainder of the king's life was occupied with two things:—first, the strengthening of the resources of France at home; secondly, the preparations for authoritative intervention in the affairs of Europe, which were now beginning to attract the attention of all. The king was called on to intervene as a mediator between the papacy and Venice in 1606-1607, and decided their quarrel in a way which ought to have roused the gratitude of the papal power. Chiefly through Henry's firmness, a truce for twelve years was signed between Spain and the United Provinces,—for the Spaniards, exhausted by the siege of Ostend, the greatest siege the world had ever seen (1601-1604), and quite unable to cope with the genius of Maurice of Nassau, gladly accepted the peaceful overtures of Olden Barneveldt and the commercial grandees of the towns, who then, as afterwards, were opposed to the democratic and war-loving population of the country, which supported the house of Orange. This truce closed the great struggle of the Low Countries for their independence, and virtually secured it to them. While, however, tranquillity reigned in Holland and Italy, Germany was growing ever more uneasy; in more districts than one the struggle between the communions, deferred not ended by the peace of Augsburg of 1555, had become acute. Not only in the Slavonic lands connected with the house of Austria was there excitement and disturbance, but in the Rhine districts questions had arisen which called out the warm interest of all the three confessions,—the Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic. The death of the duke of Cleves in 1609 brought matters to a head; the Dutch and Spaniards, the elector of Brandenburg, and the emperor, all interfered. Then Henry IV. took up the cause of the Protestant princes, and sent envoys to the Evangelic Union of Halle (January 1610), and made most vigorous preparations for war, in combination with Maurice of Nassau, who agreed to join him with 20,000 Dutchmen in Cleves. It was arranged that the queen should be regent in the king's absence, and as she had never been solemnly crowned, she delayed Henry's departure till that ceremony had taken place; in the days of waiting the king, fretting to be off, went to visit Sully, who lay ill at the Arsenal, and to feast his eyes once more on the splendid armoury and munitions of war collected there. As he went, he was assassinated by Ravaillac, who plunged a knife into his heart. It is said to have been the eighteenth attempt made on his life. All the grand plans for interference in the affairs of Europe, and for the reduction of the house of Austria, fell to the ground at once, and German affairs were left to seethe as they would, until in 1618-1619 they came to a head in the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. The knife of Ravaillac, whether he was set on by the queen and the Spanish party or not, did their work; it left the Protestants of the north to fight for themselves, relieved the king of Spain of grave auxiliaries, and plunged France once more into confusion and trouble. Not till the reign of Richelieu had succeeded the administration of Sully did

The state of Europe.

Assassination of Henry IV.

France resume her true direction and lead the resistance to 1610-14 the house of Austria.

Henry IV. had the great quality of individuality. He stands out fresh and clear as a distinct personage, of high soul, bright temper, original and characteristic speech. All great men leave sayings behind them, and Henry's ring with vigorous good nature and humour. His brilliancy in war was that of a captain; he had not the coolness and combination of a general; his moral character was restless, bad, ungrateful, self-indulgent; he took little trouble to help his subjects to greater comfort, though he ever wished them well. They felt that there was in him something of the lazy kindness of Louis XII. He chose a grand minister in Sully, and, in spite of some wavering, followed him in the right policy for France. He had the faults of the Bourbons; yet he was their greatest king,—on the whole, their noblest man.

Voltaire sums up the good deeds of his reign in nervous phrases:—

"Justice is reformed, and—far harder task!—the two religions live in peace—to all appearance. Agriculture is encouraged; as Sully said, 'Plough and cow, these are the breasts of France, whereat she sucks; they are the true mines and treasures of Peru.' Commerce and the arts, which Sully cared for less, were still honoured; gold and silver stuffs enriched Lyons and France. Henry established manufactures of tapestry; French glass after the Venetian style began to be made. To him alone France owes the silkworm and the mulberry, in spite of Sully. It was Henry who dug the canal which joins the Seine and the Loire. Under him Paris grew and grew fair; he built the Place Royale, he rebuilt the old bridges. Before his day the St Germain suburb was not connected with the town, and was improved; he saw to that. He built that fine bridge on which every Frenchman as he passes still looks up with emotion at his statue. St Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, above all the Louvre, were enlarged, almost rebuilt, by him. He established in his long gallery in the Louvre artists of all kinds, and encouraged them frequently with his presence as well as his presents."

Finally, he had made France the arbiter of Europe, as was felt at Venice and Amsterdam, and as would have been also felt on the Rhine, had not the Spanish faction, and the undying hatred of the Catholic fanaticism, cut short his life on the very eve of great events.

The regency in France belonged in theory to the princes of the blood-royal; as, however, Catherine de' Medici had made her a precedent, and as Henry IV. had as good as named his spouse regent, Marie de' Medici seized the office at once. She took no vengeance on Sully for his opposition to her in past time, but made friends with him, taking from him all real power and command of the finances, while she left him the charge of the artillery and woods, together with the government of Poitou. The princes of the blood-royal were easily disposed of: Condé was in exile, the prince of Conti a cipher; the count of Soissons she quieted with great gifts. Then she composed a council of regency, which was managed by her favourites Concini and his wife Leonora Galigai. Concini, who purchased the marquisate of Ancre, and was made marshal, though an ambitious and greedy foreigner, did not use his power amiss for a time. When the princes, headed by Condé, opposed him and clamoured for the convocation of the States-General, Concini quieted them skilfully, and in 1614 caused the young king's majority to be declared,—for Louis XIII. was then thirteen years old,—and summoned the States-General to meet at Paris. As this was the last time that they were called States-together before the eve of the Revolution, it may be well to say a word as to the body, its nature and composition. The States-General of France, in which the three orders met from time to time at invitation of the king, was an assembly of clergy, nobles, and "third estate" or commons. The three formed three entirely independent chambers, sitting, debating, and voting separately. Consequently the vote of two orders could always veto the wishes of the third; and as clergy were a class and nobles a caste, and as to a large

Louis XIII.
and the
regency.

States-
General of 1614.

1614. extent the interests of these bodies were identical, and as, moreover, they both enjoyed a fatal immunity from the burdens of taxation, the chance of legislation or taxation on fair principles was very small indeed. Representing the clerical estate sat the bishops and abbots, together with a certain number of lower clergy; in the noble house sat the holders of noble fiefs; the third estate was represented (except in 1789) chiefly by deputies elected in the towns. These bodies had really no legislative power; and though just before the Revolution the parliament of Paris opened the way to great changes by declaring that taxes could only be legally voted by the States-General, they had, as a fact, very little authority even in this respect; in only a few cases did they sanction taxation or vote subsidies; the royal power found it more convenient, till the bankrupt state of the country under Louis XVI. compelled it to call on the Estates for help, to arrange the taxation as it thought good. The great doctrine of the relation between tax-paying and political power was unknown in France. The true function of the Estates seemed to be limited to expressions of opinion on points submitted to them by the king, and to the laying before him, on their side, grievances which they had brought up in their *cahiers* or "quires," from the country. These grievances they could not remedy: all they could do was solemnly to call the attention of the king to them, who could redress them if he liked. This solemn process was almost the only occasion on which the Estates met together. They went to church together at the opening, and then in one chamber were met by the king, who addressed them and dismissed them to their several chambers with the business he chose to entrust to their deliberations; then, once more, at the end of their labours they all met again. At the upper end of the hall a platform was erected for the king and his court, the twelve peers, and the household officers; on the right hand of it sat the clergy, on the left the nobles, in front, at the foot of the hall, the third estate. Each order presented its statement of grievances; the king replied with promises and assurances, which came to very little, and the Estates were then dismissed; and if the court had got the money or the help it sought, very little more was thought about gravamina to be redressed. So little was their practical importance,—so rarely were they provoked, that their composition, method of election or nomination, rules of procedure, rights and legislative competency, were never made clear. It was not in the interests of the monarchy, or indeed of the privileged orders, that the Estates should have any power, or meet very often. This, then, was all that France, before the Revolution, ever had by way of what Englishmen call a parliament. The word parliament in France has always signified only a law court; and the parliament of Paris, the chief law court of the realm, claimed a certain constitutional power, as having the duty of registering the royal edicts. As a rule, it proved itself the obsequious servant of the king's will; from time to time, however, it was stubborn, and, refusing to register, held that the royal edict so unregistered was void of authority. In such cases the king was wont to hold what was curiously styled a "lit de justice," a "bed of justice," or solemn visitation of the parliament, in which he personally attended and compelled the reluctant body to register his edict. These things, for the "generalities" or "Pays d'élection,"—that is, for the chief part of France,—were the sum total of constitutional life and power enjoyed,—a total which, under a strong and determined monarch, or such a minister as Richelieu, meant absolutely nothing at all. In the outlying districts, called the "Pays d'états," more liberties existed; these parts voted their own local taxation, and managed to a great extent their own local affairs; they were, however, a mere fringe round the borders of ancient France,—the estate of Flanders

(namely, Douai and Lille), Provence, Béarn, Lower Navarre, Bigorre, Foix, Soule, Armagnac, Nébouzan, and Marsan.

The States-General of 1614 did nothing; they faithfully represented the jealousies and ill-will between the orders, and broke up in confusion. Armand du Plessis of Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, was the orator of the clergy on this occasion, the person charged to lay the grievances of his order before the king. This is the only interesting fact in the history of this meeting of the Estates. In 1615 Louis XIII. married Anne of Austria, who afterwards played a considerable part in the troubles of the Fronde. For two years Marshal Ancre steered his perilous way between the young king, who cared little for him,—his mother's favourite, not his,—the princes of the blood, and the discontented Huguenots. In 1617 the new favourite of Louis, Charles d'Albert, count of Luynes, overthrew and killed him; Leonora Galigai, his wife, was executed as a sorceress; the queen-mother and Richelieu, who was just hoping to secure his foothold at court, both fell,—she withdrew to Blois, he to Luçon; the young king, weak and frivolous, fell into the hands of the noblesse. After a time the nobles were as little pleased with Luynes as they had been with Concini, and rallied round the court of Mary de' Medici at Angers. Richelieu, whose great abilities had already been recognized, was charged by Luynes with the delicate task of attempting a reconciliation between the king and his mother; he succeeded by the treaty of Angers in 1620 in averting civil war. Then Luynes, thinking it well to amuse the king, marched with him into Béarn, where the inhabitants, suddenly bereft (in 1617) of their rights as Protestants, were in open ferment and revolt. Here, as in all the south and west of France, the Huguenots were uneasy and suspicious; the incidents of war in Bohemia, where the Calvinists had but just been crushed, and the political changes in the United Provinces, excited their already high-wrought feelings. They claimed the full benefit of the Edict of Nantes, which seemed to the court to be the establishment of a republic in the heart of the monarchy. In 1621 they held an assembly at their capital, La Rochelle, and made a kind of declaration of independence. They divided their 700 congregations throughout France into eight circles, after the German fashion, thus indicating a tendency towards decentralization, which must be offensive to the court and the general body of French people; they arranged their own levies of men and money, and in fact went far towards the full organization of what they styled "the republic of the Reformed churches of France and Béarn." They named the duke of Bouillon their chief, and made Lesdiguières most plentiful offers. These great nobles, however, refused to join them, and the duke of Rohan with his brother Soubise became the heads of this Huguenot movement. There were in it not a few elements of constitutional life; these Protestants had a far better idea of wholesome government than prevailed elsewhere in France. The noblesse, however, would have nothing to do with them, and their efforts were of little avail. The king, who showed considerable energy, took the command against them, and encouraged his army to treat them with barbarous cruelty, for he was a weak and heartless creature. At the siege of Montauban, however, he failed completely, and had to withdraw discomfited. Soon after this, in the end of 1621, Luynes was taken with camp fever and died. The king, who was weary of him, heard with pleasure the tidings of his death. Round him were now formed two parties,—that of the queen-mother upheld by Richelieu, and that of the prince of Condé. The king, leaning towards the latter, which wished for war, set forth on a second campaign against the Huguenots, and conducted it with the same mischievous cruelty as before. The Huguenots showed

1623-24. nothing but weakness ; their chief men submitted, and place after place fell. After this war had lasted about a year, the queen-mother got the upper hand at court, and Condé had to withdraw ; by a treaty which recalled the old peaces of the civil wars, the chief part of the Edict of Nantes was confirmed, while the Huguenots were forbidden to hold political meetings or to fortify towns ; they retained only La Rochelle and Montauban as strongholds (October 1623). Richelieu, who in 1622 had received the cardinal's hat in reward of his services in reconciling the king with his mother, was now ready to take charge of and to rule the weak, unstable king, who already appeared to fear and dislike his future master. He entered the council in April 1624.

His policy. "I venture on nothing without first thinking it out ; but once decided, I go straight to my point, overthrow or cut down whatever stands in my way, and finally cover it all up with my cardinal's red robe." Such are the words put into Richelieu's mouth ; and whether he said them or not, they represent fairly enough his deliberation, resolution, and cold severity. Nor does the final touch as to the red robe of his clerical office go much beyond the truth ; for he made great use of his dignity as a cardinal to cover the intrigues and cruelties on which otherwise he might perhaps have never ventured. In his earlier days he seems to have desired to build up a strong monarchy, absolute, without constitutional checks, on the goodwill of a satisfied and well-governed people. The alliance between despotism and democracy, which our own age has also seen, appeared to be especially adapted for France, where the constitutional life was always so weak. As soon, however, as the despotism was established on a firm footing, the people were forgotten ; and Richelieu's administration in the end oppressed them quite as much as it crushed the nobles or kept the church in order.

His earlier history. When Richelieu entered the king's council in 1624 he was thirty-nine years old. Born in 1585, he was the youngest son of a noble family of Poitou, springing originally from the village of Richelieu. In that family the elder son, if he chose, took orders, because they could always dispose of the bishopric of Luçon, a kind of family benefice ; the younger son became a soldier. As such, Armand du Plessis learnt lessons in warfare, which were very useful to him at a later time ; the cardinal's robe did not take the place of the soldier's coat,—it only concealed it. When, however, his brother gave up his preferment at Luçon, Armand at once left the calling of a soldier, was ordained, and succeeded to the bishopric in 1607, at the age of twenty-two. The States-General of 1614 made the young prelate's fortune ; he pleased Concini and the queen-mother, acted with consummate skill and prudence through the ten years which followed, was made cardinal in 1622, and member of the council in 1624. His later life may be divided into four periods :—(1) from 1624 to 1626, the time of his first resistance against the Austro-Spanish power and his failure, as shown by the peace of Monzon ; (2) from 1626 to 1628, when he punished the Huguenots of La Rochelle for that failure, and laid firmer foundations for his after-success ; (3) from 1628 to 1635, the period in which he secured his own and his master's despotism in France, and began to interfere in the affairs of Europe ; and lastly (4), from 1635 to 1643, the days of his successful lead in the arena of general politics, and of his triumphant overthrow of his domestic foes ; the fruits of this period he left for Mazarin to gather in abroad by his triumphs at the peace of Westphalia ; Louis XIV. carried out his principles to their utmost development in domestic policy.

1. When he began to rule in 1624, the Austro-Spanish power had already become very strong. The first results of the Thirty Years' War were all in their favour ; they held

the Palatinate and the course of the Rhine, by which they could communicate with the Spanish Netherlands and intimidate the Dutch ; they were also masters of the important Valtelline, that long pass which led from the Milanese territory, at this time in their hands, to their German friends in Bavaria and Tyrol. Richelieu determined to attack them both in Germany and in the Italian Alps,—in Germany by supporting the leadership of Christian IV. of Denmark, though he would have much preferred that of Gustavus Adolphus ; in the Alps by allying himself with Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, with Venice, and with the Grison leagues. With hardly any resistance he swept the Spanish and papal troops out of the Valtelline ; for Urban VIII. was only half-hearted on the side of Spain, and was to some extent influenced by the true winner of some of Richelieu's greatest triumphs, the crafty capuchin, Father Joseph. Just, however, as all was going on well, Richelieu was paralysed by an unlucky outburst of Huguenot independence ; affairs in Germany took a bad turn, for Wallenstein now appears on the scene with a new imperial army ; the attack of the duke of Savoy on Genoa failed ; the French in Piedmont and the Valtelline felt themselves insecure. A temporary peace was made with the Huguenots, and in May 1626 the treaty of Monzon with Spain closed Richelieu's first attempt to reduce the preponderance of that power. It is perhaps the darkest hour of his career ; the treaty was secretly and treacherously agreed on ; he left his allies to shift for themselves ; he seemed to reverse his whole policy. The truth was that the strength of the Spanish party at home, the ill-success of the Lutherans in Germany, and the weakening effect of Huguenot insurrection made it impossible for him to persevere.

2. It was clear that he must bridle the Rochelle Protestants before he could advance a step ; so doing, he would also make a beginning in his second aim, that of bringing down the noblesse,—for some of the proudest aristocrats of France were Huguenots ; then he could coerce the queen-mother and her party, with its Spanish leanings ; and after that he would be free to resume his foreign policy. This second period of his public career, therefore, is chiefly occupied with the overthrow of the Huguenot power, which was concentrated at La Rochelle. It was, however, preceded by a great court intrigue, for he was already very obnoxious to the nobles near the throne, and to the princes of the blood. The plot was easily detected and crushed ; Marshal Orzano perished in prison ; Gaston of Orleans, the king's dissolute younger brother, was compelled to make abject submission ; the duke of Vendôme lost his government of Brittany ; the duchess of Chevreuse was banished ; the queen herself was warned to behave more wisely in the future. The influence of women during this century is almost uniformly baleful ; that of Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. and wife of Charles I., led to the attempt of Buckingham to recover his popularity in England by espousing the Huguenot cause, which was exciting a warm interest in the English people. The Huguenots, irritated by the establishment of Fort Louis as a check on La Rochelle, declared war on France herself ; they were secretly encouraged by Anne of Austria and the court party, as well as by the Spaniards, who were delighted to see the cardinal thwarted and France weakened by civil war. They were also openly backed by England, which declared war on France, and sent a strong fleet under Buckingham to succour La Rochelle. But there was in light-headed handsome Buckingham nothing of the soldier ; he failed ignominiously, while the cardinal's siege grew daily stricter and more certain of success. After fourteen perilous months of siege, Richelieu entered the town in triumph. With the fall of La Rochelle ends the stubborn resistance of the Huguenots to the monarchy ; the siege was a kind of a

His earlier history.

Periods of his career.

1628-32. blow to the civil wars of the previous century. No very severe penalties were exacted from the town; it was simply rendered powerless. The fall of the place roused a warm patriotic feeling in France; it was regarded as a great defeat of England. Buckingham's assassination had opened the way to peace, which was signed between the courts of England and France in September 1628.

Third period of his career.

3. It was full time for Richelieu to interfere elsewhere. The utter collapse of the resistance against the house of Austria in Germany had come. Wallenstein was omnipotent in the north; Christian IV. had been driven back into Denmark; the king of Spain was in league with the duke of Rohan and the discontented Huguenots of Languedoc; affairs in Italy were very threatening; the Spaniards were pressing Casale, the key of the great valley of the Po; on the two sieges, La Rochelle and Casale, which took place at the same time, the fortunes of Europe turned. Richelieu, while he sent his agent Charnacé to North Germany to do what he could to check the Austrian advance and to raise up fresh barriers, set himself to relieve Casale. In January 1629 he had carried Louis XIII. into Italy, and the Spaniards at once raised the siege of Casale. Thence he returned into Languedoc, where the Protestant rebels were moving; they too were speedily put down; and Richelieu, with Father Joseph, once more posed before Europe as the champion of Catholicism. Urban VIII., who little knew his man, wrote him a letter of warm thanks and congratulations. With the fall of Montauban, the last glimmer of local independence in France died out. Before the end of 1629 Richelieu was called on once more to interfere, and this time more seriously, in Italy; the pope, the duke of Mantua, the republic of Venice, all in alarm appealed to him to save them from Spanish domination. He prevailed on the king to appoint him lieutenant-general, and with a splendid staff and army crossed the mountains into Italy early in 1630. His campaign, which did not include any open warfare against Spain, was thoroughly successful: he reduced all Savoy to submission, in spite of the duke's ill-will. While he was thus making a splendid and theatrical campaign in Italy, he was quietly engaged on far greater things elsewhere; he was busy organizing and encouraging the resistance of northern Europe to the house of Austria. Charnacé with Gustavus Adolphus, and Father Joseph at the Ratisbon Diet, were charged with this duty, and fulfilled it with eminent success. It was in 1630

Gusta-
vusAdol-
phus
enters in.

that Gustavus accepted the friendship and help of France, and early in 1631 signed at Bärnewald a treaty of alliance with that power, which consented to pay him a great subsidy for five years. This treaty, in which Gustavus promised not to coerce peaceful Catholics, was approved even by Urban VIII. At the Ratisbon Diet in June 1630 Father Joseph had a more delicate task; yet he too succeeded. The jealousies of the German princes neutralized all the advantages of the emperor Ferdinand, and brought about the fall of Wallenstein, who withdrew in haughty disdain to Bohemia; the princes also protested against the attempts of Ferdinand on Italy; and he, wishing above all things to conciliate them, and to get his son Ferdinand named Rex Romanorum, promised to secure the Gonzaga-Nevers duke at Mantua, and to withdraw his troops from the second siege of Casale. The first treaty of Cherasco (April 1631) brought the Italian war to an end; a second treaty, made by Richelieu with Victor Amadeus, the new duke of Savoy, secured for France Pinerolo, the key of the approaches to Turin. Giulio Mazarini, the pope's agent, made his first public appearance in the negotiations of this Italian war, and laid the foundations of his fortunes in France.

A little before this time Richelieu had passed through the most critical moment of his career; the queen-mother, the reigning queen, Gaston of Orleans, still heir to the throne,

the house of Guise, a group of generals and officers of the crown, the duke of Bouillon, the count of Soissons, all the favourites and courtiers of Louis XIII., had conspired together to overthrow the cardinal. In the very moment of their apparent success, when the king, as they thought, had entirely given him up, the skilful audacity of Richelieu reversed all their plans. He threw himself on Louis XIII. for support, and the king, glad to be delivered from their hands, gave the cardinal *carte blanche*; the "great storm of the court," the "Day of Dupes," passed by and left him stronger than before. He showed no hesitation in punishing and crippling his foes. The queen-mother was got rid of; she took refuge at Brussels, and her ladies were exiled; Gaston fled to Lorraine, the duke of Guise to Italy; the parliament of Paris, which had favoured the plot, was reduced to humble submission. Richelieu was now made duke and peer, with the government of Brittany. The attempts of the emigrant nobles to raise the provinces on the borders were sternly and swiftly put down; the battle of Castelnau-dary in Languedoc closed the series of outbreaks. The duke of Montmorency, son of the constable, was taken there, and afterwards executed. After pacifying Languedoc, Richelieu rearranged the governorships of the provinces, removing hostile or suspected governors, and putting his own friends in their places. By the end of 1632 he had crushed all the serious elements of resistance throughout France.

This period coincides with the splendid career and premature death of Gustavus Adolphus. His rapid advance and high aims had alarmed Richelieu; his fall at Lützen was a distinct relief to his ally; it enabled him to step in between the combatants with emphasis, and to shape the latter years of the Thirty Years' War so that they might conduce to the advantage of France. In July 1632 he had seized the duchy of Lorraine, almost without striking a blow, the duke having taken part with the emigrants against him. He was now prepared to advance thence to the Rhine; he took the Protestant adventurers, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and others, into his pay. Things worked well for Richelieu: the murder of Wallenstein in 1634, the abandonment of the prince's party by the elector of Saxony (peace of Prague, 1635), the lack of a head for the German Calvinists,—all these things combined to open the way for the last and most brilliant period of Richelieu's career.

4. Late in 1634 he had renewed his alliances with Sweden and the German Calvinists; he persuaded the Dutch to attack the Spanish Netherlands in May 1635; he declared war on Spain, and came openly into the field, in which hitherto he had worked only by secret and oblique methods. He had under his command such a force as France had never seen: 132,000 men in four armies seemed likely soon to bring the weary war to an end. One army was to join the Dutch under Frederick Henry of Orange and to march on Brussels, a second to unite with Bernard of Weimar and the Swedes across the Rhine, a third to hold the line of the Vosges and protect Lorraine; the fourth with the duke of Savoy should reduce the Milanese country. The result, however, in no way answered the expectations; the campaigns of 1635 and 1636 were unsuccessful and burdensome; neither glory nor profit followed; the Spaniards and Austrians invaded France on three sides,—in Picardy, across the Pyrenees, and in Burgundy. Nor was 1637 more decisive. Though the invaders had been swept out, no important actions took place, no great results followed. The successes of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar on the Rhine in 1638 first showed that the Austro-Spanish power was checked. In this year the first steps were made towards the peace of Westphalia. The birth of the dauphin Louis also now ruined the court party, and secured to Richelieu a firmer lease of power; if their sickly king

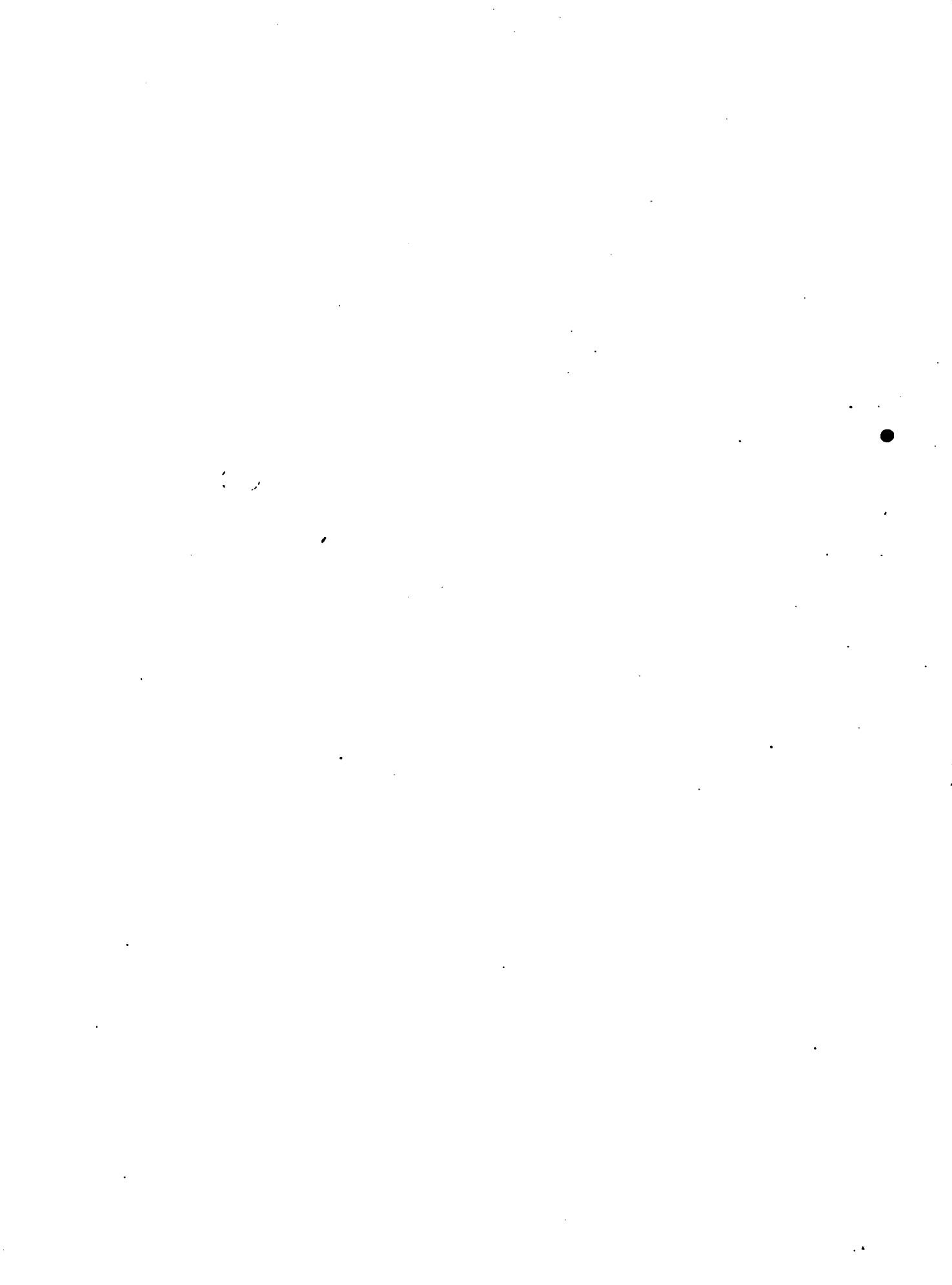
Fourth
period
of his
career.

1638-42. were to die, as seemed only too likely, he would continue to guide the fortunes of the state under a regency; the hopes and future of Gaston of Orleans were reduced to nothing. The fall of Breisach at the end of the year, which placed the upper Rhine completely in the hands of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, though it might not be altogether grateful to Richelieu, who feared the skill and abilities of the ambitious and patriotic German, proved to the world that the Austrian power was worn out. The death of Father Joseph at the same moment caused the cardinal no small embarrassment; his place was taken by the supple Mazarin. The death of Bernard, just as his plans seemed on the point of being realized—just as he thought he had made for himself a principality on the Rhine to check the progress as much of France as of Austria,—came very opportunely for Richelieu. There was now no one engaged in the war who could interfere with his objects; he got possession of the army which had served Bernard so well, the best body of fighting men the war had produced after the Swedes had been exhausted; he also seized on the districts in their hands. In 1641 the count of Soissons went over to the Spaniards and invaded northern France. He fell in battle, and the attempt failed. In Germany and Italy the strength of France was more and more distinctly shown. The last battles of the Thirty Years' War were chiefly won by Frenchmen; the cession of Sedan by the duke of Bouillon, and the capture of Perpignan close to the Spanish border, were "the last present made by Richelieu to France" (Michelet). The one helped to secure her northern, the other her southern frontier. The cardinal's last struggle for supremacy took place now. In 1641 the parliament of Paris was humbled, and its ambition to rival the English parliament rudely destroyed; in 1642 the conspiracy of Cinq Mars gave expression to the old and undying hatred of the court for Richelieu. The plot was detected and unravelled as soon as it was spun, and Cinq Mars with his friend De Thou perished on the scaffold at Lyons. After this, all were prostrate and obedient; the court party was utterly foiled, its chief members dead or exiled; the cardinal's foreign policy was triumphant, and neither Spain nor Austria could do more. But he had no time to enjoy the successes his cold heart and strong hand had won; he fell into the hands of the one enemy whom no subtlety could baffle, and died in December 1642. Richelieu had an inflexible will, vigorous abilities, and a clear idea of what he desired that France should be; and it is hardly too much to say that he made France what she has continued to be almost to our days. Not till the centre of power in Germany had passed from Austria to Prussia did the old foreign policy of France fail; not till constitutional life had got firm hold on the French people did the republic succeed in reversing the evil principles and consequences of Richelieu's home government. His leading idea was that unity brings strength; and into unity his stern resolves and pitiless severities forced his reluctant country. In the career of Louis XIV. we read the true commentary on his acts and principles; in the corrupt and deadly despotism of the 18th century we read its punishment; even the Revolution, though it scourged the older system with scorpions, could not at once destroy it, or build on surer foundations. When we remember how Richelieu crushed, one after another, those elements of society which had in them germs of a modern constitutional life, we are tempted to speculate on the splendid career which was possible for France had a wiser statesman ruled her in these critical years. The base subserviency of the church, the humiliation of the lawyers in the parliaments, the loss of noble independence, the overthrow of all healthy civic life, the steady depression of Huguenot opinions, the silence of the States-General, the diminution of local liberties even in

the "pays d'états," the assertion of the king's independent right to levy taxes and issue edicts,—all these evils might have been avoided, and the strong life, strong often to turbulence, which lived in these different institutions might have been harmonized, brought into friendly and fruitful action, until an original and characteristic constitutional history had given France that strength and prosperity, that home development of magnificent resources, which would have secured her the undisputed lead and lordship among the nations of Europe. Instead, Richelieu gave her unity and glory. The burdens of France increased enormously; her aggressive power, now that she was concentrated in the hand of a despot, who had unchecked command of the persons and purses of his subjects, was immensely increased. If we look into Richelieu's character, we shall discern, side by side with that pride which could rejoice in debasing the noblest and strongest, a vanity which, like a vein of impure metal, spoilt the ring and clearness of his life. He was always conscious of effects: as an author, a dramatist, or a statesman, he was on the look-out for "situations"; his most striking political successes seemed due as much to the necessity of impressing men by startling novelties as to an honest belief in the justice of his cause or the wholesomeness of his course of action. His extraordinary powers, his life-long devotion to the policy he had drawn out for himself and France, secure him his safe position as a great man,—a great man on the lower level,—one whom one fears, perhaps admires, but never loves; because there were in him no really high aims, nor any true love of the people under him, nor any desire to rule them well. Richelieu has been often compared with Wolsey and contrasted with Mazarin. The red robe of the cardinal is common to all three; beyond this the comparison with Wolsey is of little value, for the men were essentially unlike in character and aim. The contrast with Mazarin, who lived with him, studied his policy, and succeeded him, is of more value and interest. It is brilliantly treated by Voltaire in his *Henriade* (vii. 327 sq.) :—

Henri, dans ce moment, voit sur des fleurs-de-lis
Deux mortels orgueilleux auprès du trône assis.
Ils tiennent sous leurs pieds tout un peuple à la chaîne;
Tous deux sont revêtus de la pourpre romaine;
Tous deux sont entourés de gardes, de soldats;
Il les prend pour des rois . . . Vous ne vous trompez pas;
Ils le sont, dit Louis, sans en avoir le titre;
Du prince et de l'état l'un et l'autre est l'arbitre.
Richelieu, Mazarin, ministres immortels,
Jusqu'au trône élevés de l'ombre des autels,
Enfants de la fortune et de la politique,
Marcheront à grands pas au pouvoir despote.
Richelieu, grand, sublime, implacable ennemi:
Mazarin, souple, adroit, et dangereux ami;
L'un fuyant avec art, et cédant à l'orage,
L'autre aux flots irrités opposant son courage;
Des princesses de mon sang ennemis déclarés;
Tous deux hais du peuple, et tous deux admirés;
Enfin, par leurs efforts, ou par leur industrie,
Utiles à leurs rois, cruels à la patrie."

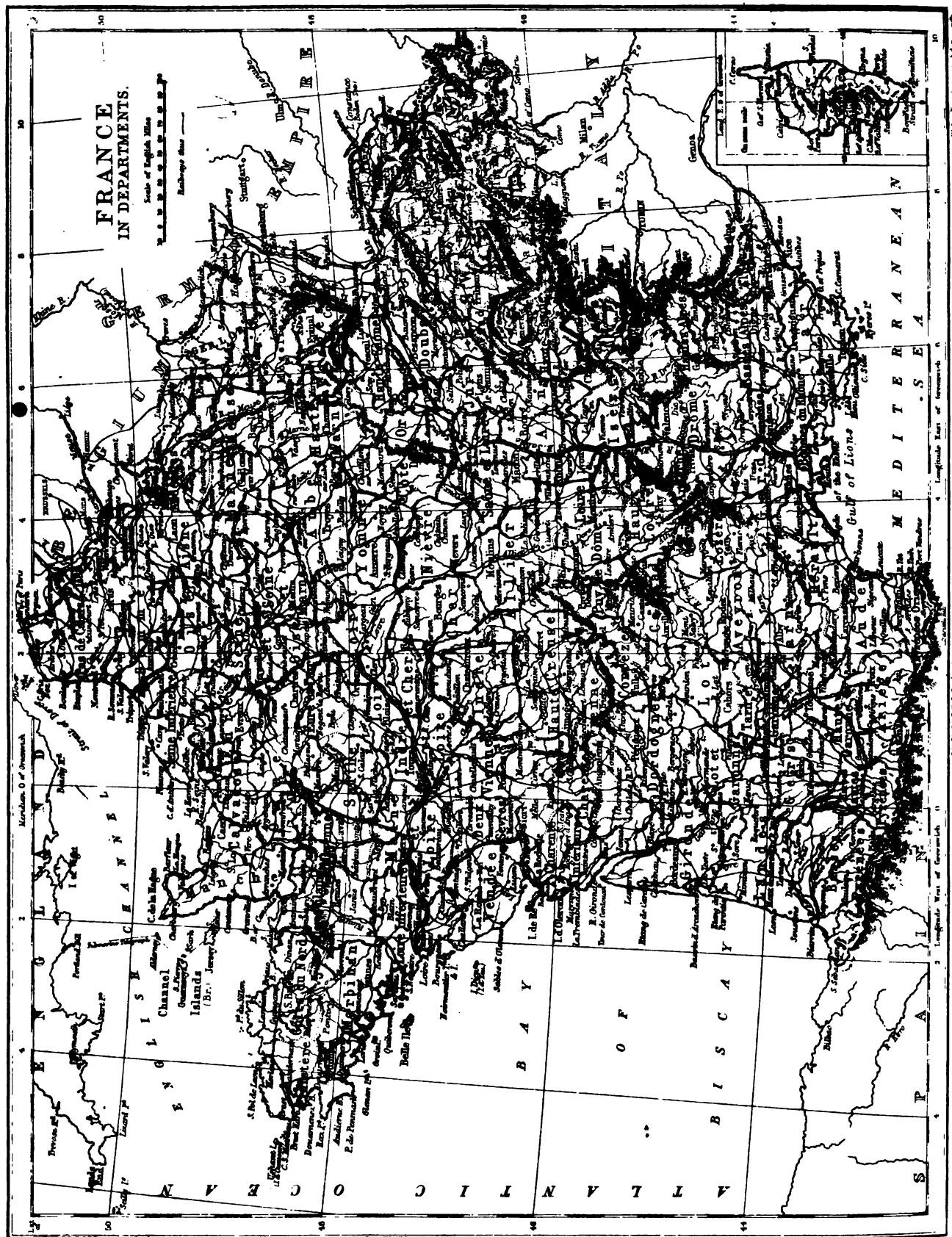
One thing they had in common, the love and encouragement of letters; yet even this in Richelieu's hands must be organized, despotic. Still, he and Mazarin have an honourable claim to remembrance when we speak of the writers of the "great age," for it was under them in the first half or so of the century, rather than under Louis XIV. in the latter half, that the chief masterpieces were produced. The tendency of the reign of Louis XIV. was rather to depress than to ennoble literature. Richelieu founded the French Academy in 1635, and set on foot the *Gazette of France*; he established the royal printing press; he desired to patronize learned men, though his own literary efforts failed, and men of real independence of character, like Corneille and Descartes, shunned the fatal honours of his patronage. He was in all his tastes a great and showy



FRANCE

VOL. IX.

PLATE XIII.



1643-45. prince ; his bearing and surroundings were more than noble ; he called to his side artists of every kind ; art, in its 17th century decadence and formalism, was well content to do his bidding, and gild an age of splendour without genius.

The rise of Mazarin. Louis XIII. died within six months after Richelieu's death; he did but give time to Mazarin to win the favour of the queen and to secure his position as first minister. Mazarin was destined to fail completely in home government, while in foreign affairs he brought all his great master's policy to a splendid and successful end. At home his rule reversed Richelieu's stern principle of repression. The subtle and flexible Italian, after the manner of his countrymen, hoped to succeed by counterpoises, by playing factions off against one another, by trading on the meeker side of human nature, by love affairs and jealousies, and all the stock in trade of weak intriguing characters. His rule is characterized by the burlesque wars of the Fronde, which sufficiently showed his want of firmness and the degradation of the age.

Louis XIII. left at his death two sons, Louis the dauphin, now Louis XIV., and Philip duke of Anjou, afterwards duke of Orleans, who founded the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family, which ceased to reign on the deposition of Louis Philippe in 1848. The regency was in the hands of Anne of Austria, his queen; Gaston of Orleans was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the direction of the government was placed with a council, the prince of Condé, Mazarin, Seguier the chancellor, and two more. The king's will, however, was little respected. Anne, a haughty and ambitious woman, with Mazarin to back her, was not likely to care much for the clog of a council of regency. The parliament of Paris, flattered at appearing to be the arbiter of the counsels of kings, set aside the will, and declared Anne independent regent. The old court party, of which Anne had always been the head, expected to rule at will; Mazarin was tolerated only because he was necessary to bring foreign affairs to a successful issue; that done he

Regency of Anne of Austria. Anne independent regent. The old court party, of which Anne had always been the head, expected to rule at will; Mazarin was tolerated only because he was necessary to bring foreign affairs to a successful issue; that done he

The "Importants," as they were nicknamed, a frivolous and unworthy company of noble nobodies, reckoned on a long lease of power; the king was little more than a babe,—he was but four years and a half old,—and it would be strange if they could not secure themselves. The war on the frontiers, however, ruthlessly destroyed their hopes. The Spaniards, cheered by the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII., had besieged the little frontier-town of Rocroi; Mazarin hastily sent up an army to relieve the place, commanded by Marshal L'Hôpital and the young duke of Enghien, eldest son of Henry I., prince of Condé, a distant cousin of the king. In spite of L'Hôpital's prudent counsels, Enghien recklessly with the confidence of genius and youthful inexperience attacked and utterly defeated the world-famous Spanish infantry, and killed their aged general Fuentes. The battle of Rocroi (1643) destroyed for ever the older fighting-power of the world, the solid Spanish foot, and gave to France her first taste of that military glory which marks the *reign*; it was the *baptême de feu* of the child-king of France; it also secured the dominance of Mazarin. The house of Condé was his friend; Rocroi enabled him to hold up his head against both Spain and the "Importants"; their party, for the time, was utterly broken up. In these closing years of the Thirty Years' War two able soldiers came to the front, the Great

Condé and **Turenne**, dangerous to friend and foe, the other the greatest tactician of the age. The one represents at its best the old noble fighter, the other the modern skilful officer. In 1644 they drove the imperial general Mercy out of his position at Freiberg, and became masters of the middle Rhine-land; in 1645, pressing the Austrians nearer home, they fought and won the sanguinary second battle of Nördlingen; so

much were they weakened by that Cadmean victory that they 1646-48
were unable to keep the advantage, and were thrust back
to the Rhine. In 1646 they directed their attention against
the elector of Bavaria, in hopes of being able to detach him
from Austria; Turenne took undisputed possession of the
whole upper Danube valley, and threatened the elector
Maximilian at Munich. In 1647 he, to free himself from
the invader, who mercilessly ravaged and plundered his
lands, signed a separate truce with France; and abandoned
at last the imperial cause. Well might the house of
Austria now feel that by any sacrifices it must bring the
long war to an end. When the elector broke truce early
next year, his resistance was crushed by the French at
Zusmarshausen, and the fighting in Germany was over.
The war had rather more life in it as between France and
Spain. In Italy, Flanders, and Catalonia considerable
movements went on; that in Flanders, where Condé com-
manded, was alone decisive; the battle of Lens (9th
August 1648), the last of the fighting on that side, was a
crushing and final defeat of the Spanish, and even more
fatal to their power than the overthrow of Roeroy.

For years there had been negotiations for peace; they had taken definite form as long back as 1639 at Cologne. In 1643 the congresses of Münster and Osnabrück were set permanently going: at Münster, France, Spain, and the Catholic princes were to make terms with the emperor; at Osnabrück negotiations should go on between him and Sweden, and the Protestant princes; the results should be welded into one coherent treaty of peace. The Dutch and Spaniards made peace together in January 1648, so ending their eighty years' struggle. The terms between the empire and Sweden were signed at Osnabrück in August; those between the empire and France at Münster in October 1648. The quarrel between France and Spain alone remained unsettled. The peace of Westphalia, as was necessary, largely favoured France. As the war had gone on, her growing strength, and at last her preponderance, had made this quite inevitable; yet in actual gain of territory France received but little, only Austrian Alsace being added to the kingdom. In influence and in relative strength, however, she grew much. The power of Germany was broken up; the princes friendly to France, the elector of Treves, the Palatine house, the house of Hesse Cassel, the Swiss cantons, were all strengthened. The three bishoprics, Metz, Verdun, Toul, were ceded in full sovereignty to France, as was also Pinerolo; she might garrison Philipsburg; the chief Rhine fortresses, barriers against her ambition, were to be dismantled; Breisach remained in her hands. Austria was cut off from the Netherlands, and was rendered almost powerless. Thus the foreign policy of France was finally triumphant, although Richelieu did not live to see it. He had marked out its course, had watched over the preparations for it, had set it in motion, and had seen it through its earlier failures and difficulties; then he bequeathed it to Mazarin, who, though far inferior to him in tenacity and unity of purpose, was perhaps better fitted to steer things to their end; for his subtle skill and flexibility were exactly calculated for the intricate mazes of long negotiations, and could well defend French purposes amidst the innumerable and conflicting claims and wishes of the states represented at the congresses.

No sooner had the peace of Westphalia settled, as it did Mazarin for long years, the basis of the public law of Europe, than and Mazarin was obliged to turn his attention to home-affairs, home-affairs. in which he was never so fortunate as in his foreign ventures. It has been noticed that a singular movement, adverse to the claims of monarchy, was at this very moment sweeping across Europe. The rulers of every state seem to lose power, sometimes are overthrown entirely. The characteristics of the Thirty Years' War tended to produce

1648. this result,—partly by depressing Austria and Spain, partly by familiarizing men with the careers of brave adventurers not royal, not even princely, partly by arousing enthusiasm for strong Protestantism, as in the English volunteers who supported the Calvinist “winter king,” or took service under the “Protestant hero,” Gustavus Adolphus, partly

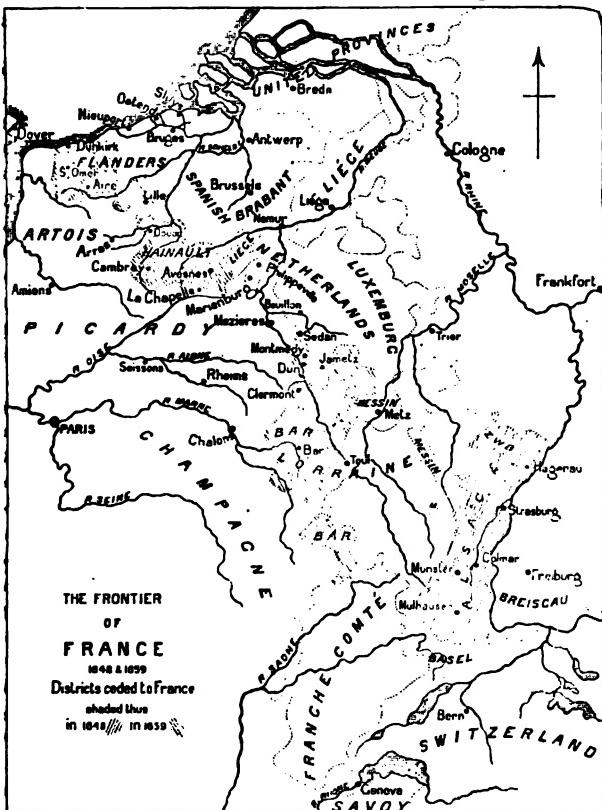


Chart of Districts ceded to France in 1648 and 1659.¹

also by the results of the war, as seen in the acknowledged independence of the United Provinces and Switzerland, two republics finally freed from royal control. Besides this there was an aristocratic reaction which had brought down the monarchy of the papacy, as was clearly seen in the long pontificate of Urban VIII; there was the popular reaction which was steadily destroying the absolutist theories of the Stewarts in England; there was a certain weakening of royalty in Scandinavia, whether at Stockholm or at Copenhagen. And France could not fail to feel the same influences at work. Mazarin's easier rule allowed the princes and nobles whom Richelieu had steadily kept down to raise their heads again, and the lawyers who composed the parliament of Paris, flattered at having been allowed to pronounce an authoritative judgment on the last will of Louis XIII, and thinking themselves an institution parallel to the parliament of England, were also much disposed to take advantage of the childhood of the king, the weakness of the queen-mother, the easier disposition of the cardinal. The French people, who had much rejoiced when Richelieu died, thinking that his heavy burdens would be lightened, were deeply irritated to find that they had fallen into the hands of a greedy foreigner; that their financial position was worse and their burdens grew yearly heavier; that Mazarin allowed Emeri, a harsh and cruel creature, also an Italian, to manage the purse of France, and to plunder it at will for his own and his master's profit. These causes are quite enough to account for the outbreak of civil war in

1648. The only wonder is that this war, the “War of the 1648–51 Fronde,” or the Sling (a nickname drawn from the boys in The war the city ditches of Paris, who played at mimic fights with of the slings), proved so hollow and absurd, when one sees engaged Fronde. in it the great names of Condé and Turenne. The name of the Fronde was first adopted by the leader of the movement, the coadjutor to the archbishop of Paris, Paul of Gondi, who is best known to history as the Cardinal de Retz. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the attempt of Mazarin to punish the parliament of Paris for having brought about the dismissal of his corrupt agent, Emeri. The news of Condé's great victory at Lens (9th August 1648) had inspirited the court party, which counted Condé as its champion; and Mazarin determined to use the enthusiasm thus aroused to strike terror into the parliament. On the thanksgiving day for the victory, four members of the parliament were suddenly arrested, one of them being Broussel, “an old counsellor in his dotage, whom the mob loved for his rude manners and his fine head of white hair.” All Paris was at once in an uproar; the coadjutor De Retz threw himself into the disturbance, obtained Broussel's release, and quiet for the moment was restored. The queen-mother and Mazarin, alarmed at the troubled look of affairs, fled from Paris to Ruel. The parliament took the lead in what seemed to be a revolution, and De Retz, a born agitator and demagogue, gave to the lawyers a popular force in the discontent of the Paris mob. Though the court had been induced to return to Paris in October 1648, Mazarin thought it safer to escape with it again early in 1649 to St Germain. Then the discontented nobles, chiefly influenced by that romantic intriguer, the duchess of Longueville, Condé's sister, united their cause with that of Paris and the parliament, and seemed likely to overbear all opposition. The prince of Conti, Condé's younger brother, the duke of Longueville, a crowd of others, and eventually Turenne himself, formed the heads of a new “War of the Public Weal.” Condé saved the court; his siege of Paris, and the weariness of the people, who had to pay for all the brilliant follies of their noble allies, led to the peace of Ruel early in 1649,—a delusive peace, negotiated by the stiff pedantic president of the parliament, Matthew Molé. This movement marks the division between the Old The Old Fronde and the New,—the Old the Fronde of Paris and the and the parliaments, the New the Fronde of the discontented New nobles. These latter were by no means inclined to accept nobles. These latter were by no means inclined to accept the agreement of Ruel; the second period of the Fronde began at once; Condé tried to play a middle part, intriguing with both sides, and equally disliked by both. He formed a kind of party of his own, that of the “petits maîtres,” the frivolous young nobles, dazzled by his bright manners and warlike reputation. The chiefs of the New Fronde began serious negotiations with Spain, and Spanish troops entered northern France, descending as far as to Rheims. Anne of Austria, somewhat strengthened by the adherence of the Old Fronde, ventured now to arrest Condé, Conti, and Longueville, early in 1650. But the duchess of Longueville escaped, whereby the stroke was rendered a complete failure. She carried Turenne over to the New Fronde, and he, supported by Spanish troops, threatened Paris. The three prisoners were sent down to Haye for safety; Turenne's Spaniards were driven back to the frontier, and the royal troops retook Rethel from them. Feeling that Paris was still too uneasy for him, Mazarin released the three prisoners, and withdrew to Brühl on the Rhine. His cunning thought was that Condé would certainly arouse jealousies and confusion, out of which the royal power might soon recover authority. Nor was he wrong: in the autumn of 1651 the Old Fronde had come entirely over to the court; De Retz, satisfied by the exile of Mazarin, was bought with a cardinal's hat; Condé withdrew, and roused

¹ Copied (reduced) by permission of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

1652-57. revolt in Guyenne, where he was strong. He reckoned on the help of Turenne and the Spaniards in the north ; but all calculations were certain to be vain in a war in which love and vanity, jealousies and mean ambitions, ruled supreme. Turenne at once went over to the court, and took command of the king's troops ; Mazarin came back ; the king's majority was declared. A struggle for Paris followed, in which Turenne showed himself the master of his great rival, first checking him at Étampes, and then defeating him completely in the suburbs of the capital (1652). Condé with the remnant of his force took refuge in the town through the St Antoine gate. Next year, all being weary of the war, the young king was invited back to Paris ; Condé withdrew into Champagne and joined the Spaniards, with whom he remained till the peace of the Pyrenees. The New Fronde was entirely broken up ; the Old Froude had long been weary of the whole affair ; Cardinal de Retz was a prisoner at Vincennes, and his career was over. Ere long Mazarin, who had again withdrawn from court to Sedan, was recalled ; the parliament of Paris, which in 1654 demurred to the heavy cost of the Spanish war, was ordered by the king to abase itself ; its meetings were forbidden ; for nearly a century and a half its political action was suspended.

All this "burlesque war," this "war of children, with a child's nickname," "comic in its origin, its events, its principle," as Michelet says of it, had been like the light scene which the skilful dramatist interposes between the great movements of his tragedy, at once to relieve the strained attention of the hearers and to heighten the effect of the catastrophe. It fills with light and merry motion the period between Richelieu and Louis XIV. ; it was "the game of lively schoolboys in the interval between the lessons of those two stern and severe teachers." The Spaniards were still at war with France ; and nothing so clearly shows their utter exhaustion as their inability to take any serious advantage of the troubles of their adversaries. The civil wars over, France soon drove Spain to the wall. Condé, in command of Spanish troops could achieve nothing ; in 1654 the Spaniards failed at the siege of Arras, and the French took Stenay ; Louis XIV., who was with the army, perhaps here imbibed that love of sieges which always marked his military career. In 1655-1656 the fortunes of the war were almost evenly balanced, the Spaniards having perhaps the best of it in the north ; and troubles with the noblesse began again, while the new opinions and party of Jansenius of Utrecht, which had been condemned by Pope Innocent X. in 1653, found great favour among the French clergy, who disliked the doctrines and tendencies of the Jesuits. From this time to the end of the reign of Louis XIV. the Jansenists of Paris are in more or less open opposition to the court ; in these days they sympathized much with De Retz. Now, however, Mazarin's skill as a foreign minister enabled him to triumph over all opposition. The

War
with
Spain.

Crom-
well and
Mazarin.

handed over to the keeping of the English ; the Spaniards 1659-61 were swept away, Gravelines, Furnes, Oudenarde, all fell ; Brussels was threatened. In August of this year Lioune, Mazarin's agent, on occasion of an election to the Holy Roman Empire, concluded an agreement with the princes on the Rhine for the upholding of the peace of Westphalia ; and France could show herself as the ally at once of England, Sweden, Bavaria, the ecclesiastical electors, the house of Brunswick. At last in 1659 Spain yielded, being utterly unequal to the strife. The peace of the Pyrenees gave to France Gravelines, Landrécy, Thionville, and Montmédy, peace of and Spain also ceded all she held in Artois ; though the Pyrenees. duke of Lorraine was replaced at Nancy, the duchy of Bar, and some smaller places along the Champagne border, were ceded to France. In Germany itself Louis XIV. secured Juliers to the duke of Neuburg, and the original trouble which led to the Thirty Years' War was finally settled eleven years after that war had ended. All French conquests in Catalonia were restored to Spain, while France became finally master of Roussillon and Conflans ; Condé was pardoned and taken into favour. Finally, the treaty involved a great marriage compact between Louis XIV. and the infanta Maria Theresa of Spain. The actual marriage, which took place next year, was garnished with a dowry never paid, and with a renunciation by the infants of all her rights to the Spanish crown or Spanish possessions, which was thrust contemptuously aside when in 1667 Louis XIV. desired to get hold of the Spanish Netherlands, or when forty years later he placed the crown of Spain on the brows of his young grandson Philip. The peace of the Pyrenees and this Spanish marriage firmly established Louis XIV. on his throne as the most powerful monarch of Christendom ; it was time for Mazarin to withdraw and leave his pupil in full command of the realm. He spent the last Mazarin year of his life in teaching the young monarch those lessons in's end of king-craft on which he built up his career,—taught him and char-acter.

The strong government of Cromwell had in 1654 secured the tranquil progress of England by treaties with the chief northern powers and with Portugal ; now in 1655 he had to choose between alliance with France or with Spain. Nor could he hesitate. Spain still spoke her ancient tongue—the tongue of intolerance and Catholic repression ; France in Mazarin's hand had been willing to tolerate the Huguenots, and to aid the Protestant party in Germany. A treaty between England and France was accordingly signed in October 1655, a treaty of peace and commerce ; a little later it was followed (March 1657) by an offensive and defensive alliance. Six thousand English Puritans, led by Turenne, made an immediate change in the character of the war, and the Spaniards began at once to give way. In 1658 Turenne caught them at the Dunes, not far from Dunkirk, and defeated them completely ; Dunkirk yielded, and was duly

Nothing is more striking in all history than the contrast between the Louis whom men saw under Mazarin's tutelage, and the Louis whom France long adored as her Great Monarch. In the earlier period there was the dull and tranquil docility of a great creature which as yet knows not its amazing strength, and has as yet none of the ambitions of power, and has never tasted blood. His nature,

1661. developing itself very slowly and late, seemed to onlookers to be only heavy and commonplace ; courtiers noted with keen eyes that the young prince liked amusements, and they promised themselves a bright and joyous reign, in which they would have free leave to spend as they liked the hardly-won wealth of France ; it seemed to them perfectly natural that they should waste at will what they had never earned, and they fully believed that the young king would be their accomplice. His capacity seemed to be small ; he was timid and ignorant. Mazarin almost alone was not mistaken in him, and no one knew him so well ; "he will set off late, but will go further than all the rest," was his judgment, and a just one, on the young monarch's character. For he was serious, severe, obstinate ; he learnt little, and that slowly ; but what he did learn he never forgot. He would neither bend nor forgive ; and when he had once taken on himself the heavy burden of his kingly duties he never flinched nor repined for more than half a century. From the beginning he declared that he would rule without a first minister,—this Mazarin had instilled into him as a fundamental law of his kingcraft ; and he kept his word, although it became clear in time that it was quite possible to hold him in close leading strings, so long as he himself did not find it out. At first, however, he was determined to have only agents around him,—men of business who should never expect to become too prominent,—not great lords of church or state, but men of middle or humble origin. With them he was prepared to undertake any amount of dry detail work of public business. Without a sigh he dedicated henceforth four or five hours a day, or even more, to public affairs ; his commonplace abilities, his instinct of orderliness, his love of minutiæ, his punctual routine, which would have disgusted a livelier prince, formed the happiness of his life. "His ministers," says Michelet, "might change or die ; he, always the same, went through his duties, ceremonies, royal fêtes, and the like, with the regularity of the sun, which he had chosen as his emblem." With a morbid conscience, he easily became subject to his confessor ; with a limited intelligence and great lack of knowledge, he was dependent on his ministers without knowing it ; with a vein of small vanity in his character, he was not above being led by the flatteries of the woman he loved. Finally, Louis XIV., though heavy-looking, was handsome and majestic in person ; no one has ever played the part of a king with such equable gravity and success ; his dignity was as striking as his selfishness ; for his heart was dull, and neither surprises nor warm feelings could throw him off his balance. His whole reign passed without his ever showing any real feeling for his poor subjects ; and his indifference to the health and feelings of those nearest him, his treatment of his court, especially of the ladies of it, was such as nothing but their abject fear of him, and the meanness engendered by the atmosphere of such a court, could explain.

The machinery of his government. Louis XIV. began his true reign in 1661 by dividing the business of government into three agencies. He placed all foreign affairs under Lione, who had served him so well in the war against Spain ; Le Tellier had charge of the army and was war-secretary, supported by his strong-handed son, the terrible Louvois ; and finance was entrusted to Fouquet, the most brilliant and unsatisfactory of his ministers. All three were men of middle origin : Lione came of a family of gentle birth in Dauphiny ; Le Tellier's father was a lawyer ; and Fouquet was a citizen who pretended (as many Frenchmen have since done) to be of noble birth. The king had at his side also Mazarin's most trusted dependent Colbert, grandson of a wool-seller of Rheims. It was thought at court, where Louis was no better understood than elsewhere, that Fouquet would before long carry all before him, and fill the coveted post of first minister of the crown.

The queen-mother, seeing that the king did nothing for his 1661-67 governor Villeroi, and that he was stepping resolutely forward in the path he had chosen, complained bitterly of her son's ingratitude, and declared with a sneer that he "wanted to pretend to be a man of ability." Fouquet, ambitious and bright, a favourite with the queen-mother, the court ladies, the literary world, the Jansenists, a man who let the finances fall into hopeless confusion and stooped to dishonest representations to save his credit, was not the man to suit the young king, and in a few month's time he had fallen for ever from power, and Colbert sat in his place.

John Baptiste Colbert, who was minister of Louis XIV. Colbert for two-and-twenty years, claimed descent from a Scottish family settled in France, and his character, his common-sense, rigid principles, business ways and tastes, and his simple habits, were just what one might have expected from such an origin ; "a mind somewhat heavy and harsh, but solid, active, unwearied in work." He was first named comptroller-general of finance ; he had also the supreme care of all home-affairs, and when the navy (after 1669) was first in his own and then in his son's hands, he may be said to have had charge of that also. Till Louvois succeeded to the ministry of war in 1666, Colbert's influence on all parts of the administration was paramount ; and the young king, partly understanding what he was doing, and wholly desirous of doing his best, gladly seconded him in everything. At first Colbert found everything in the financial department in a melancholy state : more than half the sum gathered in taxes disappeared before it reached the treasury, and the expenditure had so far grown as to leave a yearly deficit of nearly twenty-two millions of livres. To reorganize the finances was his first task ; and by stern dealing with intermediate officials, by fixing the interest of loans at a maximum of five per cent., by sweeping away masses of useless officers, he succeeded in so far reducing the cost of levying the taxes and the burdens of the state that in six years' time the position of affairs was reversed, and the treasury had a good balance in hand, while the burdens imposed on the people were lightened. The years which preceded the Devolution war of 1667 are perhaps the most prosperous that France had ever seen. She made extraordinary progress in all directions. Even in foreign affairs France her power was shown : she humbled the papacy, she asserted under her precedence over Spain in the streets of London, she helped the emperor Leopold to resist the Turks and enabled Montecuculi to win a decisive victory over them at St Gothard in Hungary, her fleets in the Mediterranean cleared away the African pirates. At home the triumphs of peace were far more splendid even than these warlike signs of power. Colbert's activity was unflagging ; to reorganize the finances might have seemed enough to another minister ; he regarded it as only the groundwork of his structure ; on it he would raise a new and brilliant France, splendid among the nations, not only feared—that was something—but admired as well, and humbly imitated. So he set himself in these years to develop his country on every side. For agriculture indeed he would do but little, for his temper was the opposite of that of Sully. Sully, a great lord, and owner of broad estates, rated manufactures as of little value by the side of tillage ; Colbert, a townsman, and of the middle classes, thought that the encouragement of agriculture signified the increase of noble wealth and privilege, while manufactures would tend to build up a rich and useful burgher class, obedient to the king and fruitful in taxpaying. He therefore devoted his attention to manufactures and commerce, and to the communications by land and water necessary for them. He made good roads, set on foot the canal of Languedoc, declared Marseilles and Dunkirk free ports. He then re-established old

1661-67. manufactures and introduced new ones, such as tapestries, silk, mosaics, cabinet-making, lace, cloth of gold, pottery, steel-work, and the like, a long series of "royal manufactures," the industries of taste and luxury, which can flourish only on the favour of the great. Colbert's system was therefore one of protection and bounties, and never enabled France to discover for what forms of labour she was by nature specially suited. The true wealth of France lies in her soil,—in her varied agriculture and the thrifty habits of her people; yet the world has ever believed that these "Louis Quatorze" ornaments, these works of art and of little use, are the special glory of French workmanship, the models of good taste. This royal direction thus given to French industry, though it only slowly (if at all) increased the true wealth of the nation, added largely to its credit, and heightened its splendour in the eyes of the world.

On industrial movement commerce must naturally wait; and Colbert attempted much for the circulation of productions. He set on foot four great companies, though they never really prospered. Patronage and direction, which could establish and freshen manufactures, failed here. In the end Frenchmen, with little gifts for colonization, and no decided bias for the sea, learnt chiefly to produce for their own consumption. In these years, the same royal and official patronage was largely extended to letters and science as well as to the arts. The last was no doubt regarded as directly connected with the general progress of the favourite industries mentioned above; in building a great palace at ruinous cost, Louis XIV. and Colbert both thought that French industry was being encouraged, and money circulated. Versailles was undertaken in 1661 (it had previously been a royal hunting-box built by Louis XIII.); the famous colonnade of the Louvre, Perrault's work, was begun in 1665; Bernini was summoned from Rome that same year to assist in the great works. The buildings erected in this period have all the same deadness of style; they are splendid, no doubt, and crowded with ornaments; we note in all a want of spontaneous fire; no longer does genius create; talent, at the service of a master, can only copy or conceal its poverty under the cloak of rich ornamentation. The paving and lighting of Paris was a more beneficial work; the quays, squares, and triumphal gates of the period did much to make up for the abandonment of the capital by its kings,—for after the days of Henry IV. the Bourbons spent very little time in Paris. Colbert also established at Paris those new learned or scientific academies which were intended, after the pattern of the new Royal Society of London, to stimulate and direct the progress of knowledge. Such were the Academy of Inscriptions, founded in 1663; that of the Sciences, in 1666; of Architecture, in 1671. He also established the school of Rome, built the Observatory, and in every way did his utmost to advance learning and observation. In all, his practical principle was to trust to rule and organization, and to leave as little as possible to genius or national selection,—and French industry, arts, and sciences have all suffered accordingly. Nor was the case different in literature: here also Colbert desired to encourage and direct; the baneful patronage of kings finds here its highest example. For the true golden age of French literature scarcely touches the active reign of Louis XIV.; it is to Richelieu's time, when at the head of affairs was one who not merely patronized but who warmly interested himself in literature, that the greatest masterpieces belong. The 17th century saw two periods of literary activity, of which the earlier extends to 1661, and is the period of originality and fire; the later runs from 1661 to the end of the century, and (except for Molière and the great preachers) is lacking in character, if improved in taste and style. France has always been justly proud of her stage, little as we may admire its pedantic

limitations, its unnatural heroics, and the frigidity of some of its finest efforts: we feel that we are among those who would have thought Addison's *Cato* far superior to Shakespeare. Still, in its own style, French tragedy produced masterpieces, and these chiefly under Richelieu and Mazarin, rather than under Louis XIV. Rotrou, who showed the way, died in 1630; the great Corneille wrote the *Cid* in 1636, *Les Horaces* and *Cinna* in 1639. After 1646 his powers declined, and though he still wrote to his life's end, no one now cares for his *Agésilaus* or his *Attila*. His brother Thomas, a far inferior dramatist, was worthily reserved for Colbert's days. Molière belonged to both ages; his *Précieuses Ridicules* appeared in 1659, *Sganarelle* in 1660, *l'École des Maris* in 1661, while the *Médecin malgré lui* (1666) and the *Tartuffe* (1667) belong to Louis XIV. Racine's earlier period, and the best part of him, extends to 1677; after that he fell under royal influences, wrote nothing for some years, and afterwards became the quasi-religious poet of the court; the *Esther* appeared in 1689 and the *Athalie*, which the French public treated with indifference, was printed 1691. In other lines of poetry Malherbe, the great purist of the century, who, as Boileau sung, "réduisit la muse aux règles du devoir," died in 1628; Benserade, a trifling wit, flourished with pensions from Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert; La Fontaine wrote many of his fables in the days of the *Précieuses*, and published his first volume in 1668,—he was one of Fouquet's friends, and therefore not likely to attract the favour of Louis XIV.; Boileau is properly of the later age; satire and comedy seemed alone able to thrive by the side of obsequious oratory.

In these palmy days of the reign, Louis XIV. saw The Dutch (1664). He was slowly preparing to take part in war. It against Charles II. when the death of Philip IV. of Spain changed his views completely. He made peace with England in July 1667 (treaty of Breda), and plunged into those complications of European law and usage which interested him intensely. The Spanish succession question at once came up,—for no one expected Charles II. of Spain to live long or leave posterity; and the immediate question of the claims of the queen of France on a large part of the Spanish Netherlands occupied his energies. Louis and Lionne snapped their fingers at the queen's renunciations of her Spanish rights, and went even further; they made claims which, to modern international law, seem to be utterly indefensible. The claim for the Spanish Netherlands was based on the "Jus Devolutionis," "Jus the old feudal custom by which certain territories descended to the offspring, male or female, of the first wife, to the exclusion of the children by the second." Now Maria Theresa, queen of France, was daughter of Elizabeth of France, the first wife of Philip IV., while his other children sprang from his second wife, Maria Anna of Austria; and Louis therefore proposed to apply ancient customs of feudal lordship to international matters, to the transfer of territories from one monarch to another. The customs of different districts varied much; in one way or another he hoped to lay undisputed hands on the Netherlands, Hainault, part of Luxembourg, even of part of Franche Comté; he was prepared to support these flimsy claims by the stronger argument of war. To war it came; the king with Turenne overran the Netherlands in 1667; Condé, who was governor of Burgundy, overran Franche Comté in 1668. It was a little war of town-taking; places fell, like ripe fruit, for the shaking. Meanwhile Lionne, busy over the negotiations which sprang out of the succession question, had sketched out a partition treaty, in which Leopold and Louis arranged the whole affair to their liking. With this in hand the king, who had returned in high triumph to Paris, and who

Commerce.

The arts.

Learning.

Literature.

1668-71. knew of Sir William Temple's Triple Alliance, which had been signed in the spring of 1668, made peace as easily as he had made war, and on May 2, 1668, signed the treaty of Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he restored Franche Comté to Spain, and secured the Netherlands. It was to all appearance a very moderate peace, and much enhanced the king's reputation ; men did not know that it was meant to lay the basis for an entire reconstruction of the map of Europe, so soon as ever sickly young Charles II. of Spain had died ; and that, every one thought, must follow very soon. The long reign of that prince (who lived till 1700) had much to do with the great wars which followed, and with the consequent exhaustion of France.

The Triple Alliance. Louis now set himself to break up the Triple Alliance ; it was a combination opposed to all the diplomatic ideas and plans of France. Sweden was her old ally ; and her policy was to encourage the two sea powers, England and Holland, to weaken one another on the water, so as to give France a chance of constructing a navy. Therefore she was necessarily jealous of the Alliance ; nor was it hard to overthrow it. Sweden, as was said, had joined it as a speculation, and had her price ; Charles II. of England could easily be bought ; Holland thus left defenceless, having lost her barrier of the Spanish Netherlands, could expect nothing but the anger of her new neighbour. But how changed were the world's politics, when the three Protestant powers, England, Holland, and Sweden could unite, even for a short time, for the defence of their ancient foe, Catholic and cruel Spain.

The king's dislike for the Dutch is one of those things which illustrate the evils of personal rule. They were distasteful to him as Protestants, as burghers, as tradesmen, as a sea power, as a constitutional republic ; they had given shelter to refugees who could not bear the brilliant despotism of France. Of old times French policy had favoured the growth of the United Provinces, as a counterpoise to Spain ; henceforward Spain and Holland were friends, and Louis was eager to revise the old lines of his country's foreign relations. So he at once made use of his connexion with the small Rhine-princes, those unpatriotic Germans who were ever on sale, and who almost till our own days sided with France against Germany. With them he arranged for a great flank attack on the republic ; he secured England by buying over her king ; the wishes and feelings of the people could easily be disregarded in these early days after the fall of the Commonwealth. In 1670 the treaty of Dover, that standing scandal of the Stewart period, was signed ; it contained a secret clause, of which the second duke of Buckingham, who negotiated it with the fair duchess of Orleans, sister of Charles II., was ignorant. The two kings played their comedy behind the backs of the two clever negotiators, and laughed in their sleeves at them and at the English nation. Sweden had been easily detached from Holland, and the Triple Alliance entirely swept away within two years of its formation. The efforts made by Leibnitz and others to divert Louis to a Mediterranean war proved utterly unavailing ; Colbert's reluctance to furnish the costs of war was overborne ; Lionne died in 1671, and was not there to guide the foreign policy of France ; Louvois, the "brutal minister whom all men hated," was just

Rise of Louvois. rising to the height of his influence, and threw that influence in with the king's prejudices in favour of a Dutch war. Colbert was the man to be pitied ; the rapid rise of Louvois, who wielded all the war-power of the kingdom, and whose reorganization of the army drained the resources of the treasury, not only lessened his influence but made great war-expenses inevitable ; and those terrible outlays were by no means undertaken in the wisest direction. In vain did the dry and common-sense minister try the way of flattery : he was too gross ; he could not catch the subtle undertones

of praise and adoration which pleased the Great Monarch's love of approbation. "We are bound," he writes, "to save a sixpence in things not necessary, and to lavish thousands when thy glory is in question. A hundred pounds for a useless banquet breaks my heart ; but when millions of gold are wanted for a great object, I would sell all I have, pawn wife and children, and go afoot all my life, rather than fail to provide it." Such protestations, which did protest too much, such bathos of adulation, could not please the wilful monarch ; Colbert's influence henceforward steadily declined, and Louvois climbed into his place, sitting as an evil genius at his master's ear, to whisper war with Holland, the crushing of Genoa, the double ravaging of the Palatinate,—the horror of which survives even to these days in which atrocities are popular,—the dragonnades of Nantes, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The Dutch war broke out in 1672, and France had at last a considerable fleet to send to sea. Thirty ships of war joined the English navy, which was pledged to neutralize the sea-power of Holland, and to find employment for Admiral Ruyter's hands. Ruyter was the stay and strength of the aristocratic or burgher party at Amsterdam—the party which had now ruled for years, and had with no small glory rivalled England on the high seas. Little did Louis XIV. deem that by this war of 1672, and by this very alliance with England, he was laying the foundations of that power which would in the end frustrate his splendid plans, and hold up against him the liberties of Europe. The sea-party in the Provinces had resisted and overcome all the efforts of Spain. Louis was now about to overthrow in Holland that party, to make room for the land-party, which, led by William of Orange and England, was to withstand him to the end. The sea-party, the aristocratic and commercial republic, headed by the two distinguished brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, was inevitably hostile to England, and as naturally friendly to France. The land-party, democratic and agricultural, and headed by the great house of Orange-Nassau, was naturally a friend to Germany, with which it had close connexions, and to England also ; for it was no rival on the sea, and lastly, William, the head of the house, was first cousin to the king of England.

Louvois had raised the army to 125,000 men ; the French navy could count about a hundred sail. With almost all this great force Louis began the Dutch war of 1672. Guided by Turenne he set forth for the Rhine, leaving an army to mask Maestricht. The friendly princes gave him passage ; the trembling Dutch with a raw ill-disciplined army of scarcely 25,000 men, under command of the prince of Orange, sheltered themselves behind the half-furnished forts of the river Yssel. By crossing the Rhine into the ancient "Betuwe," Turenne hoped to get between the Dutch and Amsterdam, and with one hand to crush the army, while with the other he coerced the seat of government into submission. The plan was simple and good ; the earlier stages of it were successfully carried out ; the famous passage of the Rhine dazzled the eyes of all France, and, unopposed in fact, and perfectly easy, made Paris believe her monarch to be a complete hero of romance. Turenne at once pushed on and seized Arnhem, which gave him passage out of the Betuwe into the country behind the Yssel ; and had his voice been heard, nothing could have saved the prince of Orange. But, with overwhelming force, the king missed completely the point of the campaign. He set himself to reduce the unimportant Yssel forts, led by his own taste for siege-warfare and Louvois's advice ; he wasted time and weakened his army by garrisoning the captured places. Presently he moved on and occupied Utrecht ; Naarden, half way from thence to Amsterdam, was taken. The Dutch despaired of help, and offered terms to Louis ; but he contemptuously refused them. Then the mob of

1672-76. Amsterdam in fury of despair rose on the De Witts and murdered them both, and called on William of Orange to rescue the state. He at once accepted the perilous task, and with equal skill and courage saved the republic, first by flooding the country, so as to defend Amsterdam from a land-attack, and then by arousing the jealousies of Germany and Spain. Louis had gone back to Paris; his armies achieved nothing more in 1672. In 1673 the interest of the war lay in the siege of Maestricht; for Germany was no longer a safe French roadway, and the line of the Meuse was necessary, if Holland was to be reached at all. Maestricht fell; but then no more was done. Louis returned again in triumph to Paris, and the war lagged. At this time (August 1673) a great league of the Hague was formed against France; its members were the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch; the young stadholder became the leader of the opposition to Louis XIV. The campaign on the Rhine, in which William of Orange and Montecuculi were pitted against Turenne and Condé, while the duke of Orleans attacked the Spanish Netherlands, went on the whole against France. The allies took Bonn, and thus compelled the Rhine-princes to abandon France. The Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, who had hitherto leant towards the French, in 1674 joined the allies; public feeling in England forced Charles II to make peace with the United Provinces. Sweden, jealous of Brandenburg, remained as almost the sole ally of France.

In this year Turenne was charged with the duty of defending the Alsace frontier; the war, from being offensive, had become strictly defensive, except in Franche Comté, which was retaken by Louis in a six weeks' campaign, and the ancient county now fell for ever into the hands of France. When the king's brilliant campaign was over, Turenne pushed forward into the Palatinate, defeated the imperialists at Sinzheim, and then deliberately destroyed the whole country; this was the well-known first destruction of that fair territory. The allies in September crossed the Rhine at Mainz and then at Strasburg, occupying all the plain of Alsace. It seemed as if Turenne could do little to arrest them. He observed them till winter had set in, and then, making his wonderful march along the west flanks of the Vosges mountains, suddenly came out in force at Belfort, and drove the Germans from point to point, till he had entirely cleared them out of Alsace. As the wasting of the Palatinate was the one great blot on his career, so this famous march raised his strategic fame to its highest point. In the north the campaign was not so brilliant; William of Orange lost the hard-fought battle of Seneff, and was unable to carry out his plans for penetrating into France. When he had retaken Grave, the campaign of 1674 was over.

The campaign of 1675 on the Rhine was to be once more a trial of strength between Turenne and Montecuculi. The great Turenne, however, was killed by a chance cannon-shot, and the whole plans of the French were shattered. Marshal Créquy was defeated at Saarbrück; the advantages gained by the king in the north, where he had secured the Meuse by taking Liège, Limburg, and Dinant, were altogether neutralized; the army destined for Holland had to help the dispirited army of the east. Condé, who here fought his last battles, upheld the honour of the French arms on the Rhine, and, having secured Alsace for his master, now withdrew from warfare altogether. The age of an inferior series of generals began.

In 1676 the war was feeble; nothing was done in the north; in the east the Germans took Philipsburg, a place of the utmost value to France before she had got Strasburg. On sea, however, the year was far more brilliant: in the Mediterranean Du Quesne in two great battles destroyed the combined fleets of Holland and Spain; and in the

second battle off Palermo, Ruyter himself perished. Both 1677-85. France and Holland now began to wish for peace; the Dutch, seeing their navy ruined, and conscious that they could not recover Maestricht, were very weary of war; and the French were also fretting under the burdens of the struggle, which had ruined all Colbert's plans for the development of their commerce and wealth. Troubles broke out in more than one district. Negotiations went on, and war also. In 1677 the French arms were more successful; the duke of Orleans, whom his brother never forgave for it, defeated William of Orange at Cassel, and was never again put in command; the French overran all Flanders; the duke of Lorraine was completely defeated by Marshal Créquy. Towards the end of this year William of Orange was espoused to his young kinswoman, Mary, daughter of the duke of York, and early in 1678 King Charles was obliged to declare war on his royal patron. These things swelled the tide in favour of peace. The burgher party of Amsterdam, afraid of William's growing power, leant strongly on that side; Charles II had never been sincere in his declaration of war, and gladly forwarded the wishes of Louis. Finally, the peace of Nimwegen closed the war. The

The first treaty was one between Holland and France, peace of which restored Maestricht, the only place William had not

Nimwegen.

retaken, to the Dutch; a friendly treaty of commerce was attached to it. The second treaty was between Spain and France; while the king restored some strong places to the

Spaniards, they ceded a chain of strong frontier-cities to him; France became mistress of Valenciennes, Condé, Bou-

chain, Maubeuge, Cambrai, Saint-Omer, Aire, Ypres, and other towns. They also ceded Franche Comté, which has ever since been French. Thirdly, there was a treaty with the German princes, which reaffirmed the treaty of Münster of 1648. France ceded Philipsburg, and retained Freiburg in the Brisgau. The peace of Nimwegen was but a starting point for further ambitious steps, yet it formed the highest point of the greatness of Louis. His fortunes seemed to rise a little higher through the "reunion policy" in the next few years; yet he was already beginning to descend from the topmost height. After this peace France could not enough praise and flatter her great monarch; all thought of resistance died away; the needy nobles flocked to his court and begged for place,—they did not dream of asking for power; the king absorbed them into all possible offices—army and navy, finance, in all were to be seen swarms of noblemen; it is to Louis XIV. that the absolute and fatal severance between noble officer and peasant soldier is due. The clergy were kept in fit subjection; no great cardinal now could overshadow the throne; the Jesuits were in full favour,—masters of speech, miracles of persuasiveness, they set the fashion of that age of pulpit eloquence, which is perhaps the most marked of the literary characteristics of the reign. These were the days of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. From this time to about 1685 the French monarchy stands at its highest; Europe is amazed and paralysed; France if exhausted is full of glory; the king has become more august and magnificent as he has grown older, and now in the prime of life is, as has been said, "if not the greatest king, the finest actor of royalty the world has ever seen." One person, at anyrate, was dissatisfied with, and suspicious of, the peace of Nimwegen; and that was William of Orange. Four days after the peace had been signed, he made a sudden attack on the French camp at St Denis near Mons. Marshal Luxembourg was taken by surprise; but the French troops soon recovered and drove out their Dutch assailants with heavy loss. With this uncalled-for bloodshed the war ended. The Louis history of the next decade of years in France justified to XIV. the full the disapproval William had so roughly expressed, though it could not justify the bloodshed and the failure at his highest.

1683. Mons. It was in these years that abroad and at home Louis XIV. carried out to the full his autocratic ideas,—the king all powerful at home, the kingdom omnipotent abroad. So in this time, while the other nations thankfully disbanded their armies, those of Louis remained on foot. Vauban was named commissary-general of fortifications, a new office, in 1677, and the moment peace was signed began to fortify and secure all the frontiers of France with strongholds which should be at once gateways for aggression and bulwarks against attack. Finding also that a complete scheme of defences demanded some points which were not yet in his hands, the king began that system of "reunions," as they were called, by means of which he applied old feudal rules to the acquirement of territories and towns in time of peace. Thus, for example, he filched Strasburg away from Germany, because he wanted that ancient Teutonic city to make his eastern frontier safe and aggressive. The peace of Westphalia to which that of Nimwegen, so far as it dealt with Germany, went back, had in it the feudal term "dependencies." When it declared a city to be ceded, it spoke of it as being ceded "with its dependencies"; and Louis XIV. having determined to push this phrase to its furthest application, established in 1679 and the following years three "Chambers of Reunion"—one for the three bishoprics at Metz, a second at Besançon for Franche Comté, the third at Breisach for Alsace. These bodies inquired into all matters of feudal jurisdiction; and as these old usages, specially the episcopal ones, were wide and vague, they formed a convenient basis for decisions in which the claimant was both judge and executor of his own judgments. The French overlordship over many Germanic districts was at once affirmed and acted on; territories were occupied with French soldiers, and the strong points fortified or further strengthened; and before Europe well knew what was doing, the frontiers of France had been pushed forward into Germany, and so strengthened as to make it very difficult to wrest them again away. The Breisach chamber thus secured almost all the lordships in that district, and succeeded, partly by legal argument, partly by bribery, lastly by force, in winning Strasburg in November 1681. At the same time by secret agreement with Charles III. of Mantua, the last of the Gonzaga-Nevers dukes, Louis XIV. became master of Casale, which seemed to secure his permanent influence in northern Italy. The capture of Luxembourg, Courtrai, and Dixmuyde, in the little war with Spain which was waged in 1683–1684, set the French frontier well forward on the north side of the three bishoprics. All went well with the monarch in these days. Unfortunately for his glory he had still thirty-two years of reign before him; and these years, the period of Madame de Maintenon, are crowded with blunders, darkened with misfortune. "Here ends" (in 1683), says the duke of Saint-Simon, "the apogee of this reign,—the height of its glory and prosperity. The great captains, the great home and foreign ministers, are no more; only pupils and disciples remain. We are now to see the second age, which will fall short of the first, though it will be far better than the third and last period of the reign." Colbert died in this year; in this year John Sobieski drove the Turks from the walls of Vienna; and from the day of their defeat, the fortunes of the Ottoman allies of France also began to recede. Above all, in this same year Louis XIV. was privately married to Madame de Maintenon, and she, with unbounded influence over him, intentionally or not, had a share in the worst errors of his reign.

Madame de Maintenon. Francoise d'Aubigné was a Huguenot by birth and breeding; in 1652 the comic poet Scarron, a cripple, and, as he called himself, "an abstract of all human miseries," married her when she was penniless and friendless; eight years later she was left a widow, and again without re-

sources. She had a soft and gentle beauty, a grace and tact, a cold temperament and placid manner, which recommended her, by way of contrast, to Madame de Montespan, the violent and dangerous beauty who for several years reigned supreme over Louis XIV. At her suggestion poor Madame Scarron was engaged, in 1666, as a kind of nursery governess to her children, the duke of Maine and a daughter. It is curious to see how great are the contrasts in her history. At first Louis was offended and hurt at the introduction of this person at court; she seemed odious to him. He gave her the little Maintenon estate with a stipulation that he should see her no more; he thought her a precise and disagreeable *précieuse*. She had been the wife of a playwright, the centre of a little literary coterie; the king, with his instinctive dislike for literature, felt a distaste, almost an aversion, for her. Her placid temperament stood the trial well; after a time, when Madame de Montespan was unusually imperious, he would betake himself to the sweet gentleness of the governess, and cool his heated temper in her calm society. Her influence was all for good; she weaned him from Montespan, and did not take her place; she reconciled him to his poor queen, whom he had so long and so scandalously neglected; and when the queen died in 1683, the governess became the king's wife, and queen in all but name. She never was publicly acknowledged; still her position was recognized, and her power felt. Louis worked with her, consulted her in all things; she was a warm friend to the high Catholic party; though not openly subject to Jesuit influences (her early training making that unlikely), she did work which the Jesuits could not but like. The king, naturally religious in a stiff and ignorant way, and Madame de Maintenon, narrow, placid, and obstinately afraid of intellect or independence, worked together towards the same ends. The necessity of disarming any suspicion the king might feel as to the leaven of Huguenot opinion still fermenting within her led Madame de Maintenon often to countenance things which she could not in heart have approved. She had known the light, and could never afterwards have fallen into utter darkness. Jansenists and Huguenots, in these years, felt the king's dislike increased; the eagerness for the submission of the one, the conversion of the other, grew day by day into an absorbing passion. And Louis had had no small temptation to interfere with the Jansenists. They held opinions which, his Jesuit advisers assured him, were of a fatal wrongness; and in 1682 they had sided to a great extent with Innocent XI. against him. His horror of independence of views combined with his horror of a divided allegiance, and led him to act promptly against them. He convoked a great assembly of clergy, which, under the influence of Bossuet,^{Bossuet's four propositions.} drew up those four articles which have often been quoted as the clearest statement of the liberties of the Gallican church,—liberties, that is, as face to face with the pope, not as against the royal power. These articles affirm (1) the independent authority of the secular power; (2) the superiority of general councils; (3) the inviolable character of the Gallican usages; (4) the fallibility of the pope except when supported by the assent of the church. There was talk also of a Gallican patriarchate, so far did the quarrel go. The Jansenists, the "Ultramontanes" of that day, seemed to side with pope against king. In these years the papacy and the monarch were not on good terms together. Innocent XI. looked with favour on the growing resistance, and rejoiced when Protestant William overthrew Catholic James of England. The Jansenists were thus kept down; the Huguenots were more severely treated, Louvois, unluckily for them, here taking the lead. Great numbers were bribed or threatened into giving up their opinions, others were driven to it by actual hard usage, until in 1685 Louis, believing that all had been converted except a small

1685-88. stiff-necked remainder, with whom he need not scruple to deal sharply, finally ordered the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and therewith the total abolition of all the privileges unwillingly granted ninety years before to the Huguenots, and always permitted with a grudging hand. The severities of 1685, and the exodus of the Huguenots, finally brought that party to an end as a political organization. Whatever difference of opinions there may be as to the numbers who fled from the kingdom at this time, there can be no doubt as to the quality of them. They were the thriftiest and readiest hands in France ; they carried the arts and taste which were till then the special gift of their country, to Spitalfields, or Amsterdam, or even to Berlin. They crowded into the armies which were arrayed against their oppressor ; they helped to man the ships which destroyed the navy of France ; they planted their industries in many places, and gave that wealth and prosperity to other lands which was driven from their homes. In England they influenced opinion not a little, and stedfastly supported the house of Orange against the Stewarts, friends of the king of France.

In this same year 1685 Louis pushed his plans in Germany also further than was prudent. He alarmed the greater princes by intriguing, seriously or not, for the imperial dignity, against the next vacancy ; he alarmed the Rhine princes also by claiming the Lower Palatinate for Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria, the Princess Palatine, who had married the king's brother the duke of Orleans, and who in this prime of her fortunes and brilliancy almost scared the dismal court with her bright sallies and the freedom of her tongue. When the princes heard this claim, coming so soon after the loss of Strasburg,—a claim which would have brought Louis into the very heart of Germany,—they hesitated no longer ; and in July 1686 was signed that great league of Augsburg which was the beginning of the long struggle between France and the rest of Europe. The emperor, the king of Spain, the Dutch, the elector of Saxony, the Palatine elector, and a number of lesser princes, all joined it ; in 1687 the pope secretly acceded ; the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria also came in ; the soul of the combination was William of Orange. It is a strange moment of history in which the pope and the emperor, the king of Spain and the elector of Bavaria, unite to resist the advance of Catholic France and the Catholic king of England. The league was at first purely defensive, and for two years held simply an observant and ready position. The tension, however, was too great, and by 1688 Louis saw clearly that peace could not last much longer. France had had peace for ten years, yet her strength had not increased ; for the court had been very profuse in these days, and the "reunions" had cost somewhat,—the exodus of the Huguenots still more. The works at Versailles had wasted men and money ; the great ministers and generals were dead, and the country was surely drifting into war again. In the last war the king's armies had followed two lines—that of the Rhine and that of Flanders. Then, however, war was being made on the Dutch alone ; now it would have to be against the Dutch and Germans combined. To all appearance the hostility of Germany was likely to be more dangerous than that of Holland, and the Rhine had been proved to be the best roadway of attack for both countries. For this purpose the Cologne country, the electorate and its territory, appeared to Louis to be of the utmost value to him. Occupied with this idea, and not realizing either the force of the character of William of Orange, or the depth of dissatisfaction against James II. in England, the king now committed the great blunder of his life. A small demonstration against Holland would have made it impossible for William to make his attempt on England, and would have cost France very little in expense or risk. But when

it came to decision, Louis and Louvois, here as ever his 1688-92. evil genius, were both in favour of securing the influence of France on the Rhine ; both thought the dynastic question involved in the Palatinate to be more important than the great European question involved in the plans and movements of William. Moreover, the vacancy in the electorate of Cologne in 1688, in which question the pope was openly opposed to the king's nominee, excited the royal pride, and made interference in Germany a point of honour ; a French garrison was sent to occupy Cologne. For these reasons Louis, underrating the danger elsewhere, and thinking that a threat would keep the timid Dutch quiet, despatched the dauphin to the east with the main army in September 1688. He took Philipsburg ; the Palatinate and the three Rhine electorates fell easily into his hands.

Immediately William, freed from his worst anxieties, set The sail for England, and the Revolution took place at once and English without bloodshed. The Declaration of Rights was issued Revolu- by parliament in February 1689, and William and Mary tion. were seated on the throne of England. James II. took refuge at the French court, and was established at the palace of St Germain ; his presence in France, and that of his family, becomes an element in the politics of more than half a century. And now Louis recognized the error he had committed ; his troops were withdrawn from the Palatinate, which (again at the advice of Louvois) had to undergo that scathing of fire and sword which moved the feelings of all Germans, and gave earnestness to the war. Early in 1689 the Diet of Ratisbon declared war against France. The great duke of Marlborough, now only General Churchill, defeated the French at Walcourt near the Sambre ; the French were also thrust back into Alsace and Lorraine. King James was furnished with a strong force of troops and Affairs in ships, with which he landed safely in Ireland, and almost Ireland. all the island declared for him. A French-Irish court was established at Dublin. William III. sent Schomberg to the north of Ireland to make head against this great danger ; and William himself followed so soon as ever he could venture to leave England. Things were looking very serious for him. The French had kept up communications with Ireland without difficulty ; the English fleet was not thought to be loyal to the new government, for King James had been a sailor, and many of the higher officers were held likely to side with him. The battle of the Boyne (1st July 1690), however, cleared away this peril. James lost heart, and fled to France ; in a very short time the ascendancy of William III. was secured in Ireland. It was not too soon. A very few days after the battle of the Boyne, Tourville, commanding the French fleet, had defeated the Anglo-Dutch navy off Beachy Head ; and in the same month, Marshal Luxembourg won the battle of Fleurus from Waldeck with his German and Dutch troops. In Piedmont Catinat inflicted a grave defeat on Victor Amadeus at Staffarda. Still, the war of 1690 was in the end indecisive, thanks to the battle of the Boyne. In 1691 Louis seemed determined to make a greater effort, and himself besieged Mons, which he took in spite of the attempts of William to relieve it. Little, however, followed after the fall of Mons ; the year was marked by the death of Louvois, whose brutal energy had done much to sustain the war. The campaigns of 1692 were to be differently planned : in Catalonia, in Piedmont, and in Germany, there should be no offensive movement ; the whole energy of the nation should be staked on a fresh descent of King James in Ireland, and on a land-attack on the Netherlands. The war was therefore to be a duel between Louis and William. Tourville was ordered to engage the English fleet wherever he might meet it ; it was believed that Admiral Russell and half the ships would desert in action. The experiment was tried off Cape La Hogue, and with disastrous results to the French armis :

1692-97. it was the ruin of the French fleet, the shipwreck of King James's cause. In the Netherlands Louis in person invested Namur, and, again baffling William III., took that strong place, which carried the line of the Meuse, in June. This, which might have been the decisive success of the war on land, brought with it no results; the victory of Steenkirke, in which Luxembourg defeated William, ended the Netherlands campaign. Elsewhere, as had been planned, the operations of the war were insignificant. The campaigns of 1693 were also indecisive; although Luxembourg again defeated William at Neerwinden, the capture of Charleroi was the only result. The aggressive period of the war was coming to an end. In 1694 it became almost entirely defensive; and the death of Marshal Luxembourg in the first days of 1695 took from Louis his most fortunate general. Villeroy, who succeeded him, was a poor officer; the ancient credit of the French army was upheld by Vauban and Catinat. The war in that year was exceedingly languid. The generals were afraid of the court; the king rewarded and promoted the less able over the heads of the more capable. The recovery of Namur by William III. in this year showed how France had lost strength since 1692. In 1696 Louis succeeded in detaching Victor Amadeus from the allies by abandoning Casale and Pinerolo to him, and securing to him his Savoyard territory; and the duke's daughter was betrothed to the duke of Burgundy, the eldest son of the dauphin, the father of Louis XV. This defection of Savoy, the appearance of Catinat in the Netherlands in 1697, the renewed vigour of the French arms, the difficulty of governing England now that Queen Mary was dead, at last led William III. to accept the mediation of Sweden.

Louis XIV. was at least as willing to come to terms; France was worn out with the long war and its great sacrifices; and, above all, it was seen that Charles II. of Spain had not long to live. To be ready to deal with the great questions of the Spanish succession Louis agreed to terms which he otherwise would not have granted. The peace of Ryswick in 1697 was soon agreed to. Louis recognized William III. as king of England, and Anne, second daughter of James II., and a decided Protestant, as his successor. He ceded to the allies all places won from England, Holland, or Spain since the peace of Nimwegen, and consented to a Dutch garrison in each of the Spanish-Netherland barrier-fortresses. These three powers had no fault to find with the treaty of Ryswick; Germany, however, was not so well pleased. She had made war chiefly to reduce the French hold on the Rhine; William had pledged himself that Strasburg should be restored; but, as neither England nor Holland would support him in demanding this of Louis, he was fain to make peace without it. The emperor and the princes were very unwilling to come in; at last, however, they signed a separate peace, in which they got back all places taken by France since Nimwegen, excepting Strasburg, and recovered all the strongholds on the right bank of the Rhine. Lorraine was restored to its German duke; the French candidate for the electorate of Cologne was abandoned; and the claims of the Princess-Palatine on the Lower Palatinate commuted for a sum of money. Germany had fair cause therefore to be well pleased with the result. Louis now turned all his attention to the Spanish question; and the failure of his candidate for the throne of Poland, the prince of Conti, in 1697, perhaps made him all the more anxious to prepare the way for the great triumph which he hoped might be won at Madrid. The closing years of the century were passed in active negotiations for this object. The three houses which hoped to gain by the death of Charles II.—for nations were now treated as the private inheritance of princes,—were the house of Bourbon, the house of Austria, and the house of Wittelsbach. Austria and France desired

to acquire the whole heritage; the Bavarian elector would have been satisfied with a partition. The emperor Leopold, head of the house of Austria, desired the Spanish throne for his younger son the archduke Charles, nephew (by marriage) of Charles II., and grandson of Maria of Spain, spouse of the emperor Ferdinand III.; he was therefore only very distantly related to the dying king. Louis XIV. claimed, in spite of renunciations, for Philip his grandson, grandson of Maria Theresa, half sister to Charles II.,—Philip's elder brother, Louis duke of Burgundy, waiving his claim on his behalf. Lastly, Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria, claimed for his son Joseph Ferdinand, on behalf of the child's mother, Maria Antonia, daughter of Leopold I. and Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. Leopold I. was the only male cousin of the Spanish king, and his nearest male relation; and Charles II. had also married Maria Anna of Neuburg, Leopold's sister-in-law. Moreover, his rights had never been renounced, while Maria Theresa, on marrying Louis XIV., had renounced hers, and so also had Maria Antonia, mother of the Bavarian electoral prince. The knotty question, however, was not to be solved by paper-considerations; it was a matter for the law of the stronger, and the more unscrupulous; Louis XIV. therefore won. William III., earnest in his desire for peace, and anxious that France should get no additional strength, threw in his lot with the Bavarian prince, and thought that such a partition might be made as would satisfy all. Charles II. also was strongly in favour of the same cause, and made a will in favour of Joseph Ferdinand. This, however, pleased neither Austria nor France, and Count Harrach, the Austrian envoy, got the will annulled, though he could not persuade the king of Spain to recognize the archduke Charles as his heir. Directly after the signature of the peace of Ryswick, Louis XIV. sent the Marquis d' Harcourt, a most successful choice, to represent his interests at Madrid, and ordered Tallard to amuse William III. with a scheme for a partition-treaty. Harcourt was to intrigue for the whole succession at Madrid, while Tallard should make sure of a part at St James's, in case Harcourt's difficult mission failed. William III. was only too glad to enter into the scheme; and a first partition-treaty was drawn up, by which France, Austria, and Bavaria each should get its part. This treaty Louis used against itself; for it was one of the most cogent arguments by which Harcourt succeeded in persuading the Spanish court and people that if they would keep the great inheritance unbroken, and not destroy the ancient kingdom, they must have the French prince as their future monarch. In spite of much ill-will and great discouragement, Harcourt won his way into the complete confidence of the court of Spain, and utterly outstripped the rough and unwise Austrians. Early in 1699 the young electoral prince died, and the first partition-treaty became void. A second treaty followed, though it was not accepted by Austria; and Louis XIV. in accepting it had no intention of keeping his word, unless it suited him to do so. French influences, from the moment that this second treaty became known at Madrid, were omnipotent with the Spanish court; and in 1700 Charles II. signed another will, in which he left the whole of the grand inheritance to Philip duke of Anjou. After some simulated, and perhaps a little real hesitation, Louis XIV. accepted the will for his grandson, and enjoyed for a brief while the triumph that it brought,—the triumph of successful diplomacy and of a vastly enlarged influence and power. As time went on, it became clear that the king of Spain would not always be the obedient servant of the king of France, and that the connexion between the monarchies was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

War did not break out in consequence, as had been expected; the English, who had disliked the partition-treaties,

The
peace of
Ryswick

The
Spanish
success-
sion.

1700-2. even preferred the acceptance of the will by Louis XIV. to Philip the cause for which William, with his larger views of Anjou European politics, desired to fight; and Philip of Anjou becomes king of Spain. Louis XIV. protested at once Philip V. against the view that the two crowns of France and Spain should never be united,—though he had used their certain separation as an argument to influence Spanish opinion,—and reserved the rights of Philip V. to the French crown; in 1714 there was only one person, and he a sickly child, between him and the hereditary right to the crown of France. Though war did not follow at once, it could not long be delayed, and meanwhile Louis XIV. did all he could to strengthen himself. Early in 1701 he made an agreement with the elector of Bavaria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and ejected the Dutch troops from the barrier fortresses. It was a haughty denial of the validity of the peace of Ryswick; and, in open violation of the spirit of the same treaty, he soon after, on the death of James II., recognized James Stewart, his eldest son, the "Old Pretender," the "Chevalier de Saint George," as king of England, under title of James III. About the same time the Germans and Dutch, thoroughly alarmed, signed at the Hague a great treaty, "the Grand Alliance," with William III., and bound themselves to restore the Netherlands barrier, to regain the Milanese territory for the empire, to win for the emperor all the Italian and Mediterranean possessions of Spain, to attack and take the Spanish Indies. The emperor, without delay, sent Prince Eugene, his greatest general, to begin the war in Italy; the double-dealing Victor Amadeus, the skilful strategy of the prince, the excellence of the fresh troops under his command, were too much for Catinat, who was obliged to fall back. Louis, who never had liked his best general, was not at all sorry, and sent Villeroi, one of his worst, to supersede him. Villeroi speedily justified his choice by losing the battle of Chiari (1701); almost the whole of the Mantuan territory fell into Prince Eugene's hands. After the surprise of Cremona, early in 1702, Vendome, who, indolent as he was, was a good general, replaced Villeroi, and by the indecisive battle of Luzzara (August 1702) recovered some of the lost foothold of France in Italy.

*The war
of the
Spanish
success-
sion
begins.*

Ere this war had broken out on all sides. The death of William III. and the accession of Queen Anne, early in 1702, made no change in the arrangements of the allies for their four campaigns,—the Italian campaign, which was least in importance; the Belgian, in which they aimed at the fortresses; the German, chiefly on the Danube; the Spanish, in which the archduke Charles struggled for the crown. Catinat, transferred to the Rhine, and ill-supported by an unfriendly court at home, the ill-will of which was reflected in the conduct of his officers, could not make head against the prince of Baden, who crossed the Rhine and took Landau. Catinat, who soon after this sent in his resignation, was coldly allowed to withdraw, and France thus lost the most prudent and capable of her remaining generals. The elector of Bavaria was the only strong and true friend the courts of France and Spain had in this war; he bore the brunt of the early periods of it. Louis of Baden had occupied in force the strong elbow of hills and forests between the valley of the Rhine and that of the Danube, thereby threatening the elector, and hindering him from joining the French. His position was very strong; yet Villars, who was ambitious and lively, and longed for the marshal's staff, determined to attempt the task of driving him out. He accordingly crossed the Rhine, and attacked the Germans at Friedlingen (14th October 1702), and by good fortune rather than by skill defeated them. His success, however, was not such as to enable him to shake Louis of Baden; he could not even penetrate into the Black Forest. In the Netherlands Marlborough strength-

ened his position by taking a group of towns, and keeping Marshal Boufflers and the duke of Burgundy actively employed, as they retreated before him from point to point. The defeat of the French fleet in Vigo Bay, and the outburst of the Protestants of the Cevennes mountains, both added largely to the difficulties of France. In the winter Marlborough enlarged his base of operations by occupying the electorate of Cologne, and early in 1703 he had cleared out all the Spaniards in his rear or on his flank. Before the end of 1703 everything was ready for that great advance which was destined to raise his fame to its highest point. And it was time that he went, as he said, "to teach the Germans how to beat the French;" for in 1703 Villars had been very successful in Germany; he had forced his way through the Black Forest, and had joined the elector of Bavaria in the upper valley of the Danube; and the elector had already driven the Austrians down the valley to below Passau. A threatened attack on Vienna came to nothing. Towards the end of the campaign the elector and Villars drove Louis of Baden from his positions, and defeated Styrum at Höchstatt; Tallard, with the army which had watched Louis of Baden in the lines of Stolhofen, returned to the Rhine and took Old Breisach and Landau, as well as won the battle of Spirea. On this side the war had been very favourable to France,—an advantage against which the transfer of Savoy and Portugal to the side of the allies had to be set.

These changes, and the continued resistance of the Huguenots in the south of France, enabled Marlborough to arrange with Prince Eugene his great campaign of 1704, in a conference near Heilbronn. Here the so-called triumvirate,—Marlborough, Eugene, and Heinsius—England, the empire, and the Dutch,—laid their plans to neutralize the French advantages in Bavaria, and by cutting the line of their communications, to relieve Vienna from all anxiety. The peril to Austria was great, for the French and Bavarians formed a long unbroken line from the Vosges to Passau. Quite early, therefore, in 1704, Marlborough began to move; he misled Villeroi and Boufflers, who were watching him, and crossed the Rhine at Cologne, with a view to joining Prince Eugene, who held the famous Stolhofen lines. The French and Bavarians drew together to meet this formidable attack; the elector entrenched himself near Donauwörth; Villeroi and Tallard observed the Stolhofen lines. Marlborough, with Prussian and other help, passed through Mainz, crossed the Black Forest, and came out in the Danube valley, joining Louis of Baden near Ulm. Their united forces defeated the elector and took Donauwörth. Thus doing, they had placed themselves between him and his French allies, Marsin and Tallard; and Marlborough, feeling his communications to be critical, and rather alarmed as to his position, drew back up the Danube, till he had effected a junction with Prince Eugene. The elector had also joined his French friends, and they lay in wait for their antagonists in a strong position on the left bank of the Danube, between Höchstatt and Blenheim. There, on the 13th August 1704, was fought the great battle of Blenheim. The French and battle of Bavarians had the superiority in numbers and position; this, however, they neutralized by faulty arrangements, and by shutting up a large force in the village of Blenheim. The battle was hot and heavy, and the loss to the allies, who were the assailants, great. Eugene made little impression on the lines, but towards evening Marlborough succeeded in breaking through Tallard's position. Thereby he cut the enemy in two, and the French cavalry fled in panic towards Höchstatt. Many were drowned in the Danube; Marsin and the elector drew off in good condition towards the Black Forest; Tallard was a prisoner, his whole force either dispersed or taken. It was the worst mishap that had ever befallen Louis XIV. Bavaria was entirely subdued; Aus-

1705-6. tria and the empire saved ; the elector took refuge in France. Louis of Baden was able now to cross the Rhine ; Landau again fell into German hands ; Marlborough returned to the Moselle, taking Trarbach and Trèves. The war drew nearer to the frontiers of France, and Germany ran no further risk of invasion.

In 1705 the duke's plans for an attack on France were neutralized by the slowness and jealousy of Louis of Baden, who did not care to play second to "the handsome Englishman." The Cevennes insurrection being now over, Villars was free to face the allies, and did so with such skill and success that Marlborough was obliged to fall back towards the Netherlands. On the other hand, Louis XIV. weakened Villars in order to strengthen Villeroy in the Netherlands ; so that the campaign of 1705 ended without any decisive operations. Not so 1706, the great year of the

The cam-
paigns of
1706.
The cam-
paigns of
1706.

succession war. Louis XIV. fully intended that the Netherlands' campaign should have in this year decisive results. It was unfortunate for him that his personal likings led him to place in command on that side the incompetent Villeroy, who had to grapple with the victorious troops and masterly generalship of Marlborough. The result was that the duke easily won the great victory of Ramillies (23d May, 1706), which was as decisive as Blenheim ; for as Blenheim swept the French out of Bavaria, so Ramillies made them powerless in the Netherlands. The allies took Louvain, Brussels and Malines, Ghent and Bruges, all in the name of the archduke Charles, whom they proclaimed king of Spain as Charles III. Antwerp, Oudenarde, all Brabant, accepted him at once. His fortunes seemed equally good elsewhere. The alliance between England and Portugal in 1703 had given a turn to warfare in the Peninsula. The archduke in 1704 tried to penetrate into Spain from the Portuguese frontier ; this failed, partly from the difficulties of the country, and partly from the ability of the duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., and nephew of the duke of Marlborough, one of the few real soldiers in the service of the king of France at this time. On the other hand the English fleet under Rooke, which was waiting on the archduke, by a stroke of happy audacity surprised Gibraltar (4th August 1704), and occupied it in strength. The utmost efforts of the French, under the count of Toulouse, one of the natural sons of Louis XIV., failed to recover this all-important rock. The battle of Malaga, though the French fleet had the best of it, damaged their navy so seriously that they could attempt no more ; and in the exhaustion of France it proved impossible to refit the ships, or continue the struggle on the seas. In 1705 Charles III., unmolested by them, sailed round Spain, and landed at Barcelona. The Catalans and Aragonese were inclined to support him, while proud Castile held by Philip V. These were the days of the romantic career of the earl of Peterborough. In 1706 the French and Castilian siege of Barcelona came to nothing ; the party of Charles took heart, and supported by English, Portuguese, and French refugees, drove Philip out of Madrid, and placed their candidate on the throne.

In Italy, the death of the emperor Leopold having called Prince Eugene away, Vendôme with unwonted energy defeated the Austrians at Calcinato, and swept the allies out of all the Milanese territory. Turin alone remained in the hands of Victor Amadeus II., and was the object of a fierce siege. Prince Eugene, however, returned in time to save the capital ; for Vendôme, after Ramillies, had been ordered to the Netherlands, and the change of commanders was everything to the allies. Prince Eugene attacked the French lines at Turin ; differences sprang up between Marsin and the duke of Orleans (the nephew of Louis XIV.), and the Austrians won a great victory. Marsin was killed ; the French army would not obey the duke ; the whole force melted away, and Italy fell completely into the hands of

the allies. Thus in the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, their 1706-9. fortunes by the autumn of 1706 seemed to be completely triumphant. In Spain, however, the Castilians succeeded in ejecting Charles III., and in replacing their favourite Philip V. ; and in the opening of 1707, the victory of Almanza, gained by Berwick over Ruvigny, a French refugee officer of ability, finally settled the Spanish question in favour of the Bourbon dynasty. A treaty of neutrality for Italy, by which the emperor Joseph I. secured his conquests there, also released Louis XIV. from some of his anxieties.

The campaigns of 1707 were as unimportant as those of 1706 had been decisive. The appearance of Charles XII. of Sweden in Germany paralysed both sides a while ; Villars, in command on the Rhine, stormed the Stolhofen lines, and pushed into Bavaria, hoping that the Swede would join him with his invincible Scandinavians. Charles, however, cared not to unite his fortunes to the Catholic side, and after some delay marched eastward towards Poland. Villars fell back to the Rhine ; Vendôme quietly watched Marlborough ; on the sea Duguay-Trouin, the most brilliant of French captains, harassed the Anglo-Dutch commerce, and won very considerable advantages over the English fleet. In 1708 an expedition for Scotland failed completely ; and in the Netherlands the duke of Burgundy and Vendôme were caught by Marlborough and Eugene at Oudenarde (11th July 1708), and utterly defeated. The allies crossed the French frontier and sat down before Lille,—Eugene besieging, Marlborough protecting. By the end of the year the place had fallen into their hands, after a brilliant defence, which, though unsuccessful, won for Marshal Boufflers the distinction of duke and peer of France. Ghent and Bruges, with all Flanders, were secured by the allies ; their light cavalry overran northern France, and appeared almost at the gates of Versailles.

The fortunes of France now seemed to be at their worst : The famine and a bitter winter closed the disastrous year ; every- straits of thing was at a stand-still, trade completely ruined, finance in France. a dreadful state ; even the king began to despair, and to negotiate for peace. He had felt his way thitherwards in vain in 1706 ; now in 1709 he made serious offers. The allies treated his proposals with great severity ; he was Louis willing to dismantle Dunkirk and ruin its port if Lille were proposed restored to France, to give up his grandson's throne of terms. Spain if Philip might have Naples ; he did not absolutely refuse to abandon the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. With such concessions peace was not impossible. The allies, however, insisted on stipulations which touched the old king's personal honour, declaring that as Louis had placed Philip V. on the Spanish throne, he must, with his own troops, if necessary, dispossess him of it again. They also demanded the cession to Germany of Strasburg and Breisach, the erection of a new line of barrier-fortresses between Holland and France, and other lesser matters. To these Louis would not consent, and the negotiations broke down. He appealed warmly to the country to support him, and was answered by an outburst of patriotism which enabled him to send Villars, at the head of a good army, into the Netherlands. There he fought the great battle of Malpla-

Malpla-
quet (11th September 1709), in which Marlborough and quet
Prince Eugene were again victorious, though their losses and its
were tremendous, as they had been obliged to attack a very
strong position held by a powerful army. The fall of Mons
was the only advantage which resulted to the allies ; with
that the campaign came to an end. While the battle actu-
ally restored the spirit of the French soldiers, who had been
skilfully and successfully withdrawn from the field by Mar-
shal Boufflers, it produced a very bad feeling in England.
There men were very weary of the war, and the carnage at
Malplaquet had been terrible. Louis again offered large

1710-14 concessions to the allies in 1710; the triumvirate, however, were not content to make peace, and still demanded what they knew he would not consent to—his personal interference against Philip V. The campaign of 1710, which followed, was intended to strengthen the allies, with a view to their penetrating the next year into the heart of France. Douai, Bethune, and some lesser places were taken; Villars covered Cambrai and Arras; in Spain Charles III. again entered Madrid, though he was unable to hold his ground there, and before the year's end Philip V. was again triumphant.

Change of opinion in England. In this gloomiest state of French affairs, when all was in confusion and despair, the old king at bay and too infirm

to head the remnants of his armies, the allies firmly planted in northern France, it was believed that, if they could but hold together, they would in one more campaign succeed in entirely breaking the power of their great rival. In England, however, that change of opinion had begun which saved Louis from this last humiliation. The Tory party, vehemently opposed to Marlborough and the war, were gathering strength; the elections of 1710 went in their favour, and early in 1711 the fall of the duchess of Marlborough at court told every one that the reign of the Whigs was over. The death of Joseph I., the emperor, by placing Charles III. on the imperial throne as Charles VI. (December 1711), changed the whole position of affairs, and made men still more unwilling to carry on the war. It was felt that Europe could no longer sacrifice herself to place him on the throne of Spain as well as that of the empire, and to create a power which might endanger the stability of Europe, and overthrow the balance at which men were aiming. The warfare of 1711 was languid; Prince Eugene was called away to the imperial election; Marlborough and Villars long watched each other on the northern frontier of France. The only result was the capture by the allies of Bouchain, and the arrangement by Marlborough of "a grand project,"—a plan for the invasion of France in the next campaign, when he hoped to have Eugene by his side. In the winter, however, the duke was overthrown at St James's, and his plans came to nothing. Negotiations for peace were far more to the taste of the Tories than a vigorous foreign policy; and it was announced, late in 1711, that Utrecht had been chosen as a place of conference; the bases of an agreement were easily arrived at. In 1712 the duke of Ormond replaced Marlborough in the Low Countries; his business was to neutralize the Dutch and Germans, who were still eager for war; and in May England signed a separate truce, abandoning her allies. They continued the war a while, but after being sharply defeated by Villars at Denain (24th July 1712) they accomplished nothing more; the French retook Douai, Le Quesnoy, and Bouchain. Then the Dutch gave up all thoughts of further war, and came in to the English truce; war ceased on all hands, and negotiations went on merrily at Utrecht. At last, in April 1713, peace was signed by all the powers except the empire on the basis of the treaty of Ryswick.

The peace of Utrecht. The Germans, thus once more abandoned by their allies, found it impossible to continue long. Villars outgeneraled Prince Eugene, and by defeating him before Freiburg in the Brisgau, and taking that town, showed to the emperor that he also would do well to come to terms. In 1714 two more treaties were signed by the princes of the empire and the Austrians, and the Succession War at last came to an end.

Results of the Succession War. England was the chief gainer: she secured her succession through the house of Hanover, which now became a ninth electorate; the Pretender was to be compelled to leave France; the crowns of France and Spain were never to rest on one head; Dunkirk was dismantled; Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson's Bay Territory were transferred from France to her; a friendly commercial treaty followed.

Holland got a strong barrier on the side of France; the Spanish Netherlands were handed over to the United Provinces, which undertook to transfer them to Austria on the final conclusion of peace. She, too, made a favourable commercial treaty with France. The duke of Savoy was made a king and got Sicily, while Austria received Naples and Sardinia. Prussia received part of Gelderland, and gave up to France all her claims on the Orange principality. England was recognized as mistress of Gibraltar and Minorca. France recovered Lille, and retained Strasburg and the whole of Alsace. Freiburg in the Brisgau, Breisach and Kehl, she had to restore to Germany; the rights of Philip V. to the throne of Spain remained unshaken; the resistance of Barcelona, which obstinately refused to recognize him, was overcome by Berwick in 1714. Far lighter were the terms of peace than those which the triumvirate had tried to force on Louis XIV.; yet the aged monarch must have deeply felt the permanent retrogression which they involved. His splendid ambitions were shown to be unattainable, after they had well-nigh ruined France in the pursuit; she had paid already a terrible price for the glories of a grand monarch and a great age. It would require the awakening of the Revolution to restore her to her right place in Europe. Her old antagonists, Austria and Spain, were also losers by the war; north Germany, under the guidance of the new kingdom of Prussia, was destined gradually to reduce the supremacy of the south, and at last to take its place; England was fitted for the great destinies she was to fulfil in the course of the century; Holland, secure from all disturbance, withdrew from the political arena.

A short time before the conclusion of the peace, when the calamities were almost at their darkest for France, domestic losses in appalling succession had stricken down the king. In April 1711 the dauphin died; early in 1712 the duke and duchess of Burgundy and their eldest boy were carried off by fever; in 1714 the duke of Berry also died. And now of the direct line of the Bourbons remained only Louis XIV. and his great-grandson, the duke of Anjou, the future Louis XV. If the arrangements as to the Spanish crown held good, the dissolute duke of Orleans, whom Louis XIV. disliked and shunned, was the next heir after the little Louis. The country was famine-stricken and most miserable, finance in hopeless confusion, the debt grown to vast size; an annual deficit had long been going on. The whole of the institutions of the country seemed to have fallen into ruin. The nobles had become needy hangers-on at court; they filled the army, and by making it impossible for merit to rise had contributed largely to the disasters of the Succession War.

The brief remainder of this long reign was of little importance. The ignoble persecution, which had overthrown Port Royal in 1710, continued against the Jansenists to the end; and in 1714 Louis tried to strengthen Madame de Maintenon's party against that of the duke of Orleans by decreeing the legitimization of his bastard sons by Madame de Montespan—the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse,—and by making a will to secure the regency to the duke of Maine and Le Tellier, his Jesuit confessor. Then on the 1st of September 1715 he died, leaving the crown of France to his great-grandson Louis, a child five years old. *Death of Louis XIV.* Madame de Maintenon, who had at last shown how wearisome was the task she had borne for thirty-two years, and how thankful she was in her old age to be relieved from it, abandoned the king just before his death, and withdrew to St Cyr. And so passed away a monarch who had certainly been great, though not in the highest sense of that word,—whose soul had been beneath the level of his circumstances. It was with an instinctive movement of relief and pleasure that France heard the tidings of his death. The load of misery he had laid on the shoulders of his people

1715. had become too great to bear. He had used them, their strength and the labour of their hands, without stint or regret; but had never done anything to solace their woes, and in the worst and most famine-stricken times the wasteful expenditure of the court remained undiminished, and the cares of the Great Monarch never descended so low as to the poor people, whose fortunes the steady growth of the absolute monarchy had placed entirely in his hands.

A new age begins.

Philip of Orleans regent.

The re-action in France.

For France the 18th century begins with the death of Louis XIV. The party which had surrounded the late king, the party of Madame de Maintenon, the Jesuits, the duke of Maine, represented the past; their opponents were ambitious to represent the future. At their head stood Philip, duke of Orleans, who had in extremest form all the characteristics of the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family,—who was brilliant and most intelligent, highly educated and cultivated; who was brave and capable as a soldier, full of good ideas as to the benevolent management of the people, and lastly, profligate and utterly without rule in his moral life, so that his better side was always neutralized by his worse qualities, and he ended by failing completely in his attempt to govern France on principles opposed to those of Louis XIV. Like so many of the prominent personages of the 18th century, his intellect grasped the future, while his vices clung to the past. Even while the old monarch's remains were being hurried with scanty pomp and tearless eyes to St Denis, Philip of Orleans swept away all the arrangements of the royal will, and had himself declared regent, with full power to appoint his council of regency. The public opinion, as far as it could exist and express itself, warmly supported this *coup d'état*, and the party of the duke of Maine shrank into utter obscurity. At once the regent set himself to reform the government, and alter the foreign policy of France; in this he was guided partly by his knowledge of the plans of the late duke of Burgundy, and partly by the acute intelligence of his former tutor the Abbé Dubois; the duke of Burgundy represented also the virtuous, the abbé the scandalous, side of the new Government. In home affairs the regent's action aimed at a complete reversal of the late king's methods. He proposed to shift the work of governing from the king to the nobles; there were to be six business councils or boards,—for foreign affairs, army, navy, church affairs (the "council of conscience"), home affairs, and finance. This system of government failed, partly through the indolence of the regent, partly through the inaptness of the nobles for practical business. In church matters, the Jansenists were not unpopular, and came back to Paris; Cardinal Noailles, head of the council of conscience, was moderate and tolerant, and the Jesuits felt that their power was much weakened. The regent even talked of inviting back the Huguenots to France; this, however, was beyond his powers. He had Fenelon's *Télémaque* published at last, as a kind of manifesto against the late reign, and a prophecy of the coming era of benevolent princes. He hoped to introduce throughout France the system known as that of the *pays d'états*, a system of local estates or parliaments, which should lead up to a real and substantive States-General, and make all the provinces alike in form of government. This also he could not carry into effect. In foreign affairs Dubois led; his main view was that France and Spain could not be friends, that Philip V. would gladly represent the old high Catholic interference in France, and would do his worst to overthrow the regent, whose character and ideas alike were odious to him. This being so, here was reason for another reversal of the late king's views; France should seek her friends among the natural foes of Spain,—England under the house of Hanover, and Holland. The marked Anglomania, the enthusiasm for everything English, which is to be seen at this time in France, worked in well with these new lines

of foreign policy. With these views Dubois set himself to resist the bold schemes of Cardinal Alberoni, the adventurer, the would-be regenerator of Spain. In 1717 he succeeded in combining the three countries in opposition to Alberoni, and in 1718, on the emperor acceding to the league, the Quadruple Alliance (France, England, Holland, the empire) was signed. The detection of the Cellamare plot, for the overthrow and assassination of the regent, had enabled Dubois, just before this time, to get rid of all the Spanish party. He deported Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, and imprisoned the duke of Maine and the leaders of that side; he also took for himself the post of foreign minister. War now began; England crushed the Spanish fleet; the imperialists, in British ships, seized Sicily; Marshal Berwick won some successes in northern Spain. The basis on which Alberoni had built was too slight to bear the strain of unsuccessful war; he fell, and early in 1720 the treaty of London closed this little war. Spain ceased thenceforward to cherish schemes of life and energy; the ancient kingdom lapsed once more into proud decay.

At this very moment France greatly needed some triumph and some tranquillity, for she was now rudely waking from new dreams of gambler-wealth at home. The financial difficulties inherited from the late reign had baffled all the skill of the duke of Noailles, who presided over the council of finance. His "chambre ardente," with which he had hoped to cure the evils of the time by punishing and frightening financiers, brought no relief; and the regent, whose active mind and indolent disposition led him to adopt new and brilliant schemes, was carried away by the clever suggestions of John Law of Lauriston, an adventurer, in whose ready brain new ideas as to finance and banking teemed. John Law the financier. He had hold of some half-truths respecting the real objects and character of money and commercial circulation. Paper money was a new thing; and Law believed that notes, based on the permanent wealth of the country, the soil, might be made to double the nation's capital, and relieve it of all its embarrassments. He was allowed to establish a bank of his own in 1716. This answered so well that in 1718 Government undertook the whole mystery of banking, with Law as director of the new Royal Bank. In connexion with this institution, intended to set afloat paper supported by the property of the state, he started his famous Joint-stock Mississippi Company, with its grant of The Mississippi Company. Louisiana, and all the unknown, and therefore marvellous, wealth and resources of the interior of North America. The shares were greedily taken up; the new bank notes seemed to afford an easy and inexhaustible supply of wealth, which would extinguish the debt, and set the country forward in lucrative enterprise. For a few months the fever was amazing; the wildest excesses of stock-jobbing and gambling were committed; on the wings of this paper-wealth the state should escape out of its difficulties, and private persons fly up to splendour. Law himself bought a handful of titled estates, and seemed to become one of the greatest men in France. Early in 1720, however, confidence was shaken, and then the bubble burst. Law stood his ground a while, but at the end of the year he was obliged to take flight, as poor as when he began. The embarrassments of France were not got rid of in this way; the royal bankruptcy which was impending would in the end pull down the monarchy. Dubois, who had prudently kept Cardinal Dubois clear of this downfall, now turned his ambition towards church preferment; on his unworthy head were placed first the archiepiscopal mitre of Cambrai, then the cardinal's hat. His rise made it necessary for him to appease the Jesuits and depress the Jansenists, and this he did without a moment's hesitation. For a year Cardinal Dubois, as first minister, was the foremost man in France. He proclaimed the majority of Louis XV. in 1723; and just as

1723-38. his career of scheming, of clever unprincipled government, seemed crowned with fullest success, a little accident brought him to his grave. Four months later his boon companion the duke of Orleans was carried off by apoplexy. Thus had the long reign of Louis XV. begun with shameless vice and prosperous hypocrisy; as it began, so it continued to the end; and all the time the financial difficulties of the country grew apace. The debt, seed-plot of revolution, soon passed all power of management.

Character of Louis XV. The young king had some chances given him: he had good preceptors, and intelligent people around his youth. His temperament was, however, entirely bad: the religious element in him was superstition and fear, which led him to mix up piety and debauchery in most ghastly connexion; he was coldly selfish, indolent, vicious; the absolutions of his courtly confessors and directors gave him an easy conscience, if he had a conscience at all, and encouraged him to continue his career of shameless immorality, till at last his vices did what religion seemed unwilling to do,—they arrested the scandal of his life by bringing him suddenly and directly to his grave.

The Duke of Bourbon minister. From 1723 to 1726 the duke of Bourbon, who had been president of the council of regency, was first minister. It is an obscure period, which produced only, through a back-stairs intrigue, the marriage of the young king with Marie Leczinski, daughter of that Stanislas who had been king of Poland, and was to be the last duke of Lorraine, and who rejoiced in the high-sounding title of the "Beneficent Philosopher." In this 18th century princes and great ministers adopted titles and phrases which in our days have descended to the level of the vendors of quack medicines. Still these affectations of princely humanity were a phenomenon of some importance in the period, as showing how the current of feeling and opinion was setting towards those principles of right, that love for mankind, that zeal for good works, which is based on the intrinsic equality of all men. The rule of the brutal duke of Bourbon and his mistress, the Marquise de Prie, came to an end in 1726, and then André Hercule Fleury, bishop of Fréjus, the king's preceptor, took his place. The statesman Fleury, and the church historian, contemporaries, are not the same person. The historian was confessor to Louis XV., the statesman his tutor.

Cardinal Fleury. André Fleury, now first minister and cardinal, had the credit of being an upright and disinterested man,—Pope calls him "honest Fleury,"—and all society, from the king downwards, thoroughly trusted him. His honesty, however, was narrow and limited, and his home government obscure and uneventful. He made no scandals and attempted no reforms. Against his will and judgment he left his mark on foreign politics, though here, too, his was a "hand-to-mouth" policy, which involved no large view or grasp. At first he succeeded, with no little dexterity, in arresting the war which Austria and Spain, supported by Russia and Prussia, threatened against England and France. The congress of Soissons in 1729 arranged the points at issue, at least for a time. In the north, however, matters were more difficult, for here new elements had entered into the political world. The new ambitions of Russia under Peter the Great, and the consolidation of the young kingdom of Prussia, at once affected the position of Austria, involving that ill-placed state in fresh relations and duties; while the situation of Poland, amidst them all, was obviously threatened. France, of old the friend and always the romantic admirer of Poland, could not fail to be involved in the quick and unstable changes of the chivalric kingdom. This now occurred. In 1733, Augustus II. of Poland dying, the electing nobles, instinctively dreading the power of their neighbours, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who had made a secret compact together as to Polish affairs in 1732, appealed for French help, and re-elected Stanislas Leczinski

their king; he had been the nominee of Charles XII. in 1733-40. 1704, and had fallen with him. The Russian party among the nobles elected Augustus III. of Saxony, and as Austrian and Russian soldiers supported him, while France, in fact, did nothing but declare war against Austria, he seated himself firmly upon the throne of Poland. French influence for the time was utterly defeated, and Stanislas, after suitable romantic adventures, found refuge in France. The war with Austria, which began late in 1733, in 1734 occupied the last energies of the last of the old generals of Louis XIV. Marshal Berwick, commanding across the Rhine, was killed in the trenches before Philipsburg; and Villars, in Italy, after one brief campaign, in which he was thwarted by the duke of Savoy, died at Turin about the same time. The French fought well in this Italian war; they won a hotly contested victory near Parma, lost a sharp affair at La Secchia, and defeated the Austrians at Guastalla. The Spaniards, taking advantage of the weakening of Austria in south Italy, landed Don Carlos at Naples, where he was warmly welcomed, and the "Two Sicilies" passed from Austria to the Spanish Bourbons. The French having taken Philipsburg were in a commanding position on the Rhine, while the Austrians were much weakened in Italy. The emperor therefore made proposals for peace, which pacific Fleury gladly met. The treaty of Vienna (3d October 1735) seemed to secure French influence in central Europe; the Two Sicilies were made a kingdom for Don Carlos; Lorraine and ducal Bar were given to Stanislas Leczinski, who abandoned all claims on Poland, and at his death the duchies were to fall in to France; the duke of Lorraine was made heir of Tuscany, and succeeded to that government in 1737; France undertook to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. Charles VI., under whom the house of Austria daily grew weaker, was daily more eager for the flimsy security of this famous document, Charles which aimed at ensuring the undisputed succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to all his possessions, as head of the house of Austria. Fleury, by acceding to this paper-guarantee, became all powerful with him, and induced the emperor to sign the peace of Belgrade (1739), by which the possession of that important city passed to Turkey. In these years Fleury's policy seemed thoroughly successful, and France was believed to be prosperous. Her prosperity, however, did not reach her people; the misery of the peasantry in 1738-1740 was exceedingly great; famine came each winter; the people died in crowds. D'Argenson in his *Memoirs* declares that "more Frenchmen died of misery in these two years than perished in all the wars of Louis XIV."

In 1740 died both the emperor Charles VI. and Frederick The first William, king of Prussia; the strength of the Pragmatic Silesian Sanction had now to be brought to the test. Charles VI. war left no male issue, and his daughter Maria Theresa, married to a weak prince, Joseph of Lorraine and Tuscany, was his sole heir. To the throne of Prussia succeeded Frederick II., a slight and ingenuous prince, who admired the French and played on the flute. He reigned for forty-six years, and was Frederick the Great. Instantly there was a scramble for the great and widespread lands thus left to a woman's care. Joseph of Lorraine failed to get the imperial crown; this, however, was a little matter, and after all it came to him in 1745. For the territories there were several claimants: Bavaria, Spain, and Saxony, all asserted their claims to the whole inheritance; the king of Sardinia wanted some Italian fiefs; the young king of Prussia laid hands on Silesia. France obviously lay outside the quarrel; yet it was hard to think, with Fleury, that a peaceful and reserved position was her best policy. A war-party, headed by the two Belle-Isles, Fouquet's grandsons, negotiators and soldiers, rose up at court in opposition to the old minister. All Europe ranged itself for or against the fair young queen of

1740-44. Hungary. England was warmly for Austria ; France, late her ally, now hoped finally to effect the partition of the territories of the house of Hapsburg, and joined Prussia ; Spain followed on the same side, being already at war with England ; the elector of Bavaria and other German princes, Poland also and Sardinia, were on the same side. At first Maria Theresa seemed to have no friends save England and Russia. The first Silesian war had already begun by the swift seizure of Silesia itself by Frederick. The French plan was to repeat the German campaigns of the Spanish Succession War,—with Bavaria as an ally to cross into the Danube valley, and having taken the outworks of Austria, to threaten Vienna, and drive the queen to submission. The French army was led by Belle-Isle, who was made marshal for the occasion. It crossed the Rhine, pushed down the Danube, took Linz and Passau, and seemed to carry out its plan in full. Maria Theresa took refuge in Hungary ; the elector of Bavaria had himself proclaimed archduke of Austria, and then, supported by French help, marched into Bohemia, and took Prague, the capital. He was now crowned king of Bohemia, and soon afterwards elected emperor (1742). Belle-Isle's schemes seemed all to succeed. Time, however, had told on the struggle ; Russia began to intervene ; England and Holland sent help to Maria Theresa ; Prussia, securing the main part of Silesia, made peace with the queen of Hungary ; and the French by the autumn of 1742 were left alone in Bohemia, face to face with the revived strength and spirit of the tenacious house of Austria. In midwinter Belle-Isle was compelled to retreat from Prague, and after terrible sufferings and losses, brought his army back to the Rhine. In this campaign the one great general of the age, Maurice of Saxony, whom the French henceforth called Marshal Saxe, distinguished himself greatly. Early in 1743 the aged Fleury, whose last days had been embittered by the war and by its failure, died in his ninetieth year. Henceforward, Louis XV. had no one at his side to save him from the disasters of mistress-government, of which the malign influences grew yearly stronger. The war in 1743 again followed the ideas of Marlborough. The English and Germans hoped to command middle Germany, to capture or eject Charles VII. at Frankfort, and then to catch the French in Bavaria. With this view George II. and the allies pushed forward hastily to the Main, and, but for the equal rashness of the duke of Grammont, would have been intercepted and ruined by the French army. As it was, George II. won the battle of Dettingen, which in England was celebrated by Handel's famous *Te Deum*, and in France aroused vast merriment ; for defeat in the 18th century meant the discrediting of the noble officers. The Parisians called the battle the "Journée des batons rompus,"—the day on which the marshals' batons were not won by D'Harcourt and Grammont. The French armies of Bavaria and the Rhine fell back into Alsace, and Charles VII., seeing how little help they could give, made peace with Maria Theresa. Her fortunes and hopes had risen vastly ; she thought she saw her way to the recovery of Silesia from Prussia,—the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine from France. In 1744 war, which had slackened, renewed its force. A new league of Frankfort brought Frederick of Prussia again into the field. France undertook to reduce the Netherlands, and to check England by landing Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender," in Scotland. This part of the scheme failed completely. In the Netherlands the genius of Marshal Saxe accomplished all France desired ; the barrier-towns had been neglected, and fell one after another. The ill-success of their army in Germany, and the vigorous attack of Prince Charles of Lorraine on Alsace, compelled the French to suspend operations in the Netherlands, in order to strengthen Cobigny, who commanded on the Rhine. Their want of power spoiled Frederick's cam-

paign in Bohemia ; Charles of Lorraine returning thither 1745-48 forced him to withdraw into Saxony. In 1745, in spite of Frederick's wishes, the war on the French side returned to the Netherlands, and there, on the 10th May, the French army won its one decisive victory of the period, defeating the Anglo-German and Dutch forces under the duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy. Louis XV. was present in this action, and showed no lack of fire and bravery. This victory was decisive for the campaign ; the Netherland towns fell fast. In Italy also the battle of Bassignano laid Lombardy at the feet of the French. On the other side Frederick the Great, though he still won great victories, felt that Maria Theresa was growing stronger. Her husband's ambition was gratified with the imperial crown ; and at the very end of the year she consented to make peace, ceding Silesia to her vigorous rival, and securing the universal recognition of her spouse as emperor. The peace of Dresden The (Christmas 1745) closed the second Silesian war. France peace of Dresden was now almost isolated ; her successes in the late year seemed of little avail to her ; the attempt of Charles Edward on Scotland was crushed (April 1746) by the duke of Cumberland at the battle of Culloden ; and the English sea-power began to show its vigour. Off the French and Spanish coasts England gave her foes no rest ; in India she recovered Madras, which had fallen into Dupleix's hands, and spoiled the French plans for ascendancy in the East. In this year, too, the French armies were very unfortunate in Italy, and lost all their command of the peninsula. The Netherlands campaign, guided by Marshal Saxe, alone sustained the honour of the French arms ; Belgium fell completely into their hands. In 1747 Marshal Saxe, though he took Bergen-op-Zoom, failed before Maestricht ; and France seemed as far as ever from being able to coerce Holland. In the following year the siege of Maestricht was resumed, but negotiations for peace intervened, and the great fortress was not reduced. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, The of which the preliminaries had been signed in April, was finally concluded in October 1748. It greatly discredited France ; the successes of her arms in Belgium, Savoy, and Nice, were of no avail against the strength her antagonists had developed. England and France mutually restored their conquests,—France receiving back Cape Breton and England Madras ; the frontier fortresses, chief prizes of the late war, were handed back to Holland. France agreed to remove Charles Edward from within her borders, and guaranteed the succession of the house of Hanover. Silesia was secured to Frederick ; the Pragmatic Sanction, in all other points, was once more accepted by Europe ; the house of Austria also ceded Parma and Piacenza to the Spanish Don Philip. With this peace closes the long rivalry between France and Austria ; when war breaks out again they will be allies.

"To the government of an old priest succeeded that of Madame a young mistress," says Michelet ; for this was the time in de Pompadour, which Madame de Pompadour rose to power. Her authority lasted twenty years,—the twenty years in which France sank rapidly in Europe into weakness and discredit, while her great writers were awaking all the dormant echoes of the world, and summoning together the forces which brought on the Revolution. The mistress made and unmade ministers at will, and changed the whole face of the foreign policy of France ; the scandals of the court under her rule set men listening to the new ideas which spread swiftly through France ; the more the noblesse descended in worth and strength, the more its younger members talked the language of modern humanity. Almost all, like the state, were more or less bankrupt, and unable by character, training, circumstances, to take advantage of the movement of society around them. When France awoke she scattered them to the winds.

1748.
The un-
settled
condition
of Europe.Savary
of Eng-
land and
France.

Europe was very far from being finally pacified by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ; on the contrary, every one seemed to see rents and holes in it through which he might win new advantages. Frederick the Great was no doubt content with it, and so was England ; others, however, were far from such feelings. Maria Theresa had reluctantly set her hand to the cession of Silesia, and scanned the horizon for help to enable her to recover that important duchy. France was almost as uneasy, for England had gained advantages which were in fact her losses ; and she, too, hoped ere long to reverse the decisions of the treaty. In India her prospects seemed bright, under the brilliant leadership of Dupleix ; in North America the peace had left very serious matters still unsettled, and it was hardly likely that any court save that of the sword could decide the difficult questions still open,—questions as to the limits of the Acadia which had been ceded to England ; vital questions as to the connexion between Canada and Louisiana, both still French territories ; questions as to the islands off the coasts of America, the ownership and possession of which had been left undetermined. Acadia had been ceded without any definite statement as to whether the cession carried any portion of the mainland as well as the peninsula of Nova Scotia ; and England claimed the territory as far as the shore of the St Lawrence river. This was a smaller matter ; the question as to the relation between Canada and Louisiana involved no less than the ultimate possession of all North America. For while England held the coast, and hoped to combine the wealth of agriculture with that of commerce, she had always behind her the long line of French possessions and claims, which interfered with her colonizing development, and threatened to push her back to the sea. For France had the Canadian lakes, the valley of the Ohio, and that of the Mississippi ; she had communication with the sea on the north at the estuary of the St Lawrence, on the south in the Gulf of Mexico. Were she to secure the connexion through this long line, the English colonies would be terribly straitened and endangered ; the French forts along the Ohio seemed a perpetual menace to English interests. Consequently the doors were scarcely shut on the negotiators at Aix-la-Chapelle, when fresh discussions began to spring up, and conferences were held, in a more or less angry tone, at Paris. In 1754 England, thinking that France was only lengthening out the dispute because she hoped to strengthen her navy for a fresh struggle, suddenly made war, without a proper declaration, and fell on French ships and forts whenever she could capture them. It was a high-handed and offensive proceeding. In India also an undeclared war was going on between the officers and forces of the East India Company and the French under Dupleix, which brought out the latent power of that young civilian, Clive, and ended in 1754 in the recall of Dupleix, and in a peace, or at least a cessation of warfare, between the rivals on the Indian shores. It was quite plain that before long this state of half-warfare must develop into a more serious struggle. To that also the whole movement of European politics speedily began to tend. For it was not only at Paris and London that negotiators were busy in these years ; the Austrian court, eager for revenge on Prussia, and led by a strong and dangerous statesman, Kaunitz, was looking hither and thither for new alliances. The world had grown weary of the old lines of opinion, the old rules of policy, the old relations of courts. Kaunitz deemed himself the chosen instrument of a new departure, which would rearrange the map of Europe, and restore its proper authority to Austria and the empire. This statesman, father of modern diplomacy, and more especially of that side of it which has ever since been cultivated at Vienna, had administered the Austrian Netherlands in the last years of the late war, and

had represented Austria at the congresses of 1748. In 1750 1750-55. he was sent as ambassador to Versailles, and, as he watched the manners and temper of French society, persuaded himself that he saw his way to new combinations which might be very profitable for his mistress. The experience of Aix-la-Chapelle had convinced him that England was not trustworthy when her interests clashed with those of Austria. He saw how his country had suffered by the peace ; it seemed to him that France would be a far better ally than England. Hitherto France had steadily played the part of friend and protector of the smaller North-German states, in their struggle against the dominance of the house of Austria,—this was a natural and necessary result of the secular rivalry against the Austro-Spanish power. Now, however, Prussia had taken up the post of champion of North-German interests and opinions ; whereas France, by her new Bourbon relations in Spain, and her support of the Jacobites against the Hanoverians in England, had entirely changed her ground. She was far more likely to find a Changes cordial friend in south than in north Germany ; she had in Eu- nothing to fear from Austria ; she had much to lose or gain in the north ; the Hanoverian interests of the reigning European policy. dynasty in England led the Guelphs to oppose the advance of France on the Rhine ; the jealousies on other sides between France and England all tended in the same direction,—the direction of compelling France to look for new friends, and to abandon her ancient policy. Prussia became the inevitable ally of England ; France began to look towards Austria. The disagreements between Austria and Holland as to the barrier-towns in the Belgian country naturally threw the sea-powers together ; for neither Holland nor England cared to see Austria on that side, or to find a new rival rising up at Antwerp. Now, all political alliances are based rather on interest than on sentiment ; and when it grew tolerably clear that the interests of England and France and those of England and Austria had become widely divergent, it became equally clear that new combinations must come. Austria was altogether implacable towards Prussia ; England, or rather the English court, in its anxiety for Hanover, felt that Prussia could be no rival, and might be a good friend. Prussia was not a sea-power, and was a very near neighbour to Hanover. And so, when Kaunitz tried to persuade the English cabinet that it ought to join Austria in a war for the recovery of Silesia, he found so cool a reception that he at once turned elsewhere. His knowledge of France taught him how to succeed there ; it must be by appeasing and interesting Madame de Pompadour ; and the king of Prussia had lately offended not only her but her parasite the Abbé Bernis by his unpleasant trick of plain speaking ; and the political independence of late years asserted for Prussia was also highly distasteful at Versailles. He knew that if he could overcome the reluctance of Louis XV., who clung to the older ideas of French policy, and persuade him also that Austria could be a good friend against England, he might succeed in reversing the political conditions of Europe, and perhaps win Silesia back for his mistress. He easily persuaded Madame de Pompadour ; her influence was his from 1751 ; but the king was slow to move. Not till 1755, when the insults of England to the flag of France were too great to be borne, did he determine to accept the good offices of Kaunitz, and to threaten Hanover. England at once drew towards Prussia, Hanover being the bond of union between them. While the two Catholic powers formed their alliance together, and Madame de Pompadour, as men noticed with a smile, showed quite a fervour of devotion, which seemed not in the least incompatible with her moral position, the two Protestant powers, England and Prussia, set themselves to resist the Catholic movement, and, if possible, to secure the triumph of toleration in northern

1755-56. Europe. In this France undertook an ultra-conservative line of policy, in union with her old antagonist; she ceased to lead, or even to sympathize with, the advancing states of Europe; it was the old world she would support, the new order of things could no longer count on her. And, beside all this abandonment of traditional policy, in itself no little risk, the new alliance made with Austria was, on the face of it, a political blunder; there was nothing to be gained by it, and much to be lost. For the essential points to which the whole care of France should have been given were across the sea, in Canada and in India; and here she was allying herself with the most inland of European powers, excepting Poland, which could scarcely be reckoned as a power at all, and bending all her energies to attack England by a march across north-western Germany into Hanover; hither went her strength, while the English were left to carry out unmolested the plans on which their future greatness hung. Had the new coalition been successful, Austria would doubtless have crushed Prussia, but what advantages could France have reaped from the war? Her position in it was that of quite an inferior and secondary power; the contest would exhaust her already diminished strength, and teach the world how low she had fallen; and if she failed, it would be little less than ruin to her. England, however, having (early in 1756) signed a treaty of neutrality with Prussia, France delayed no longer.

The "Alliance des trois Cotillons."—On Mayday 1756 the "Alliance des trois Cotillons," "of the three petticoats," as it was styled, the coalition of Madame de Pompadour with Maria Theresa and Elizabeth empress of Russia, was formally undertaken, to the vast delight of the French court and nobles, which longed for the pleasures of a great military promenade in such good society, assuming that the French people would, as usual, bear the cost, and leave to them the excitement and the glory. It did not turn out so amusing as they had expected. This treaty of Versailles was immediately followed by a declaration of war on the part of England; and Pitt before very long had smoothed over all difficulties which lay in the way of an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. The elder Pitt was regarded with as much fear and hatred by the court of Madame de Pompadour as the younger Pitt was by the republicans forty years later in the days of the Terror. The allies were chiefly tied by circumstances and mutual convenience to occupy different portions of the field of war,—England grappling with France, and Prussia with the Austrians.

The Seven Years' War.—At the beginning the French navy had no small share of success. During the peace great attention had been paid to it, and the growing importance of her commerce had reared for France no despicable school of mariners. At the outset of the war a great expedition commanded by Marshal Richelieu, who has the bad distinction of having done more than any other man to debauch and corrupt that apt pupil the king, set sail from Toulon harbour, and directed its course for Minorca, which was occupied by the English in force. Richelieu took Port Mahon and invested St Philippe, on which the English had expended vast toil, hoping to make of it a second Gibraltar,—a second point of influence in the Mediterranean. A relieving force of seventeen ships, commanded by Admiral Byng, son of the first Lord Torrington, was handled so ill that it was defeated and driven off by the French fleet under La Galissonnière, and shortly afterwards the fort of St Philippe was carried by assault in a very brilliant manner by Richelieu. With it the French became masters of Minorca, and Richelieu returned in glory to Paris. Very different was the reception of Byng in England. There the news of the fall of Minorca had created terrible excitement; the ministry fell, and Pitt took the reins of power in his hands. He and the old Whigs at his back were known to be anxious for vigorous measures,

and for a hearty co-operation with Prussia. Byng was sacrificed to the resentment of the people; his incapacity and vacillation in the presence of the enemy were regarded as signs of treason, and he was shot as a traitor. The war, thus favourably begun by France, ought to have been carried on by the same lines; her chief strength should have been directed to the sea. If fortune favoured her still in the maritime struggle, she might fairly have hoped to win her cause in Canada and India. But the unlucky likings of Madame de Pompadour for Kaunitz and the Austrian alliance threw the country off its right course, and embarked it on a harassing and perilous Continental struggle. At first, though Spain, Poland, and Holland remained neutral, almost all the rest of Europe,—Russia, the elector of Saxony, the German diet, and Sweden,—declared for Austria; and after that Frederick's sudden invasion of Saxony in autumn 1756 showed that the war was really begun, Louis XV. in January 1757 declared war on him, and openly joined the league for his destruction. Hesse and Brunswick alone supported Frederick. For this France willingly abandoned her success on the sea. She had seen Pitt's first effort, the attack on Rochefort, fail ignominiously; she had driven off another fleet which threatened St Malo and Havre; she had news of successes in both Canada and India; still, rather than make these omens of fortune her own, she turned aside to invade Hanover, and plunged into the larger war, in which she could never hope to win any real profit for herself. While Frederick was attempting in vain to crush the Austrians by reducing Bohemia, whence he was obliged to retreat after the disastrous battle of Kolin (18th June 1757), the French army, 80,000 strong, and commanded by Marshal D'Estrées, crossed the Rhine, and directed its course towards the Weser. The English and their allies were commanded by The French in Germany. The victor of Culloden, the unwieldy duke of Cumberland, who posted them behind the Weser at Hastenbeck; here D'Estrées overtook and defeated him (26th July 1757). The victory was, however, not complete enough to please the French court, with whom D'Estrées was not popular. He was removed, and the duke of Richelieu taking his place pushed the English before him to the Elbe; at Stade the duke of Cumberland was compelled to surrender his army, and to sign the shameful convention of Kloster-Zeven, (8th Sept. 1757), which permitted the defeated Germans to return home. Home also went the duke of Cumberland, shorn of his honours as the saviour of the Hanoverian cause; him, however, the English did not shoot, as they had shot poor Byng. Marshal Richelieu having thus disposed of his antagonists, deemed that his work was done; it only remained for him to make the most of his conquest in the way of pillage; so instead of marching on Brandenburg, which was almost bare of troops, he contented himself with extorting a fine fortune from the Westphalians and Hanoverians, with which he built himself a splendid palace at Paris, the Pavilion de Hanovre. This was but a poor result, considering that it was believed that, had he pushed forward, he might have brought the war to an end in one campaign. His selfish indifference to the duties of high generalship wrought the ruin of his cause. While he lingered in Westphalia, the English began to recover from their panic; and Frederick, returning with incredible swiftness out of Saxony, arrested the course of disaster. The French army under Richelieu had been told off to overcome the Anglo-Hanoverian resistance; another army, under the prince of Soubise and the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who commanded the troops of the German circles, was slowly moving towards Berlin, hoping to co-operate with Richelieu's victorious forces. Their progress, however, was rudely interrupted at Rosbach, on the 5th of November 1757, by Frederick, who caught and utterly

1757-58. ruined them in a battle which cost him almost nothing, and was over in an hour and a half. Rosbach was one of the decisive battles of the world, little as it has been thought of by history. Perhaps it has never happened, before or since, that so hollow and slight a contest has produced such great results. At first it seemed like a mere comedy ; the crowd of French captive regiments, the spoils of the camp, the bewilderment of the captors, the "host of cooks and players, of wigmakers and wigs and hairdressers, the parasols and cases of lavender water," the absurdly incongruous lumber with which the young French nobles had prepared for war, contrasted strangely with the gaunt and tattered soldiers of Frederick the Great, grim with war, privations, and forced marches. A shout of merriment rang through Germany, and was re-echoed from France herself. The light-hearted French were far from being depressed or vexed by the defeat ; in the middle of the 18th century France was utterly indifferent as to glory, and the country saw in Dettingen and Rosbach not its own defeat, but the discomfiture of the frivolous noblesse ; to the temper of the times these glaring instances of noble incapacity were rather pleasant than not. The effects of the battle on England were also very marked. It was there seen that Frederick's cause was not hopeless ; and the English Government at once refused to be bound by the convention of Kloster-Zeven, appointing as commander-in-chief, in place of the duke of Cumberland, the vigorous and able Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, one of the best soldiers of the age, who won and thoroughly deserved the respect and confidence even of Frederick the Great. Hitherto England had sent over nothing but money and the duke ; now Pitt undertook to bring 20,000 Englishmen into the field, and henceforth England holds a principal place in the French side of the Seven Years' War. The greatest, however, of the results of the battle of Rosbach was its effect on public and national feeling in north Germany. Hitherto all men of cultivation and thought had turned to France for inspiration ; all men of taste and fashion regarded France as the arbiter of their destinies in dress and manners ; the French language was alone polite in courts and good society ; the German tongue was counted rude and barbarous ; Frederick the Great himself, the very champion of Germany against France, of modern freedom of thought against his Catholic opponents, the odd "Protestantium Defensor" of his medals, could never bring himself to speak or write German if it could be avoided. But after Rosbach the older fashion passed away ; French manners, which before had seemed so beautiful, were now seen to be corrupt and frivolous ; the slower Germans saw that their own manners and tongue were worth something ; from the battle of Rosbach begins that upspringing of a national life in north Germany, which finds immediate expression in the splendid new-born literature of the day, of which the most direct and marked example is the *Minna von Barnhelm* of Lessing. In this way, then, the battle of Rosbach is an epoch in the national history of Europe. It restored the fortunes of Frederick the Great, and roused a new sense of national patriotism in the North-German peoples.

After 1757 the Seven Years' War may be considered as having two chief theatres,—that of Frederick against Austria, and that of England with Hanover and Brunswick against France and the lesser German princes, the "army of the circles." It is with the latter only that we have to do.

The cam- In 1758 France made great efforts to reorganize her armies, paign of and fit them for decisive action in Low Germany. A new 1758. commander-in-chief, the count of Clermont, a weak offshoot of the great house of Condé, replaced Richelieu ; Soubise, whose favour at court endured to the end of the reign of Louis XV., and who was the only courtier who ventured

to escort that monarch's remains to the grave, was placed at the head of a new army. Under these two generals the court hoped to achieve good results in this campaign. The two main armies were directed, the one towards the Rhine, the other towards the Weser ; that of the Rhine, under Clermont, had the strong position of Wesel, now in French hands, as a base of operation, and proposed to push on thence into Hanover, joining the other army under Soubise, which was to advance along the Weser through the Hessian country. Before, however, they could draw their scattered forces together, the new general of the allies, Ferdinand of Brunswick, was on them, and in a campaign which Frederick the Great did not hesitate to compare with that of Turenne in Alsace, he succeeded in dislodging Clermont from Brunswick. He speedily cleared the line of the Weser, recovering Minden, and driving the French under Clermont to the westward. They made no stand, and when they reached the Rhine at Düsseldorf, succeeded in crossing the river only with heavy loss of prisoners,—for Ferdinand stuck to their skirts like an avenging fury, and at last caught them at Crefeld, a little town between the Rhine and the Meuse, not far from Düsseldorf, where he inflicted on them a defeat which covered Clermont with discredit, and utterly ruined the prospects of the campaign. The Germans had now driven the French out of Hanover, Brunswick, and the Rhine provinces ; Clermont was recalled, and withdrew into private life. He and his antagonist Ferdinand were both freemasons, and both had sympathies with the philosophical and political ferment of the age ; yet the masonic brotherhood had not hindered Ferdinand from punishing him very severely in this campaign. Marshal Contades, a really good general, was sent to take command of the beaten forces ; and Soubise, having won the battle of Sondershausen, and having taken Cassel, threatened Ferdinand's rear, while a reorganized army under Contades endangered his communications on the Rhine ; they were twice as numerous as the forces he could bring against them, and he was obliged to draw back on Münster, giving up the whole left bank of the Rhine. There he hindered the junction of the two French armies, and compelled Contades to retreat again beyond the Rhine ; while Soubise withdrew to the Maine, and lay for the winter about Frankfort and Hanau. So ended the German campaign of 1758, into which the French Government had thrown all its strength, and had once more got in return nothing but discredit, while the other interests of the country had been left to drift to ruin. The English fleets harassed the coasts of France, destroyed ships, burnt building-yards, took Cherbourg, and paralysed her whole naval force. Abroad, she did nothing for the vital contests her sons were waging ; the English took Senegal on one hand, and, in spite of the ability of Montcalm, mastered Louisburg, and Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio, which they renamed Pittsburg. At the same time the struggle in India, which Affairs in India. had begun to turn against France, was restored by the brilliant courage of an Irish Jacobite, Lally, whom the French court named governor general. On his arrival he at once effected wonders, recovering the ground the French had lost ; he vaunted that no Englishman should be left in the Peninsula. But Lally, brave and brilliant as he was, was also harsh and impetuous, arousing ill-will even by his good qualities. Nothing offended his subordinates so much as his refusal to allow them to pillage at will ; and the bright opening of his career in India was very soon clouded over by disputes and insubordination among his officers, which foretold a coming failure.

The mishaps of 1758 on every side at last awoke the Abbé Bernis from his dreams of security and glory, and that obsequious churchman, the henchman of Pompadour, in his cowardly alarm, instead of trying to repair the evil done,

1758-59. withdrew to his bishopric of Aix, giving place to an abler statesman, the duke of Choiseul, one of the most unfortunate of the noble ministers who have ever presided over the affairs of France. His first act was the signature of a second treaty of Versailles, in which he and Madame de Pompadour committed France to terms which plainly meant that France should bear the chief burdens of the war, while Austria should win all the fruit. For she promised to keep 100,000 men on foot, to support the whole Swedish contingent, to restore the elector of Saxony, to defend the Austrian Netherlands, and to support the candidature of Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresa, for the title of Rex Romanorum, and the succession to his father in the empire, and finally to make no peace with England till Prussia had restored Silesia to Austria. With this amazing treaty France again went stupidly down into the contest, as an ox to the shambles.

The campaign of 1759. In 1759 the old blunders were again repeated; all was abandoned for the sake of the German campaigns; the Rhine army under Contades lay in the Cleves country; the Maine army near Frankfort was commanded by the duke of Broglie, who had already given sufficient proof of his incompetence at Rosbach. Between these armies, watching both, and purposing to hinder their junction, and, if he could, to beat them in detail, lay Ferdinand of Brunswick, now reinforced with twelve thousand English and Scottish soldiers, who had joined him in the last autumn. He thought himself strong enough to attack Broglie, but was repulsed with loss at the battle of Bergen on the Nidda, a few miles from Frankfort; and Broglie, made a marshal for this success, succeeded in effecting a junction with Contades at Giessen; thence they advanced together to the Weser, occupying one place after another. At Minden they paused before pushing on to overrun Hanover, while Ferdinand, having gathered all his forces together, came down to observe and check them. Differences arose between Contades and Broglie; the latter was successful, popular, incapable; the former a good officer, whom the fatality which had beset the French court since the later days of Louis XIV. had thrown into the cold shade; the two were hardly likely to work well together. Ferdinand took advantage of their errors, and (1st August 1759) with much smaller numbers and the worse position, ventured on a great battle at Minden. The English regiments of foot, with unheard of audacity, charged and overthrew the French cavalry, which, with amazing ineptitude, had been placed in the centre, as if it were the most solid part of the army. Had Lord George Sackville, who commanded the English horse, done his duty also, the whole French army might have been destroyed or made prisoners. As it was, the exploit of the "Minden regiments" rang through Europe; and the French army, hastily evacuating its positions, fell back to the Maine. Contades, the good general, was of course punished; Broglie remained in command. Later on, he showed his gratitude to the Bourbons by opposing the Revolution as an émigré. Henceforward Ferdinand was able to hold his own in western Germany, and England felt secure for Hanover. The French went on placing huge armies in the field for the rest of the war; yet thanks to "the most perfect incapacity," as Napoleon once said, of Broglie and Soubise, this great force achieved nothing, and succeeded only in still further discrediting the noblesse and the monarchy, while it exhausted with fearful speed the resources of the country. Nor did France pay

The battle of Minden. The price here only; her efforts in Germany still hindered her from attending to her interests elsewhere; the disasters of her navy went on; her influence in Canada and India declined day by day. An attempt to invade England in 1759 failed completely; the battle of Quiberon Bay, and the cowardice of Conflans who commanded there, ruined

The disasters of France. the French navy; a squadron sent out to harass the coasts of Scotland and northern England, under Thurot, a real sailor, was attacked early in 1760 by a stronger force; Thurot was killed, the squadron captured, and so the French naval power came to an end. Henceforward, no help could pass from France to the outlying scenes of conflict. Point by point the English had advanced in Canada, until (September 13, 1759) the battle of Quebec, which proved fatal to both Wolfe and the brave Montcalm, finally decided the destinies of North America. That victory gave to England the ascendancy over Canada, and secured to the sons of the Puritans the eventual mastery over the rest of that great continent. The fall of Montreal in 1760 was the close of the struggle. In India also French affairs had gone very ill in these days; the quarrel between Lally and Admiral d'Aché increased in bitterness; the English finally captured even Pondicherry, the last remaining stronghold of the French in India. This year 1759 is, on the whole, the most disastrous in all the annals of France; it proclaimed with a clear voice to all who would hear that the days of the ancient monarchy were numbered. The monarchy could not defend France abroad, it was dying of debt and corruption at home. It was little help to France that in 1760 the unhappy Lally, whom men in their vexation accused of treason, was brought home, tried, and shamefully executed at Paris. It was not on him that the eventual punishment would fall; in 1778 the generous voice of Voltaire made France confess her injustice, and restore to honour the name of the unfortunate and brilliant Irishman. His son Lally-Tollendal gave to the fallen monarchy a loyalty and support it surely little deserved from him.

1760-62. Changes now began which pointed towards peace. The accession of George III. shook the power of Pitt; in France the subtle address of Choiseul had carried all before him, and he at last saw his way, too late, to reverse the direction which the efforts of France had hitherto taken. The war in Germany, always a blunder, should become of secondary importance; the active friendship of Spain and other Bourbon princes should restore something of the old sea-power of France. The king of Spain had also found out his folly in remaining neutral, while England grew to be supreme on the water; and consequently in 1761 the famous "Family Compact," the Bourbon league, was signed by all the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon. By it they made alliance offensive and defensive, guaranteeing the territories of one another, promising to support each other and to make no separate peace or war, throwing open reciprocally all their harbours and frontiers, and declaring that for war or peace, for trade or pleasure, France, Spain, Naples and Sicily, Parma and Piacenza, should count as but one country, one land blessed by Bourbons, and led by their great chief Louis XV. Here was a splendid scheme for the reconstruction of European politics! It was the Latin races clasped together by the Bourbon family, and determined to reassert their importance in Europe. Had the family compact been signed three years earlier, or had there been one man of real power among the Bourbons, its result might have been serious for the rest of the world; as it was, the chief effect of it was the resignation of Pitt, and the half-burlesque ministry of Lord Bute. For Pitt got some inkling of this secret compact, and, confirmed in his suspicions by the equivocal language of the Spanish court, urged on his colleagues the necessity of declaring instant war on Spain, so as to crush her fleets before France could come to her help. But George III. would none of it; the ministers refused to take the bold step, not having the justification for it in their hands; and Pitt threw up the seals of office. When the compact became known to the world in 1762, England justified Pitt's foresight by at once declar-

1760-63. ing war ; in a few months the Spanish navy had ceased to exist, and France lost her West-Indian Islands one after another. But with the young king stood aghast at the series of brilliant triumphs which signalized their efforts to bring war to an end. Meanwhile the French armies in Germany continued an inglorious if not any longer a disastrous career. In 1760, 1761, 1762, they still occupied Hesse and the Rhine country, fighting a few battles with varying success, and displaying in the clearest light the incapacity of their leaders. Negotiations for peace went on through 1762 between France and England, and before the year ended the preliminaries of peace had been signed, just in time to save Soubise with his 80,000 men from being ignominiously driven out of Hesse-Cassel. Frederick the Great, thus abandoned by George III., was also ready for peace. In February 1763 the two treaties of Paris between France and England, Spain and Portugal, and of Hubertsburg between Prussia and Austria with Saxony were signed, and closed the Seven Years' War. To French historians it had seemed, as Michelet ventures to call it, "an ignoble war"; a record of blunders and follies, met by shouts of derision at home; for the French people were, at the time, as much amused with the downfall of their incapable nobility as if they had belonged to a totally different race. It was as if they wished to say to Europe that these defeats and scandals were not the defeat of the French people, but of an intrusive clique of strangers; it was also as if the extinguishable gaiety of the nation could find even the ruin of the country comical. Doubtless, in more or less unconscious fashion, France felt that the war had brought the domination of the Bourbon monarchy and its noble flatterers nearer to an end.

The peace of Paris. A summary of the stipulations of the peace of Paris shows at a glance how low France had fallen, how futile had been the Family Compact. She ceded all her claims to Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, reserving only her fishing rights and some small islands useful for that industry; she ceded all the territory which lay between the English settlements along the Atlantic and the line of the river Mississippi; she ceded the islands of Grenada, Saint Vincent, Dominique, Tobago. She received back Pondicherry, and a certain district on the east coast of India; she gave up Minorca, the one flower she had plucked in all the war, to England, and withdrew all her troops out of Germany. England came out chief gainer from the war; her development in these years was immense. To this time we owe the maritime supremacy of this country, and the spread of the English language and race to every shore. We have good reason to be proud of it, and to read with kindling eye the chronicle of our incessant advances. Yet it has, too, its dark side: a world filled with pushing Englishmen could scarcely be a paradise; there are races which object to being thrust aside; there are civilizations which English commonplace cannot supersede; the dull self-satisfaction of ordinary "Anglo-Saxonism" is at least as offensive as the livelier "Chauvinisme" of our neighbours.

The state of France. The court. In the eleven uneventful years which form the remainder of Louis XV.'s reign the characteristics of the 18th century displayed themselves with clearness, and we shall do well to pass them briefly in review. In them we shall recognize at once most of the germs of those movements of the Revolution-era, towards which affairs in France had long been tending. To begin at the top;—the court was so corrupt that we must go to the history of the most Oriental despots for a parallel. The king, coldly dissolute, idle, careless as to everything except his scandalous pleasures, and the direction of foreign affairs, which he kept in his own hands, shut himself up at Versailles, leaving Madame de Pompadour to manage everything, even the details of his own debaucheries; the infamous Parc aux Cerfs spread

shame and misery among hundreds of families, and added heavily to the financial difficulties of the time. No member of the royal family was of any mark; the pious queen lived neglected and forgotten; the dauphin, whom the king disliked, because he did not wish to be reminded of his successor, was a friend of the Jesuits; there was no other prince of consideration. Consequently, all fell into Madame de Pompadour's hands; and till her death in 1764 she too might well have cried "L'état, c'est moi." And if the princes of the blood were ciphers, still more so were the nobles,—a noblesse, needy well-bred throng, if of the older race, an obsequious and despicable crowd, if of the newer creations. To a large extent this proud noblesse was quite modern; for a long time noble fiefs had been changing hands rapidly; and as citizens grew wealthy they bought themselves into the sacred circle of privilege. No love of country, no desire to devote themselves or to resign their rights, existed in a body which had been steadily degraded by Louis XIV., had been tempted into display which meant debt, and had been carefully kept away from their estates, lest social independence should lead them to think and act for themselves. The more embarrassed and dependent they were, the better pleased was the spirit of absolutism, which thought it natural that they should crowd the army and disgrace the country in war by their vices, frivolities, and imbecility. When at last they had to stand up, face to face with the crisis of the Revolution, they were absolutely unable to defend themselves; their pride and poverty alike forbade them to sacrifice their privilege, and to submit to taxation with their fellow subjects. The clergy were cut asunder, and had a divided existence. The prelates, clergy, bishops and dignitaries, and the religious houses, on the one hand, were in all essential respects on the footing of the nobles, and took part with them. They, too, were privileged landholders, who could inflict heavy burdens on the people, while they would bear no weight on their own shoulders. These are the privileged classes, who brought about the Revolution. The king and his court, the nobles, and the upper clergy,—these chiefly caused it, and these were the chief sufferers from it. The rest of the clergy were a very different race; they were simple curés, parish priests, by birth and interest allied with the people, not with their lords,—men whose meaner position gave them a chance of being and doing good. Arthur Young, who travelled through France on the eve of the Revolution, bears witness to their general excellence and devotion to their duties. The burgher class in France had grown rapidly; manufacturers were not unknown; trade increased rapidly; financiers, money-lenders, new nobles sprang from this class; the public creditor in these days grew to be a power in the state, very far removed from the peasant on the soil or the fierce artisan in towns, and yet advancing the revolutionary current by producing many of the writers, and much of the general intelligence of the time. By the side of them we may place the legal profession, that conservative body, which struggled in vain against all invasions of ancient usage, whether from the side of king or of people, and which in the end gave many victims and some leaders to the Revolution. In the country the state of the people was wretched, though it is true that in many districts the soil was already much subdivided, and the peasant proprietors numerous. It was reckoned that about a quarter of the soil was in their hands; yet their condition was little the better for this. Their burdens were still very heavy, their knowledge and methods of tillage rude; they had no capital to expend on the land, no good tools, no cattle, no manures; winter after winter they fell to famine-level, and sustained a miserable existence till the sun again revived them, and sent them forth once more to labour in the fields. Fortunately, the French winter is

1763. short ; if, however, a long winter did set in, as in 1709, or again at the beginning of the Revolution, then the sufferings of the people were extreme, and multitudes perished of cold and hunger. The feudal aids and services—the corvée, the "pigeon-right," the game laws, the common winepress, and common mill, and a hundred other oppressive and even fantastic services—left the peasant no rest, and forbade him ever to hope for comfort. As he gained in intelligence, and rose above the dead level of ignorance in which his masters had carefully kept him, he saw more and more to vex and anger him ; as the people gained, they became more ripe for revolution. The robber bands in central France, and the inability of the authorities to cope with them ; the growth of a large class of restless spirits, who dimly echoed some of the theories of the philosophers, and practised a new and lawless method of distribution of property, by robbing and destroying as they could ; the diminution of population in the country, and the tendency of the land in the less fruitful parts to relapse into a wilderness,—these things all go to prove the wretchedness of the peasant life, and were all ominous of change. These conditions of the country, and the improvements of the burgher class, brought on another change, which was little noticed at the time, though it afterwards forced itself on the attention of all Europe. For miles round Paris it became known that there was work to be had in the capital. In the 18th century Paris changed her character ; no longer a mere court-seat or city of pleasure, she had gradually become a great manufacturing centre, and into her flowed crowds of dissatisfied or starving folk from all the country round. This immigration went on down to the great outbreak. It largely increased the city population, provided the rough material for the excesses of the Revolution, and helped to stamp the mark of Paris on the whole republican movement. It is hardly too much to say that the want of money at court, combined with the want of food in the cottage, brought about the explosion. These were the social and physical conditions of ferment,—the intellectual movement which dignified the Revolution with great names and imbued it with grand ideas demands brief independent notice.

Literature in France. The literature of the Great Monarch's time is usually assumed to be the golden age of letters in France. Yet if power and effect on the destinies of men and states be taken as the test, the literature of the 18th century far surpasses that of the 17th. Molière and Racine had been at the beck of the court. They never appealed to the people ; still less would the lofty muse of Corneille care to speak to common ears. But in the 18th century, by the side of the superstructure of society falling fast to pieces, and the oppressed substructure, growing daily more restless, the authors formed a third and an independent power, eager to push on the ideas of the age, as they found expression in sciences or practical matters, or as they formulated an easy philosophy or announced as startling novelties the earliest commonplaces of political rule. And the significant fact is that these simple rules of political life were really a revelation to France, and for the first time set her people thinking on such matters. So completely had the country ceased to be a political body,—so completely had the pernicious principles of Louis XIV. destroyed liberty and constitutional life, that all had to be begun again ; and the field seemed open, as well for what appear to us to be the most harmless commonplaces, as for the most startling speculations and theories. The difficulty was that to France the one was just as new and strange as the other. It must never be forgotten that the Revolution called on her not to amend a constitution, but to make a fresh start, from the very beginning. Moreover, this state of things necessarily placed literature in opposition to all existing

powers. The ancient faith, the old traditions of noble lordship, the learning of the lawyers, all alike were attacked with unsparing hand ; and literature built up for itself a strong public opinion of its own among the classes which had hitherto been as nothing in the government of the country. The 18th century literature of France received its first impulses from England. The age of Queen Anne, the advance of philosophy and natural sciences and of letters in England, the quickened connexion between the two countries in the days of the regency, had enormous influence on intelligent Frenchmen. Montesquieu, a nobleman and a lawyer, with the temper of a constitutional statesman, was the advocate of political liberty, after the English pattern. Voltaire became the champion of toleration and freedom of conscience, and had learnt from Locke ; the Encyclopédistes, following the English leaders in natural science, wrote their vast dictionary of human knowledge, in opposition to all established beliefs ; and lastly, Rousseau, the sentimental, addressed himself to the sympathies of the people, and was, in the end, the chief teacher of those who carried out the Revolution. Voltaire began his literary life in 1718, with his *Œdipus*, an attack on priesthood. He had been brought up by the Jesuits, and yearned to attack them ; in 1725 his *Henriade* exalted Henry IV., afterwards the hero of all Frenchmen in the Revolution, at the cost of Louis XIV. ; then he was in England for three years, and came back full of English deism and English humanitarianism. Henceforth his life passed in alternate attacks on courts and adulation of them ; he withdrew at last into the Genevan territory, whence he directed the defence of the oppressed, if they fired his sympathies. Thence also he encouraged the progress of the *Encyclopédie*, which, more than anything, undermined the shaking fabric of society. Meanwhile Montesquieu, in his *Esprit des Lois* (1748), as well as in his previous work on *The Greatness and Fall of the Romans* (1734), appeared as a first master of modern French style, and as a champion of English constitutionalism in opposition to the despotism of France. Though his works have been perhaps more popular in England than in France, their effect on educated opinion was still very strong. His views did not prevail in the Revolution-period ; still, they had no small influence destructively, by pointing out to Frenchmen how indefensible was the government under which they were willing to live. "The *Esprit des Lois*," said Count Grimm in 1756, "has produced a complete revolution in the mind of the nation. The best heads in this country (France) for the last seven or eight years have been turned towards objects of importance and utility. Government is becoming more and more a matter of philosophic treatment and discussion." The writers on political economy also deeply influenced the tone of the age ; their doctrines effectually disposed of the faulty maxims on which financial affairs had been conducted since the days of Colbert, and prepared men to see the importance of Turgot's plans, and the significance of Necker's *Compte rendu*. Lastly, Jean Jacques Rousseau, ^{Rousseau} the clockmaker's son from Geneva, began his seductive writings. Musician and sentimental, he hit the right tone for the popular ear ; between 1759 and 1762 he published the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the *Contrat Social*, and the *Emile* ; the *Contrat* was greedily devoured by society, high and low, as a revelation of a new code of politics, in which he boldly affirmed the sovereignty of the people, and the equality of all men, all being born free. His *Emile* was an attack on all existing ideas as to education : nature should take the place of the schoolmaster ; and the priest and philosopher should alike be kept aloof from the training-ground for men and women,—for Rousseau was as little tolerant of the Encyclopédistes and their science as of the Jesuits and their religion. Lastly, his *Héloïse* dealt with the moral code of

1763-68. mankind, subverting many ideas, filled with noble, often impracticable sentiments, and leaving the impression of change and uncertainty even in those subjects which seemed least open to difficulty. He appealed to men's conscience and sense of right against the ruling vices and selfish immoralities of the day; and men, seeing these glaring evils sanctioned by the presence of the priesthood, if not by its participation, warmly adopted the new ideas, and desired a revolution in morals as much as in religion or politics. It was the outcry of nature against the infinite falsenesses of a complex and corrupt society. The great *Encyclopédie* was managed chiefly by D'Alembert and Diderot; the former traced its ground plan, and wrote the preface and some mathematical treatises, while the latter supervised it, and acted as the chief editor. The general tendency of the work was to attack religion, and to substitute in its place the conclusions of modern science: with D'Alembert and Diderot worked Helvetius the materialist, Holbach, Grimm, Raynal, and Condorcet, of whom the last represents that passion for man, that warmth of heart and sentiment, which draws him somewhat near to Rousseau. Among the great writers of the time must not be omitted the harmonious Buffon, who laid before his countrymen a splendid sketch of the material world and of the creatures that inhabit it. It is the work of a poet rather than of a scientific student: we find a cosmogony, an eloquent picture of man and man's fellow-dwellers on the globe,—if written with truthfulness or not we need not ask; at any rate, with skill and power he enlarges men's horizon. He too can praise God in his works, and in so doing can leave the established beliefs on one side. In all the literature of the age we see new grounds for speculation on every stage: theology, letters, sciences, natural history, politics, constitutional ideas, morality, all alike are grappled with by writers who shake themselves clear of existing trammels. Rejoicing in a new freedom, they familiarize the younger generation of France with revolutionary ideas in every line, and render the coming explosion more complete and more permanent than any movement that the world has seen since the first preaching of the gospel to mankind.

At the close of the Seven Years' War the Society of Jesus was on its trial throughout Europe. The Order had changed its ground; it had long ruled in kings' courts, and was paying the price of the means by which it had gained ascendancy therein; it had become both rich and troublesome to society. And the general tendencies of the times were against it; above all, it incurred the deadly hostility of those enlightened ministers who, in almost every court of Europe, were directing the new-born energies of states. Such men as Pombal in Portugal or Choiseul in France could not but resist Jesuit influences which clashed with their own, whether these regarded the interests of courts or the welfare of peoples. In 1762 the parliament of Paris, influenced largely by Madame de Pompadour, took their affairs, which had become secular enough, into its consideration, and decreed that the Order should be abolished. Louis XV., after some hesitation, confirmed their decision in 1764, and the Order was expelled from France. It is significant of the general movement of the period that the other Catholic powers speedily did the same, until in 1773 Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) finally suppressed the Order.

On the death of Madame de Pompadour in 1764, Choiseul still continued to hold the chief direction of affairs. His ministry, besides his belated foreign policy of the *pacte de famille*, was noted for more than one solid reform; he reorganized the army, instituted the *École militaire*, saw to the progress, so far as he could, of the navy, encouraged colonization, and in 1768 united Corsica to France. He represented the philosophic spirit at court, in antagonism

to the Jesuit party, and the favour of Madame de Pompa. 1770-74. dour more than neutralized the king's dislike to him,—for Louis XV. was very jealous of any interference with the one branch of government in which he took interest, foreign affairs; and in these Choiseul was ambitious, if not very successful. So things went on till 1770; when a new mistress made the ground untenable for him. The low-born beauty, Madame du Barry, was the tool of all intrigues, Madame and gained unbounded influence over the worn-out king. du Barry. Choiseul and the Jansenists, who had enjoyed a brief tranquillity after the fall of the Jesuits, now went out of favour; the parliaments, which Madame de Pompadour had used and The Par-favoured, were exiled, and in their stead came a new system lement Mau-peou. of administration of law. The old purchase system, which gave stability to the parliaments, and dated from early Bour- bon times, was swept away, and royal nominees were set to fulfil the functions of the parliaments. It was thought that the change from officials by purchase to officials by royal grace would be welcome. France, however, distrusted them, and said that the "gratuitous justice" so much vaunted, meant nothing but injustice guided by gratuities.

Louis XV. lived long enough to see the first partition of Poland (1772), that great blow to French influences in the north; nor could his interference hinder the signature of the peace of Kainardji in 1774, by which Russia, supported by England, got hold of the Black Sea shores. His effort to seize the Netherlands, as a counterpoise to these rapid additions to the strength of the northern powers, was a complete failure.

In the same year 1774 Louis XV. died,—died as he had lived, in flagrant vice. His reign of nearly fifty years Louis had been a continual misfortune for France. During the period she is brilliant only in her literature, and even there we are conscious of something unwholesome and unnatural.

Some years before this the dauphin had died, leaving a The char- young son, Louis, who was married in 1770 to Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria. This young Louis couple, handsome and well-meaning, now came to the throne XVI. in 1774, inheritors of the terrible destiny which Louis XV. had prepared for his grandchildren. He, cold and selfish, had foreseen the coming tempest; but "it will last my time," he said, and cared no more about it; he felt as little for his grandson as for his country. In the midst of the scandals of the court Louis XVI. had preserved his purity, and with it a charming simplicity which, while it seemed likely to render the difficulties of his position less, seemed also likely to arouse men's sympathies for him, and find him friends in need. And in later days, when he deserved it less, men, even while they struggled against him, often fondly called him "their good king." He loved his people, as a good despot might, and tried to mitigate their misery in famine-times; his kindness, however, was but weakness—his simplicity stupidity; he was obstinate and yet not firm; and his good and bad qualities alike made him incapable of grappling with the new phenomena of society which broke on his astonished sight. We find that in the most thrilling moments of his history, his chief anxiety often was how he might get out to his hounds. Marie Antoinette Marie was a very different personage; she had much of her Antoi-mother's high spirit; she was always a foreigner in France. nette. In the early days of her beauty, when all Frenchmen were inclined to worship chivalrously at her feet, she shocked them by laughing at usages which seemed to them the ordinary course of nature. As time went on it was plainly seen that she came between the king and his tendencies towards reform; that she formed a court-party of her own, made and unmade ministers with no regard for the feelings of France, and no preferences except for the worse over the better public servants; that she more than neutralized all the king's economical wishes, and was extravagant and reck-

The fall
of the
Jesuits.

Choiseul's
policy.

1774-76. less ; that in the crisis of affairs she led the king away from his subjects, and taught him to rely on German help. And so, while the virtues of Louis XVI. may have retarded the revolutionary outbreak for a few years, his weaknesses and the character of his spouse made the eventual explosion all the more complete and terrible.

Beginning of the reign. The opening of the reign was a period of hope; all seemed to go so well. The king and queen themselves were no common mortals : so young, so innocent, so graceful, they formed a strange contrast to the gloomy selfishness of the past. And roused by a gleam of hope, literature itself also passed into sentimental idylls ; the court was itself idyllic ; at the Little Trianon the king and queen played at farm and mill ; the unreadable sentimentalities of Florian were the delight of Versailles ; the innocent pictures of Gessner's pen had a great popularity ; the days of Paul and Virginia were not far off. These things occupied and deluded the upper world ; the middle world smiled in bitterness over the keen satires of Beaumarchais ; the lower world starved and turned uneasily on its frozen couch. The well-meant attempts of the court to administer charities, "to make little alms and great galas," as Michelet phrases it, only served still more to irritate the discontented crowd.

At first all seemed well ; the ministers of Louis XV., obscure and corrupt, vanished ; some gleam of prosperity shone on agriculture, and the court was inclined to reduce the disorders of finance. No able statesman could the king find at the beginning ; he was obliged to trust to Maurepas, a frivolous and incompetent old man, who did the state one great service, for he led Louis XVI. to entrust the finances

The ministry of Turgot. to Turgot. Turgot was a disciple of the economists, who had worked miracles of prosperity as intendant of the Limoges district,—a man of good faith, high character, and ability ; but, like many others, he thought that what seemed so simple to him would at once commend itself to all, and entirely underrated the resistance which the interested noblesse and the court itself would make to his reforms. He at once proposed his remedies for the evils of the time,—the only true remedies—economy and the abolition of privilege. The state should spend less, and should draw its supplies from all orders of men alike. To the court and the nobles this seemed revolution and ruin ; even the king was startled. Instead of supporting his minister manfully, he recalled the banished parliaments, and thought to shelter himself behind the law. The lawyers, however, special lovers of use and privilege, felt instinctively that Turgot was their foe ; from that moment his fate was sealed. A great league was formed against him ; the powerful help of the scandalous *pacte de famine*, the grain-ring which had been established with the approval and participation of Louis XV., was enlisted in behalf of the privileged orders ; a famine ensued in 1775, and lasted three years. Louis XVI. was frightened ; all seemed to be against him ; and at last in 1776 he dismissed his one great minister. "Turgot and I are the only men in France who care for the people," was the king's mournful complaint ; it was time that the people should begin to care for themselves.

Necker becomes finance minister. Jacques Necker, an ingenious Genevan banker, who seemed to have the art of creating resources, now became finance minister. He was a high-typed charlatan, who grasped no principles, tried no heroic remedies, but thought only how to make credit and float the country over its difficulties. Unfortunately for him, the strain of war expenditure was added to his other burdens, for France was moved by her fate to take part in the American struggle now beginning. Necker's idea was that he might stave off the imminent bankruptcy of the state with paper and credit, and that, to be successful in this, he must lay the proper foundations of credit, knowledge and honesty in dealing. With this end before him, he wished from the

beginning to issue his *Compte rendu*, and thereby to let France know how she really stood. This, however, he could not at first carry through, so that he was obliged to borrow for the state on his own credit, and to shift as he best might. People trusted him, and he crossed no angry and alarmed interest ; but for the American war, he might have held out a considerable time. The war, however, was growing urgent. At first it had been volunteer work ; for young French nobles, fired with a new zeal for liberty, went over to support the colonists in their struggle ; and though the court at first was afraid of war, thanks to its embarrassments, it could only look with favour on this new sea-power rising up to counterbalance the overbearing supremacy of England. The most noted of the volunteers was the Marquis de Lafayette, who manned a frigate at his own cost. The Saratoga disaster in 1777 made more active measures necessary ; the Americans were enthusiastic, and France, pushed by the popularity of the war at court, made a treaty of alliance and trade with the colonists early in 1778. Then began a great maritime struggle. England declared war on France, and tried to raise up embarrassments for her in Germany ; but the skilful diplomacy of Vergennes, foreign minister of France, arranged the peace of **Teschen** (May 1779), thereby avoiding a great European war, and **peace of Teschen**. also, in all probability, securing the independence of the United States ; for it freed France from anxiety by land, and enabled her to push on her war at sea. An alliance with Spain against England followed. The war lasted about five years, and was marked at first by a striking revival of vigour in the French navy. The sea fight off Ushant (July 1778), though it did not enable the French admiral D'Orvilliers to claim an actual victory, had revived hope and confidence in the country. The war was waged in five theatres,—in the Channel, at Gibraltar, in North America, in the West Indies, and in India. The French attack on Gibraltar in 1779 was entirely foiled by the strength of the place and the ability of Elliot ; the threatened descent on the English shores came to nothing ; in the West Indies D'E斯塔ing defeated Admiral Byron. In 1780, however, the English roused themselves, and their more real strength began to appear. Rodney defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet, relieving Gibraltar and Minorca from blockade ; then sailing for the West Indies, he helped the English cause against the insurgent colonists and their friends. At this time a new and powerful engine was set in motion against England ; it was in 1780 that the system of the Armed Neutrality, in **The armed neutrality** which French diplomacy had a hand, was proclaimed by Catherine II. of Russia. Freedom of navigation for all was asserted. England had insisted on visiting neutral ships, and on confiscating all warlike munitions ; she defined these by a long list of articles possibly useful to a belligerent, such as timber or iron, out of which ships could be built. The contention of the empress was that the flag protects the cargo ; also that neutral ships, if escorted by a neutral war ship, are free from visitation, and that a "paper-blockade,"—that is a blockade announced but not supported by a sufficient force,—is not to be recognized as real. France, Prussia, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Austria, all adhered to the Russian proclamation, and equipped armed ships to assert this new and liberal maritime code. When Holland also joined the other states, England at once declared war on her, and crushed her without mercy. As an immediate result, the French navy seemed to secure the ascendant in every quarter. De Grasse defeated Howe in the West Indies, and sailed thence to support Washington and Rochambeau against Lord Cornwallis. The combination was thoroughly successful, ending in the famous capitulation of York Town (October 1781), which indicated that the struggle between England and her colonies must soon end

782-85. in the discomfiture of the mother-country. In 1782, however, things seemed to go better with England : in India affairs looked brighter ; Rodney defeated De Grasse off Saintes in the Antilles ; Gibraltar held out firmly, though Minorca had fallen. Later in the year England made peace with the colonists, and recognized the independence of the United States ; it was felt that the new Rockingham ministry would be willing to make peace with France. And France, much as she had distinguished herself in the war, was too much exhausted to wish to push it further. The sea-rights of Europe had been asserted against England ; America had secured her freedom ; France had played a brilliant part, with one hand protecting Holland, and with the other giving independence to the United States ; she, too, was quite ready for peace. In September 1783 the treaty of Versailles was signed between France, England, and Spain. England restored to Holland the main part of her conquests, ceded Minorca and Florida to Spain, and to France her Indian possessions, confirming also the stipulation of the peace of Utrecht respecting Dunkirk. On the same day England also solemnly recognized the independence of the young republic of the West.

The result of the war. France came out of the war with much honour on all hands ; as champion of liberty abroad, as founder of republics, as apostle of new ideas, she could scarcely be expected to feel a stronger attachment than before for her own despotic monarchy. The contrast was all against the old régime, and the heavy debts incurred in carrying on the war had added greatly to the embarrassments of the crown. Moreover, Necker was gone. He had struggled hard against the inherent difficulties of his position and the persistent hostility of the court ; at last he had persuaded Louis XVI. to let him issue his balance sheet, the famous *Compte rendu*, early in 1781. The document, afterwards shown to be erroneous on the side of hope, was an offence to the spending classes, an assault on their privilege, a kind of act of treason in their eyes ; that the king should keep accounts, and lay them before his people, was in their view scandalous ; from the moment it appeared Necker's fate was sealed. The *Compte rendu* was more clear than convincing ; it made out an actual surplus of ten million livres ; and Necker hoped that, seeing this, confidence would recover, and, like a prophecy of good, the *Compte rendu* would then accomplish its own statements and make a solid surplus. For France in these years had certainly been growing richer and stronger ; the duties on objects of consumption had increased two million livres a year ; and Arthur Young declared that "in these late days the advance of maritime commerce has been more rapid in France than in England. Commerce has doubled in twenty years." Necker had therefore a sound basis to go on ; but the court could not endure life on such terms, and in May 1781 he had to resign office. From this time the queen's influence was omnipotent over the feeble king. She ruled with a succession of obscure and incompetent ministers,—first Joli de Fleury, then D'Ormesson, who, when he resigned office, left only about £14,400 in the treasury, after having borrowed nearly £14,000,000 sterling in two years and a half. These men were followed by the "ladies' minister,"—the Fouquet of that age, even as Necker had been its Law,—Calonne, the "enchanter," the "model minister," as the court styled him. He found "two little bags of gold, with 1200 francs in each, in the royal treasury,"—a rather slight foundation to begin upon. "There was," he says, "neither money nor credit ; the current debts of the crown were immense, the income pledged far in advance, the resources dried up, public property valueless, the coin of the realm impoverished and withdrawn from circulation—the whole, in a word, on the very verge of bankruptcy." His idea was to mend matters by a gay and profuse expenditure ;

The mismanagement at court. Calonne becomes minister.

the queen should have whatever she wanted ; "waste is the true alms-giving of kings" again became a state-maxim ; and all things should go on merrily, from minute to minute. So the great annual deficit continued unchecked. In the autumn of 1786 Calonne himself, in spite of his lively expedients and "gaiety of heart," as he dragged the nation to its ruin, was forced to admit that the finances were in a hopeless state. He seemed to think that the privileged orders, which had so praised and petted him, would be flexible to one they knew to be their friend, and induced Louis XVI. to call an assembly of notables in 1787, before whom he laid the state of the finances and his proposals for reform. For forty years finance had been steadily going wrong ; the deficit, which began in 1739, was a million and a third per annum in 1764 ; was, even in Necker's days, well-over two millions ; by 1786 had increased to more than six millions and a half ; the best estimate Calonne could make for 1787 involved a deficit of five million pounds. Since Necker had come to power the total loans had amounted to fifty million pounds. Calonne, with irresistible force, argued from this that the ruin of the privileged classes impended. The argument was so unpleasant that they would not see it. He proposed that the *taille*, or land-tax, should be levied equally on all ; that the odious right of *corvée*, which took the peasant's labour, and brought him under subjection to the lord, the intendant, and the money-lender, also should be swept away ; that there should be free trade in grain, so that another *pacte de famine* might be impossible, and that all restrictions on traffic should be abolished. The notables replied with one voice (for they were all men of the privileged orders) that they would none of it. So Calonne fell, astonished at the ingratitude of his friends. Another queen's nominee, the incompetent Cardinal Loménie de Brienne, succeeded him. The anger of the people against the queen and her friends grew daily hotter ; and, though she was absolutely guiltless in the matter, the scandal of the diamond necklace story in 1785-1786 seemed to give point to the popular discontent against her. She was frivolous and extravagant, and without the slightest feeling for the French nation ; her love of amusement easily led people to take the worst view of all she did ; she was identified in their minds with offensive foreign tastes and interests, and created with French morals at their worst.

The accession to the ministry of Loménie de Brienne was Ministry the beginning of the end of the monarchy. He found at of Lomé- once that he must press on the privileged classes Calonne's nie de proposals ; and parties formed afresh,—on the one side the Brienne. king, the queen, and the minister, supported by some of the noblesse ; on the other the duke of Orléans, already beginning to take an active and ominous part in affairs, the main bulk of the nobles, and the parliament of Paris ; the lawyers went with them in defending privilege. Below them all were the starving and angry people ; in front of them the yawning deficit. The queen and her minister thought to save the ancient monarchy by abandoning the noblesse. To the people, however, it did not appear to be a question of one or other, but of their own claims and rights against both. No doubt the general bulk of the people would have welcomed a king who would reform loyally ; Louis XVI., unfortunately, for all his honesty and well-meaning wishes, was not strong enough to face the difficulties before him.

In August 1787 the king held a great *lit de justice*, The *lit* or personal visitation of the parliament, to enforce the *dejusticia* registration of his edicts, and after he had thus over- borne its opposition, he exiled that learned body to Troyes. Louis XVI. Though the edicts were for a stamp-tax and for the equal distribution of the land-tax, the popular voice went with the parliament ; for the more ambitious and active spirits would not accept as sufficient the reforms recommended by

1788. the queen's party. Their temper was becoming dangerous ; the king's action was considered arbitrary ; the people of Paris still deemed the parliament their friend. Before being exiled, the parliament had uttered the word which was destined to bring things to a head. In declaring their forced registration illegal and void, they had stated, in their anxiety to escape the new imposition of the equalized "taille," that the States-General alone could legally impose taxes, a doctrine unfortunately unknown in France for many centuries. The whole nation heard the word, and learnt with emotion that the ancient monarchy had long been an usurper. Throughout the kingdom now rose up a cry for the convocation of the States-General. No one clearly knew what they were or how they would work ; the last meeting of those august bodies, 173 years back (1614), had broken up in confusion ; of the organization, procedure, and powers of the Estates no one could speak with certainty. Nevertheless, at the moment they seemed to offer hopes of a solution of pressing difficulties ; and at last the king, with much reluctance, promised that they should be called together within five years.

Court
and Par-
liament
of Paris.

The parliament was then recalled to Paris ; and the king held a "royal sitting," a different thing from the offensive *lit de justice*, and expounded to the lawyers his views as to the position of affairs. Ominous were his words, for they proved that he had no insight into the great questions seething, and that he clung in a dull and obstinate way to the traditions of the ancient monarchy. He showed France that he meant to deal in a narrow and hostile spirit with the States-General, and that he reserved to himself in all matters the ultimate decision. Lastly, he offered for their registration two edicts, framed, one might think, specially to affront his hearers,—the first (in opposition to the previous declaration of the parliament) authorizing loans to the frightful amount of 420,000,000 livres (£16,800,000) ; the other ordering the restoration of Protestants to their civil rights. Then the duke of Orleans, great-grandson of the regent Philip, protested, and the parliament, encouraged by his example, declared that the edicts had been registered by force. Orleans was exiled ; and the ferment in Paris and through France became extreme.

The struggle between court and parliament grew bitter ; the parliament declared *lettres de cachet* to be illegal, and affirmed that the queen's influence was the cause of the present evils. The court-party in rejoinder proposed to establish a plenary court for the registration of edict. The parliament protested, and posed itself as defender of the liberties of France. They were forthwith shorn of much of their power, and their function of registration taken away. The local parliaments throughout France were treated in like manner, and it is from this circumstance that one of the most tremendous organizations of the Revolution took its rise. Remonstrants travelled up to Paris from different centres,—among others from the Breton parliament of Rennes,—to protest against the high-handed action of the court. The Bretons formed themselves into a club, which, having headquarters in the old Jacobin convent in the St Honoré street, soon changed its name from the Breton Club to the Jacobin Club, and became the home of the most advanced republicanism.

The
Jacobin
Club.

Things now went even worse. The old *pacte de famine*, which the humanity of the king had kept down, again began its baleful operations ; the disorders of finance went on ; there was no money with which to carry on the government. Brienne, at last driven to despair, induced the king, in spite of the queen's strong opposition, to convoke the States-General for the 5th May 1789. Soon after this, unable to face the difficulties of finance, and having tried in vain a kind of concealed bankruptcy, he gave way and sent in his resignation. Necker was recalled. The winter of 1788—

1789 was terrible—especially in Paris ; and all France was excited by distress and hope. The capital swarmed with Distress incomers from the country districts round ; ever since the great hailstorm of July 1788, when the crops ripe for the sickle had been destroyed in all the best corn-growing district of France, the district round Paris, crowds of desperate country folk had been pressing in. "All this mass floats about Paris," says M. Taine, "is engulfed therein, as in a great sewer, the honest poor and the criminal alike ; some seek work, some beg, all prowl about, a prey to hunger and the rumours of the streets. The officials note that a large number of sinister-looking men pass the barriers inwards." . . . "The general aspect of the mob changes ; it contains now a quantity of strangers from all parts of the country, mostly in rags, armed with great sticks, whose very look is menacing." "Vagabonds, ragged fellows, many almost naked, with appalling faces—beings one does not remember to have seen by daylight—a frightful physiognomy, a hideous attire." Such is the impression left by the crowd of refugees and others who swarmed in the lower districts of Paris ; this is the rough material out of which the Parisian and decisive element in the Revolution will be made. The Government thought little of this for the time ; the States-General were to meet not in Paris but at Versailles, under the shadow of the monarchy ; Paris, long neglected and disliked by the kings of France, was left out of their calculations at this moment.

IV. THE REVOLUTION.

We are come to the verge of the French Revolution, The which surpasses all other revolutions the world has seen in its completeness, the largeness of its theatre, the long preparation for it, the enunciation by it of new points of view in politics, its swift degradation into imperialism, its influence on the modern history of Europe. It has been truly said that France had for centuries been preparing for it, for centuries she would feel the effects of it. The imperialism, which has traversed and marred its due development, has perhaps already passed away—its destructive work is over ; the republic under which France now lives may be the turning point of European history.

For all revolutions there are needed first a favourable Causes concurrence of external circumstances,—such as, in France, revolu- the character of Louis XVI. succeeding after his grandfather, tion. the anti-national temper of his court, the outbreak of the American War of Liberation, the ferment of modern ideas in all the countries of Europe. Next, there must be a "semen martyrum," a faith of internal conviction which will strengthen men to face death for their cause, because their minds are lifted above common life and its trivial affairs ; this, too, existed in France, and cannot be underrated as a motive power. Sometimes partial and narrow, yet always generous and warm, was the enthusiasm of younger France for the "principles of '89" : the equality of all men before the law and for the burdens of citizenship, the excellence of virtue, the sovereignty of the people, obedience to the law, the blessings of freedom of person, press, and belief,—these and the like, afterwards embodied in the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme*, were great engines which set the Revolution moving, and directed its general course. Joined with these ideas, which cannot reach down to all, there must be a general feeling of misery, oppression, wrong. This the scandals of finance administration, the despair of frequent famines, the grievous incidence of the corvée and other ancient services, the inability to get away from the soil or to rise, largely supplied. Moreover, the divergence of classes, which in France had long been increasing, was such as to endanger in itself the stability of society. The older creeds, too, were dying down into

1789.

their embers, and had lost the power to arouse enthusiasm ; while the ancient framework of long worn-out institutions still encumbered all the land, and with their dead weight pressed men down. Selfishness above, hypocrisy in faith, misery below,—these things demanded vocal leaders for attack, and the leaders were not wanting—they were first the great writers, and afterwards the chiefs whom the violence of the time threw to the surface.

The claims of democracy.

Europe had long been uneasy ; the “benevolent despots” had tried their utmost for the people and against privilege ; enlightened ministers seemed to themselves to be carrying out the principles of Richelieu ; they fought against custom and institutions, irritating, weakening, even reversing them. And yet in all they scarcely recognized the existence of Democracy, of a people which would be heard, and would take the foremost place in the rearrangement of Europe. While the monarchs who said of their business with Joseph II., “*C'est d'être royaliste*,” were levelling privilege or church immunities, dismissing parliaments or exiling Jesuits with a view to raising their own authority, they little knew that they themselves were in danger. For the new democracy changed the centre and place of sovereignty, and while, as De Tocqueville says, “it swept away the feudal institutions and replaced them with a social and political order, more uniform and simple, and based on the equality of the condition of all,” it was also sure profoundly to modify the views of Europe as to the position of the monarch, as to the headship and sovereignty in a nation. And the great change began in France, not because she was more, but partly because she was less oppressed than her neighbours. In comparison with the German, the French peasant had many advantages,—there was less serfage, there were more peasant proprietors. “This,” said Arthur Young in 1788, “is the mildest government of any considerable country in Europe, our own excepted.” This milder state of things made men more capable of indignation against the injustice they could feel ; the most crushed do not feel the most ; they are helpless, ignorant ; but when men have begun to rise and to understand, then they grow dangerous to their masters. The very attempts made by benevolence in high place to succour the misery of the people roused their anger against their lords,—a point to which De Tocqueville dedicates a whole chapter, entitled “Comment on souleva le peuple en voulant le soulager.” In addition to this we must remember that the Revolution found much to forward it in the brightness of the French temperament. The simple principles it preached, with accompanying appeals to virtue and patriotism, at once commanded themselves to a people fearfully ignorant, yet unusually intelligent and lively. In their strength and their weakness alike the French people were singularly well-fitted to be the heralds of the new conditions of political life in Europe.

The States-General of 1789.

Early in 1789 all France was busy with the elections to the States-General, and in drawing up the *cahiers*, or papers of grievances. From the moment of the king's edict (8th August 1788), convoking the States-General, discussions had gone on with growing eagerness as to their proper constitution and form. Some urged the pattern of the English constitution ; others wished for the forms of 1614 ; others pointed out the increased importance of the third Estate in numbers and wealth. It was seen that the Estate which in fact would be called on to pay almost the whole sum to be raised must have greater strength than the precedent of 1614 could give it. Bankruptcy stared the court in the face ; the king only called the Estates together because the finances were in a frightful condition ; he openly sets this forward as the chief reason for their convocation. A demand accordingly arose for two things :—first, that the third Estate should be composed of as many members as

the other two orders combined ; secondly, that the three 1789 orders should debate and vote by head, in one chamber. It was urged on this hand that thus only could those defend themselves who would have to pay the taxes ; on the other hand, that to sit in one chamber would be a dangerous innovation, and that a majority of the third Estate would set the unprivileged public above the privileged few. The parliament of Paris, with its lawyer-like preference for precedent over justice, and its incapacity to discern the real issues before it, warmly supported the latter view, and urged the king to follow the rules of 1614. The popularity they had up to that time rather undeservedly enjoyed was destroyed in a moment ; it was seen now that the lawyers were as earnest for privilege as the rest. A convocation of notables, chiefly members of the privileged orders, to rule the form of procedure, in spite of Necker's efforts, supported the views of the parliament. The matter grew warm ; the princes of the blood, Artois and Condé and the others, who had supported the queen in all her follies, added their remonstrances in the same direction ; the popular ferment spread all the more, and Necker became the idol of the people. By his influence the king was induced at last to issue an edict to the effect that there should be in all full a thousand deputies to the States-General, made up in proportion to the population, and that there should be as many deputies of the third Estate as of the other two combined. As to the one-chamber question the decree was silent. In former States-General the third Estate had usually sent more than either of the others ; in those of 1560 the third Estate had much exceeded the other two combined, so that this great concession was little more than a continuance of ancient use. It was also decided that the election should be by a double process. The electors, in number about three millions, were limited by no property qualification ; it was a kind of simple household suffrage in the country districts, each 200 hearths choosing two representatives, and so on ; in the towns two delegates for each 100 inhabitants, and so on upwards,—so that the towns chose twice as many primary delegates as the country districts did for their numbers. These delegates from bailiwicks and towns were empowered to meet in the chief town of each province, there to draw up their *cahiers*, and to choose from their own body the persons who should proceed with the grievances in hand to Versailles as members of the third Estate.

The elections to the first Estate, the clergy, returned 291 members,—48 archbishops and bishops, 35 abbés and canons, 208 parish priests ; these latter were largely in favour of liberty, and when the time came supported the third Estate in its struggle, while the bishops and higher clergy mostly went with the privileged orders. The second Estate, the noblesse, returned in all 270 persons, one prince of the blood, 28 magistrates, 241 “gentlemen” or holders of noble fiefs. The smallness of their total is due to the proud abstention of the Breton nobles. There were among them a few who sympathized with the popular movement,—at their head the duke of Orleans. The third Estate was composed of 557 members, nearly half of them barristers, and almost all united in defence of the country against privilege. The *cahiers* of all the orders, the third no less than the others, breathed a very moderate spirit. Almost all spoke warmly and hopefully of the king,—all expressed respect for the royal power. The *cahiers* of the nobles urged the interests of their order without hesitation ; those of the clergy desired the bettering of the condition of parish priests ; those of the third order insisted on the abolition of the unequal rights and services, which were felt throughout France to be a great grievance and hindrance to the well-being of the country.

When the three Estates met at Versailles, it was seen

1789: The treatment of the third Estate.

that the points at issue were not easily to be settled. The action of the king and his ministers was exceedingly foolish and weak ; instead of taking a vigorous line with the question of the vote by head or by Estate, they lingered over trivial questions as to order and etiquette, which could only irritate the "representatives of the people," as men now began to call the third Estate. They must kneel to present their *cahiers* ; when they met they must enter through a backdoor, while the others entered through the main gateway and stood in the royal presence. In a number of petty matters the court seemed determined to remind them that they were inferior to those with whom they sat, while they, in the language of the Abbé Sieyès, felt that "the third Estate was the nation, less the privileged orders." The folly of this treatment strengthened their hands, as did also the blunder of providing no separate hall for them to sit in. After the opening session, when all met the king, they installed themselves in the great Hall of the Estates, and so took possession of the ground they were only too eager to occupy. The verification of powers was the first step to be taken. They urged at once that the three orders ought to verify together, sent invitations to the other orders, which verified separately, and set to work at their deliberations. The third Estate waited, refusing to proceed till they had solved the main question. Meanwhile the court upbraided them for wasting precious time ; it became daily clearer that all their masters cared for was that they should arrange for the payment of the deficit and be gone ; and then after some delay, they began to verify, taking on themselves to call the roll of all three orders. At the first call no response was made by either noble or clergyman ; at the second three curés answered, and were received with enthusiasm ; after a short time as many as 100 members of the clergy joined them. They named themselves "the

The National Assembly.

National Assembly" (17th June 1789), and issued a declaration that the creditors of the state were guaranteed by the honour and loyalty of the French nation ; that if they were dissolved, taxation levied thereafter would be illegal ; that a committee should be named to inquire into the general distress. Then the clergy, by a small majority, agreed to join the third Estate, and did so ; Necker thereon advised the king to yield the point of separate chambers, and to "deign to resign himself to the English constitution," a phrase singularly indicative of Necker's temper and views, and just as inapplicable to the real state of the case. The king, however, would not yield. Though Necker knew, and the king should have known, that the army could not be trusted against the Assembly, he committed himself once more to stupid and irritating tactics. The great hall was closed against the representatives, and they adjourned to the neighbouring tennis court, where they took solemn oath (20 June, 1789) that they would not separate till "the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations." Under this oath the

The king's want of wisdom.

Assembly claimed a new name, that of the Constituent Assembly,—the Assembly charged to create a new constitution. The king showed utter want of discretion : he annoyed the moderate party in the chamber, who were headed by Count Mirabeau, by refusing to give them any insight into his plans and policy ; he alienated any support he had within the Assembly, because he regarded it as a usurping body, insulting to him by its claim of permanence and authority. Next, the Assembly was told that the tennis court was wanted by the count of Artois—the most unlucky of all the supporters of the queen's policy, the most offensive to the people. Once more treated by the court with contempt, because it could not venture to use violence, the Assembly next met in the church of St Louis at Versailles on the 22d of June. On the 23d they were summoned to a "royal sitting" of all the orders, in which the king

The Constituent Assembly.

still ; he visited the capital (17th July) and appeared with the tricolour cockade on his breast. The Parisians welcomed him with enthusiasm, and a happy reconciliation seemed to have taken place. The party of Philip of Orleans sank into the background. Unfortunately for the monarchy, the queen would not loyally accept the situation. Louis XVI. might have become a constitutional sovereign—a first *roi des Français* ; his court made it impossible for him. On the very night before his visit to the Hôtel de Ville the emigration of dissatisfied nobles began, and the plans of the court-party at once changed form ; from plans they became plots. The queen stayed behind, for she was fearless in disposition and loyal to the king. She only succeeded in involving him with herself in utter ruin.

lamented the conduct of the commons, and declared the concessions he would grant. The representatives of the people, who had been treated with the scantiest courtesy that morning, received the discourse in silence—a silence deep and anxious, especially when Louis XVI. told them, speaking as an angry master to disobedient servants, that the orders should not act together, but should meet next day in their separate chambers. When he rose to go, he was followed by most of the nobles, the bishops, and some clergy ; the third Estate and a large proportion of the parish priests remained, and sent a message to the king to say that they would only retire if forced to do so by the bayonet. Necker, feeling that the king was completely committed, now resigned. The duke of Orleans, with 46 of the nobles, joined the Assembly ; after that, force being out of the question, Louis XVI. was obliged to tell the remainder of the noble order to join the others. And thus by June 27, 1789, the orders had all accepted the victory of the commons. The king now threw himself entirely into the hands of the court ; Necker's resignation was accepted ; attempts were made to get regiments that could be trusted to Versailles ; the Swiss and German troops seemed the mainstay of the monarchy. On Monday, 12th July, it came to a collision between the troops and the people. In dispersing a "Necker procession," an enthusiastic unarmed crowd following a bust of the ejected minister, Prince Lambesc, acting under Baron Besenval's orders, fired on the people. A French guard chanced to be among the killed ; thereon the whole guard sprang into revolt ; the old municipality of Paris, the ancient provost and échevins, who were royal nominees, were swept away ; a new provisional municipality arose, and a new Parisian militia. The tricolour flag sprang into existence,—red and blue, the old The tri-colours of Paris, with white, the significant ground-work of colour. The new constitution. The troops cantoned on the Champ de Mars were now powerless against Paris, which had taken the lead in insurrection and incipient revolution ; while the Assembly at Versailles was surrounded by foreign troops, and in danger of forcible dispersal. Paris quickly consolidated her movement. On the 14th of July the new civic guard seized the arms at the Invalides, and on the same day took place the assault on the Bastille. The troops at Fall of the Champ de Mars could not be trusted ; Besenval drew the title. them back to Versailles. The fall of the Bastille was sullied with broken promises and unnecessary bloodshed ; for now the fierce passions of civil war began to move, and the Paris mob had in it desperate and savage elements. The Bastille was levelled to the ground ; it symbolized the overthrow of the ancient and worn-out institutions of the monarchy.

Then the king again appeared in the Assembly, declared that he would remove his troops from Paris and Versailles, and appealed to the fidelity of the Estates. Paris grew calm at once ; Bailly was made mayor, and Lafayette commander of the civic forces. Louis XVI. went further still ; he visited the capital (17th July) and appeared with the tricolour cockade on his breast. The Parisians welcomed him with enthusiasm, and a happy reconciliation seemed to have taken place. The party of Philip of Orleans sank into the background. Unfortunately for the monarchy, the queen would not loyally accept the situation. Louis XVI. might have become a constitutional sovereign—a first *roi des Français* ; his court made it impossible for him. On the very night before his visit to the Hôtel de Ville the emigration of dissatisfied nobles began, and the plans of the court-party at once changed form ; from plans they became plots. The queen stayed behind, for she was fearless in disposition and loyal to the king. She only succeeded in involving him with herself in utter ruin.

By the 22d of July the first stage of the Revolution was

1789.

completa. The events of Paris and Versailles found response throughout France ; national guards were organized everywhere ; the nobles, attacked by the peasantry, made for the frontiers ; some laid down their privileges, and hoped to stay in France. The Assembly, backed by Paris, had all power in its hands ; the king had to recall Necker, whose vanity and shallowness were not yet found out.

On the 4th of August the Assembly got to work at its business, the framing of a new constitution. With so few solid institutions as France had, with not one true constitutional tradition, with passions aroused and great underhand opposition at court,—it is a marvel that so much was achieved. Privilege was at once abolished, the last relics of feudal use swept clean away; nobles, clergy, the *pays d'état*, cities which enjoyed local liberties and advantages, all laid down their characteristic and special privileges, and begged to be absorbed in the equality of one general French citizenship. Equality is the prominent feature of the Revolution epoch ; it overshadows at this moment both liberty and fraternity. The practical carrying out of the principles of equality was not so easy ; many who laid down their privilege in words, clung to it in fact ; it caused ugly scenes in the country ; and the feudal burdens were in some places hardly removed till the very end of 1790. The Assembly next declared the king to be "the restorer of French liberties," and offended him, on the other hand, by reducing his hunting-rights to those of an ordinary landowner. The king's *capitaineries*, a circuit of some 40 to 50 miles round Paris, which had been felt to be very mischievous to agriculture, and connected only too closely with the famines of Paris, were much curtailed. When these things were laid before the king, it was seen that his heart was not with the Assembly ; on technical grounds he refused to sanction them. Then the

The declaration of the rights of man—a general statement of the principles and bases of civil society. Carlyle sneers at the resulting document :—rights, yes, but duties ; where are they ? and what reference is there to might ? Still, it is clear that, had the Assembly not occupied itself with this reasonable and logical statement, its enemies could, at once have accused it of haste and inconsequence, of passion and pure love of destruction. As a fact, the Declaration of the Rights of Man ranks, as Madame de Staël says, side by side with the English Bill of Rights and the American Declaration. This last was addressed to a people happily quite ignorant of all feudal questions, while the English Bill of Rights dealt solely with practical matters, assuming the main principles of constitutional life to be known, whereas the French Declaration had to begin a fresh epoch—to appeal to a people shaking themselves free from absolutism and feudal oppressions, to affirm the first principles of civil life, to give practical expression to opinions floating in every mind. To us the Declaration reads like a string of political commonplaces ; we are familiar with the whole row. To the French it was very different, for they were beginning a new life, and scarcely knew where to tread.

This charter of the Revolution is in substance as follows. (1) All men are born and continue free and equal in rights ; social distinctions are purely conventional. (2) Society is an association of men to preserve the natural rights of men. (3) Sovereignty resides in the nation ; all authority, vested in an individual or a body of men, comes expressly from the nation. (4) Liberty is the power of doing what we will, so long as it does not injure another ; the only limits of each man's natural right are such as secure the same rights to others ; these limits are determinable only by the law. (5) The law can forbid only such actions as are mischievous to society ; "Quod lex non vetat, permittit." (6) Law is the expression of the general will ; all citizens have

a right to take part, through their representatives, in the making of the laws ; law must be equal for all ; all citizens have equal rights (according to their fitness) to fulfil all offices in the state. (7) Accusation, arrest, detention, can only be in accordance with the law, which all are bound to obey. (8) The law must be reasonable ; it must not have any retroactive force. (9) Every one is to be deemed innocent till he has been convicted ; persons under arrest on suspicion must therefore be treated gently. (10) All men are free to hold what religious views they will, provided they are not subversive of public order. (11) Freedom of speech, of writing and printing (save in cases reserved by the law), is one of the most precious of the rights of man. (12) A public force is needed to guarantee the rights of man ; such a force is for the benefit of all, not of its own class. (13) To support such force a common contribution is necessary ; it is to be equally laid on all citizens according to their means. (14) All citizens have a right to show (personally or by representatives) that such public contribution is necessary, to consent thereto, to arrange its application, its incidence, its manner of ingathering, its duration. (15) Society has a right to demand from every public servant an account of his administration. (16) A society, the rights of which are not assured, the power of which not definitely distributed, has no constitution. (17) Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of it, save when public necessity, legally established, evidently demands it, and then only with the condition of a just and previously determined indemnity.

Having laid down these principles, the Assembly went on to abolish such institutions as offended against the liberty and equality of the rights of man. "Nobility, peerage, hereditary distinctions, distinctions of orders, feudal régime, patrimonial justice, titles, denominatives or prerogatives thence derived, orders of chivalry, corporations, &c., which required proof of nobility or presupposed distinctions of birth," were all declared to be swept away, such distinctions alone remaining as belonged to public functionaries in discharge of their duties. Venality or hereditary succession in offices was also abolished ; all Frenchmen in all parts of the country should have equal and common rights ; no guilds or corporations should remain, nor would the law recognize any religious vows or other engagements which might militate against either natural rights or the constitution. Such, from end to end, is the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Equality of all men, abolition of feudal privilege, inclusion of the monarchy under the control of the sovereign people—these are the chief principles involved in it ; out of these the Revolution grew. In itself the Declaration was not subversive of monarchy ; only the French monarch, with two centuries of Bourbon tradition behind him, could not stoop to take a new position in France ; Louis XVI. could not become a constitutional king. The Assembly also framed its new constitution, according to the promise of its oath of the tennis court. A limited monarchy, without an absolute veto, and a single chamber having alone the right of initiation of laws, formed the chief elements of it,—the nation to order, the king to execute. "The Revolution from its social side attacked the aristocracy," says La Vallée, "from its political side it attacked the monarchy ;" and the single chamber, with a royal suspensive veto which might be overruled in time, seemed to the French people best and simplest. The great danger of the Revolution lay in its simplicity : everything was to begin from a pure white basis ; there should be no checks or counterpoises ; all should be consecutive, logical. The ambitions, vices, prejudices of men were regarded as nothing ; the nation, not even educated as yet, was thought fit to be trusted with absolute power. It is indicative of the ferment and the ignorance even of Paris that the very name of veto aroused

The declaration of the rights of man.

The clauses of the declaration.

1789. vehement disturbances; the royal veto was in their eyes the old régime restored.

The excitement of Paris grew; famine reigned; distrust and irritation followed. It was seen that the royal family were surrounding themselves with troops ill-affected towards the Revolution, and with a great number of devoted officers. Rumours flew through the town; plans of vengeance were supposed, communications with foreign powers and emigrant nobles. The king's reception of the Declaration of the Rights of Man had been cold and partial; the new journals of the time threatened fresh disturbances. At this moment (3d October 1789) the amazing folly of Versailles showed itself in a great banquet given to the soldiers, in which royalist songs, white cockades, ladies' smiles, and plenty of food goaded the hungry "patriots" of Paris to madness. A vast crowd, chiefly of women, with the national guard, headed unwillingly enough by Lafayette, streamed out of the gates, and marched to Versailles, insulted the Assembly then sitting, and swarmed round the palace gates. When the king came back from his hunting,—his one solace in these difficult days,—he spoke them fair; but a struggle having begun, in which some blood was shed, he became in fact their prisoner. In an interview with Lafayette, he showed his wonted obstinacy, and practically refused to send away his Swiss guards. Things became very threatening, and Louis at last consented to go to Paris. The queen and the dauphin refused to leave his side; a deputation of 100 members of the Assembly also accompanied him.

Thus Paris at one blow gained the ascendant over both king and Assembly, and the Revolution entered at once on a new phase. Changes will become easier, the seat of government and movement being narrowed to one city. The vehement eagerness for discussion of political questions, already so prominent a feature of the time, will increase greatly; crowds will frequent the meetings of the Assembly, interfere with its discussions, sway its fears and wishes. "There is a gallery," says Arthur Young, an eye-witness (12th January 1790), "at each end of the saloon, which is open to all the world. . . . The audience in these galleries are very noisy; they clap when anything pleases them, and they have been known to hiss—an indecorum which is utterly destructive of freedom of debate." The press became more active than ever, with countless pamphlets on the questions of the day; and lastly, the influence of the clubs, especially of that of the "Friends of the Constitution," the Jacobins Club, now began to take the chief direction of affairs for the more thorough revolutionists. With its affiliated clubs throughout France, it formed an all-powerful confederacy, and became the rival of the Assembly itself. The virtual imprisonment of the royal family at the Tuilleries frightened the royalist gentry; a second and more numerous emigration now took place. Suspicion and distrust reigned; all held their breath, and thought they felt beneath them the muffled mining of some plot. Royalists accused the ambitious and unsteady Philip of Orleans of making disturbances for his own purposes in Paris; republicans felt sure that the queen and her party were plotting the overthrow of the new order of things with the emigrants and her German relations. The duke of Orleans, a silly and stupid giggler, as Arthur Young found him, was driven by Lafayette to take refuge in England. The two chief parties of the Assembly, the Right and the Left, represented those who hoped, as Mirabeau did or Lafayette, to secure a modified and constitutional monarchy in France, and those who desired to see a republic. Independent of these, who were intent on the framing of the constitution, was the court party, which hoped to restore things to their ancient form, and to bring back the monarchy and the system of the past.

The Jacobins Club.

The emigration.

The Assembly now set itself to frame the constitution,—the task to which it had solemnly dedicated itself. In France herself there were no precedents to go on, no healthy institutions to be worked in. The clergy were powerless; the nobles, who might have modified and influenced matters, were contemptuous and careless. Arthur Young specially notices their flippant treatment of the crisis they were in; they did not really believe that the new order of things could last, and even expected a counter-revolution. Some of them thought that by pushing the innovators onward they would secure an earlier reaction; doing so, they worked their own ruin and the king's death. The active leaders of the Assembly had then no help at home; they spurned the example of the English constitution, which was often urged on them, for they considered it with truth far too monarchical and far too aristocratic for their principles. It was then almost from a "tabula rasa" that they had to start,—without institutions to use, without experience to warn, or examples to guide them. They were sincere, and knew their own minds, fearlessly pushing the principles they held to their results. Their first achievement was to carry out the Declaration of the Rights of Man in territorial matters, by totally rearranging the soil of France. They would consolidate and centralize, and show that unity pervaded all. With this end in view they swept away all the ancient historic provinces, which one misses so much on the map of France. No more duchies and counties, *pays d'états* and *pays d'élection*; no local rights or specialties were preserved; the local parliaments were swept off, the local administrations abolished; the very names of Bretton or Provengal, it was hoped, would be absorbed in the greater name of Frenchmen. Instead of the old divisions, the country was distributed into 83 portions, as nearly as might be of one size, and these were named departments; each department was subdivided into districts, and each district into cantons or communes. This done, the political structure was at once begun in accordance with it: each department should have a council of thirty-six members and an executive directory of five; the districts similarly should have officers, subordinated to those of the department; the communes also, in like wise, under the districts. Then came the distinction between *active* and *passive* citizenship, as a base for the franchise. Active citizens, who paid taxes equivalent to three days' labour and upwards, alone had a vote; there was a higher property-qualification for the electors whom they had to choose. The passive citizens were excluded from all share of power. The electors were charged to choose deputies for the National Assembly, administrators of departments, districts, and communes, and eventually judges, bishops, and parish priests. The judicial system was entirely recast. In place of the local parliaments there were to be three orders of tribunals,—cantonal, district, and departmental; and above all, at Paris, a great supreme court. The system of trial by jury was introduced for criminal cases. The National Assembly should be the fountain of legislation, should be permanent, and of one chamber only; it should be renewed by biennial elections. Its number should be 745, distributed among the departments according to the proportions of land, of population, and of taxation. The Assembly also laid down a definition of the citizenship, and marked out the position of the king. It next considered the state of the finances; for now, even at under the old régime, France was threatened with imminent bankruptcy. Loans were not taken up, taxes fell short, patriotic contributions ran dry. In this great peril, Talleyrand-Perigord, bishop of Autun, proposed to apply the lands of the clergy for the purpose of meeting the deficiency. The committee of finance declared by his voice that the clergy were not proprietors but administrators only, and that the nation could take on itself the sale of church lands.

1789-90. the expenses of public worship, and resume its ownership of the lands of the church. In spite of the vigorous resistance of the clergy, and their offer to make a gratuitous gift of part of their lands, the Assembly adopted the proposal, and ordered the sale of the ecclesiastical domains. The argument that these lands were part of the absolute property of the Church Catholic in general, and not of the French clergy in particular, was too unpatriotic to be listened to. The sale, however, was a failure; men were too much frightened by the rapid movement of affairs to feel much confidence, and things again seemed to be at a stand-still. Then the Paris commune hit on a plan which succeeded. The municipalities throughout France were authorized to buy these lands from the state, and to sell them again to private purchasers; and the municipalities might pay for them in bonds, or *assignats* as they were called, based on the actual value of the land. It was ordered that the issue of assignats should be limited, and that they should be extinguished as the lands passed into private hands, and hard money was given for them. The measure brought instant relief to the Government, and the assignats, as has been said, "saved the Revolution." Then followed the "civil constitution of the clergy," in which the state made a great step in the direction often since taken with more or less success,—the direction of controlling the spiritual powers. The Assembly began by affirming the constitution to be based on Christianity, while it refused to admit a state-religion, abolished monastic vows, religious orders, and confraternities, with exception of some useful ones. It then, following the impulse of uniformity given by the new partition of the soil into departments, rearranged the ecclesiastical divisions on the same basis,—a bishop to each department, and so on. The influence of the Jansenists among the clergy in the Assembly was felt in all this; it is their last appearance in French history; after 1790 their name hardly ever occurs again. It was clear that the upper clergy and the bulk of the lower would resist this proposal. If the state severed the ancient relations between the church and itself, it must, to a large extent, leave the church to manage its own affairs. As it was, the state had laid hands on church lands, had declared against the connexion, and yet was determined to rearrange the spiritual domain. Finding strong opposition, the Assembly next ordered the clergy to take an oath of obedience to the civil constitution. This, however moderate as it was in itself, involved an acknowledgment of the authority of the state, which in fact prejudged the whole question; consequently, fully five-sixths of the clergy refused the oath, and they with their flocks were still a very considerable power in France. The result was that the interference of the Assembly in church matters broke up parties very much, and threw the power almost entirely into the hands of the non-religious sections of the body. The sight of the church in rebellion, the contempt and aversion with which the priests who took the oath were regarded, put religion into definite opposition to the Revolution; though Jansenists and Huguenots were warmly attached to the new order of things, their influence was weak. Henceforward, in the mind of France, Christianity was regarded as identical with reaction.

Abolition of nobility. The lawyers and the clergymen had thus been dealt with; it remained to abolish nobility. "The lawyers had caused agitation in the country; the clergy had kindled civil war; the nobles were now about to produce foreign wars." The decree of June 19, 1790, swept away the last distinctions of feudal origin, and the nobles and bishops deemed themselves no longer bound by any ties to the new order of things. They did all they could to push matters to excess, with terrible results to themselves. As the nobles alone officered all the regiments of the army, they had great

power in their hands. The gulf between them and the 1790 privates, the scandals of mismanagement, the spread of revolutionary opinions in the ranks, after a time rectified the evil, and the army before long became the chief support of the new republic. In August 1790 a kind of struggle went on; in many places the regiments chose officers from among themselves, and turned out their noble masters; in other places they accused the officers of plundering the military chests,—an accusation in some cases only too well founded. At Nancy, under Bouillé's orders, a revolt of three regiments on this ground led to a terrible battle in the streets, in which the regiments and citizens were mercilessly crushed by the garrison and national guards of Metz. It was done by command of the Assembly; Paris, however, and the revolutionists generally, sided with the defeated regiments, and the king, the Assembly, and Lafayette all lost ground through it. Up to this time Louis XVI. had shown himself willing to go with the Assembly. For a while he seemed really to wish to be a constitutional monarch, and, till after the fête of July 14, at which he, the Assembly, the national guard, and a crowd of spectators from all France, renewed, in the midst of boundless enthusiasm, the civic oath, all seemed to promise well. The Assembly had voted a liberal civil list; they had treated him with courteous respect; he seemed thoroughly popular. Had he been a man of any real vigour of character, he might have held the movement entirely in his own hands, and have shaped the future constitution of his country, saving it from extreme measures, great excesses, savage civil war, and tremendous efforts to keep off the foreigner. This, however, was not in him; his amiable disposition drew him one way, the traditional belief in his irresponsible and divine right drew him the other; he became undecided; people grew suspicious. Necker, not a strong man, had hitherto been his guide; he had now lost all his popularity, for public opinion had gone far beyond him, and he was not statesman enough either to direct or to assist it. He sent in his resignation (4th September 1790), and was followed by the rest of the ministers, who were suspected of underhand communications with the émigrés at Coblenz. The king was deeply moved at finding a new ministry not of his own choosing; and finally, when the Assembly made its attack on the clergy, he ceased to feel a wish to keep terms with the Revolution. It must be stopped, either by combining against it all the moderates with the dissatisfied and alienated classes and their supporters, or by calling in the refugees from abroad with foreign help at their back. Between these two plans the king stupidly oscillated, in the end ruining both his courses friends and himself. Bouillé, Lafayette, the royalist deputies, the moderates in and out of the Assembly, desired the former course; the Austrian queen, the count of Artois, the emigrant nobles, who all lacked real patriotism and were half foreign, desired to be replaced by German bayonets. Louis, before the end of 1790, was in negotiation with almost all the kings of Europe; at the same time the queen, who hated Lafayette, kept the constitutional party at home at arm's length. She hoped to neutralize the movement at home, while she intrigued abroad, by winning Mirabeau, the terrible orator of the Assembly, in its earliest days the fearless champion who did not quail before the king or the king's servant, the revolutionary nobleman whom his own order had cast out; he might retain all his opinions, which were not republican, should be subsidized by the court, and should uphold the throne. The suspicion and watchfulness of the Jacobins Club, and of the extremer party in the Assembly, did not hinder Mirabeau from openly doing his utmost to preserve portions of the royal authority; and when, early in 1791, he felt that he had some hold on the court, he advised the king to escape to Lyons, and there to establish himself as a mediator between the emigrants

1791.

The king's flight.

The Revolution triumphs.

The Feuillants Club.

The constitution completed.

Close of the Assembly.

and the Assembly, to issue a constitution of his own, embodying the main principles of the Revolution, and appealing to the people to support him. In the midst, however, of these schemes, Mirabeau, worn out by his loose living and the excitement of his political life, suddenly fell ill and died, and with him perished all chance of a constitutional monarchy for France. His guiding hand gone, the king thought only how he might escape in safety, and eagerly adopted Bouillé's proposal that he should take refuge under the shelter of his army on the eastern frontier. It was obvious that this step, if successful, would bring him close to the émigrés and the German influence; if it failed, would make men regard him as a traitor. It failed. The court got out of Paris (20th June 1791), and reached Varennes, not far from Verdun; there they were recognized, stopped, and sent back to Paris. Bouillé entered the place a very short time after they had left; found all the streets barred against him, and, comprehending that the game was lost, turned about and fled to the emigrants.

The Assembly, at once and with calmness, assumed full direction of affairs; no disturbance followed. The king's return was a triumph of the revolutionary spirit, which showed itself all along his route. All firmly believed that his only wish had been to escape to the emigrants and to make open war on France. The clubs and the advanced section of the Assembly gained greatly in strength. Pétion and Robespierre now began their career as republican leaders. The excitement of Paris broke out in open fighting over the great petition of the clubs in the Champ de Mars for the deposition of the king; and Lafayette dispersed the republican crowd with vigorous bloodshed. The Assembly for the moment seemed to win strength by it; the country showed no wish to be rid of their king. The Jacobins had to draw back for a while; the division between Paris and the country, between the bourgeoisie and the bulk of the people, grew plainer; the Jacobins Club was almost deserted by the members of the Assembly; a new club, the Feuillants, was organized out of the more moderate section of the Jacobins, among whom were Lafayette, Bailly, the two Lameths, and others known as the representatives of the party which wished to unite the old monarchy with the new constitution. The old Jacobins became absolutely republican, and, in contempt, called the Feuillants the "Club Monarchique." In these two clubs the new and clean-cut division of the country into monarchists and republicans was plainly to be seen.

The Assembly was now coming to the end of its labours; before finishing them, it made the grievous blunder of passing a "self-denying ordinance," and decreed that no member of its body should be eligible for the new Assembly to be at once elected, nor should accept any office under the crown. Lafayette and Bailly resigned their offices as general and mayor of Paris; every one of the men who had voted together in the tennis court, who had gained experience and insight into the proposed constitution, and might have worked it successfully, was rigorously excluded. The constitution was then laid before the king; he accepted it at once, and, going to the Assembly (14th September 1791), swore that he would observe it faithfully. Then, after decreeing a general amnesty for all political crimes and offences, the Assembly (30th September 1791) closed its critical labours, and declared itself dissolved. As the members passed out of the chamber they held their heads high, in the belief that they had laid the firm foundations of a reasonable and constitutional government. The country welcomed the constitution with delight; a new era was about to begin; the middle classes were all in its favour, and believed that they had the future in their hands. The elections to the new Assembly, which took place before the Constituent dispersed, were loyally made; the middle

party seemed to have a great majority; the king accepted the 1791 situation fairly. There were no representatives of the old régime in it to irritate men; violent republicans were few; it was thought that all promised well, and that the Legislative Assembly would have a long and peaceful life. The Legislative Assembly met on October 1, 1791; at once it shaped itself into parties, all more or less loyal to the new constitution. The "Extreme Right and the Right" (to the right, that is, of the president's chair) were usually called the Feuillants, were constitutionalists who represented the burgher interests, and feared the people, and who wished to uphold the king as far as they could. The "Left," the Girondists, was composed of men inclined towards a republic, also of the burgher class chiefly, also all devoted to the constitution as it stood; the "Extreme Left," which sat on the higher benches, and took the nickname of "the Mountain," was composed of popular delegates and representatives of the advanced clubs, with Robespierre as their out-of-doors leader at the Jacobins; and Danton at the Cordeliers Club. The Centre of the Assembly was timid, and wanting in any principle or clearness; it usually voted with the Left. Thus, the more extreme partisans, whether of royalty or republicanism, were not in the Assembly, but worked outside for their objects; it remained to be seen whether the moderate parties would succeed in holding their own. The conventions of Pillnitz (27th August 1791) had already shown the excluded royalists whether they might look for succour; Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Prussia had then agreed, in vague terms, that they would invade France unless Louis XVI. were set free, the Assembly dissolved, the emigrants restored to their possessions and dignities. It was a challenge to revolutionary France, and a temptation to the unstable king. At every step he and his friends blundered; a loyal acceptance of the constitution and the new Assembly seemed impossible; the royalists at home stirred up civil strife, especially through the clergy; abroad they threatened open war. The Assembly, backed by the new department of Paris, an organization given to the capital early in 1791, fought against the former; against the latter stood the army, mostly strong republicans, supported by the sympathy of the people generally, whose anger rose at threats of invasion.

To meet its pressing dangers, the Assembly, in November 1791, ordered the emigrants to return, on pain of confiscation of their property, and penalty of death. This decree The Assembly and its foes. The king at once vetoed, at the same time issuing a strong order to the emigrants to return. They refused to listen, and the popular feeling on the other hand was much excited by his interference in what seemed to be a matter of life and death to them. The Assembly next passed to attack those of the clergy who had not taken the oath, declaring that "refractory" priests should lose their pay, should be forbidden to perform divine service, should be put under surveillance. The king again exercised his veto; and those who supported the Revolution felt that in the two all-important matters—the threat of foreign war from the émigrés, and the threat of domestic war from the "refractory" clergy—Louis XVI. was against them, and with their enemies. They murmured the word "traitor."

After some hesitation the German princes began to show signs of movement; troops were raised by Austria, Prussia, Piedmont; the other monarchs of Europe threatened. France set on foot three armies,—one of the north under Rochambeau, one under Lafayette on the north-east, a third under Luckner on the Rhine as far as to Basel. The Montagnards alone, distrusting the officers and the king, opposed a declaration of war. All France suspected treason, and had only too good reason to think that the king's ministers, excepting Narbonne, minister of war, were in com-

1792

The Gi-
rondist
ministry.War de-
clared
against
Austria.Cam-
paign in
Belgium.Lafay-
ette's
position.Insurrec-
tion of
the 20th
of June.

communication with the enemy. The feeling against the ministers was so strong that after the trial of one of them, known to be the queen's agent, they all resigned, and a Girondist cabinet was appointed by the king. Roland, a man of intelligence, spirit, and uprightness, married to the noblest lady of these troubled times,—a lady who was the inspiring genius of the Gironde,—was made minister of the interior. The other name of note was that of Dumouriez, who had the portfolio of foreign affairs. This ministry at once took up a resolute position against the allied sovereigns; and Francis II., the new head of the house of Austria, unlike Leopold, who had never wished for war, at once replied with defiance, ordering France to replace king, clergy, and nobles in their ancient dignities and privileges. On the 20th April 1792 the Girondist ministry declared war against Francis, and the long wars of the republic and the empire began.

The French army was in a state of great confusion; most of its officers had joined the emigrants, eager to show the Germans "the way to Paris"; those who remained were suspected by the people; there was little money in the treasury, little experience in the camp. Dumouriez hoped to make a good beginning by invading Belgium, restless under its Austrian masters, and only lately in revolt. All, however, went amiss. One column was checked near Tournay, lost its guns, killed Dillon its general, and fled with cries of "treason"; a second column was defeated near Mons; Lafayette and the other generals hereon halted and stood on the defensive. All France was uneasy. Had her ancient courage departed? was she powerless without her noble officers? or was she the victim of treachery? The Jacobins grew more vehement; the terrible voice of Marat was now heard calling for heads; suspicion became greater than ever against the king, above all against the Austrian queen, and the guards around them, who were thought to be inclined to betray the people. The Assembly declared itself as sitting in permanence. It levelled measures against the refractory priests; it decreed that the king's guard should be dismissed, and that a camp of federal soldiers should be formed at Paris. The king refused to dismiss his guards; and on a strong remonstrance from Roland, he at once dismissed the three chief Girondist ministers. Dumouriez finding the king obstinate, also resigned office. Louis named a ministry of obscure members of the Feuillant party,—men who believed in the constitution of 1790, and in the royal authority. It was at this time that he sent Mallet du Pan on a secret mission to Vienna, to pray the Germans to rescue him from the tyranny of those "who now ruled with a rod of iron."

The Girondists, thus ejected from power, made common cause with the Jacobins, and watched with keen eyes the course of Lafayette, the centre of the constitutional party; the ministry and all those who in heart loved the older system or dreaded the progress of the Revolution, looked to Lafayette and his army as their only hope. He was no statesman, loyal and upright as he was, and committed the great blunder of defying the Jacobins. At once his waning popularity was lost; his party was seen to be that of reaction; the people could see no difference between the constitutional Feuillants and the aristocrat emigrants, and the doom of the party was sealed. On the 20th of June 1792 the Jacobins replied to Lafayette's manifesto by raising the Parisian populace against the Assembly. That body, overawed and powerless, could do nothing against so fierce and determined an invasion. They next forced their way into the palace, and there Louis XVI. met them with admirable dignity. The populace shouted "down with the veto," "recall the ministers," and so forth. The king wore the Paris red cap, and the crowd was appeased at once. It was an excited, not a bloodthirsty, mob that day. Louis

assured them that "he would do whatever the constitution 1792 ordained that he should do,"—words which, though they meant little, yet, when joined with the red cap and the king's manly bearing, satisfied the people, who departed quietly. Public opinion seemed at once to go with the monarch and the ministers against this outrage; the Girondists, who had been parties to it, lost ground; Lafayette even ventured to come up to Paris from the army to demand the punishment of the insurgent chiefs. His attempt, however, was a failure. The Assembly threatened to arrest him for leaving his troops without orders; the courtiers of the Tuilleries looked coldly on him; the king gave him no thanks; as for the queen, she liked him no better than of old. He had to return quickly to the army. The truth was that at this time the court policy had gone entirely over to the emigré grants and their foreign friends. There were 80,000 men goes over at Coblenz commanded by the duke of Brunswick; the royalists cared nothing for such constitutionalists as Lafayette; "in a month I shall be free," was the queen's remark.

Prussia had now also declared against France, and was on the march; this movement restored all power and popularity to the Jacobins. The Assembly took measures in self-defence against the court and the foreigners; men began to call for the deposition of the king; the country was proclaimed in danger, and 50,000 volunteers were decreed; men flocked to enrol themselves from every quarter; the excitement grew daily; the fiercest threats and suggestions made themselves heard. The Jacobins organized, almost openly, a new insurrection, which should force the hand of the Assembly, and "save the Revolution." The vanguard of the attack on the constitution was entrusted to the battalion of men of Marseilles, who have attached their name to the ever-famous song, which has been sung by Frenchmen on so many a hard-won battlefield, in politics or in campaign, the *Marseillaise*. The extravagant proclamation with which Brunswick heralded the opening of his campaign did but add to the fury of the people; and on the 10th of August the great insurrection, led by the popular chief Danton, swept over the Assembly and the monarchy, overpowering everything as it passed along. The guards at the Tuilleries were of uncertain fidelity to the king; the commissioners of the sections of Paris seized on the Hôtel de Ville, and at once set up an "insurrectionary commune"; they summoned before them the commandant of the national guard, Mandat, who was massacred as he left the hall. The guards, thus left headless, refused to fire on the people; the insurrection swept over all; the king with difficulty, surrounded by his family, took refuge under protection of the trembling Assembly. The Swiss guards of the palace were massacred, the Tuilleries taken and sacked; the new municipality, flushed with victory, compelled the Assembly to confirm its powers; to order the election of a new National Convention; to declare the king suspended provisionally, and placed at the Luxembourg under civic guard; to dismiss the ministers; to make into law the decrees passed but vetoed by the king. The Assembly was crushed, the royal family prisoners in the Temple; the Paris people, under inspiration of Robespierre and Danton, were omnipotent. Forthwith began the terrible scenes of the prisons, the mockery of trial, the massacres of the "killers at six francs a day." It was clear that the new commune of Paris was now the sovereign power in France; it established a committee of surveillance, and swept away all the older administration of Paris. Danton, burly representative of popular passions, and of popular kindness also, was the leading spirit of the time. He was no statesman, and had little chance of permanent power, when pitted against the virtuous, the incorruptible Robespierre, who had kept sedulously clear of the insurrec-

1792.
Robespierre.

Marat.

The invasion.

tion, and was already planning how he might rise by it to the top of his ambition. Danton with all his roughnesses was a man ; Robespierre was a vain fop. Danton had comparatively little personal ambition ; Robespierre always thought first of himself, and intended to become the dictator of a new commonwealth. Marat, who must be named here, was the leading spirit of the committee of surveillance, the leader and instigator of all the bloodshed of the Reign of Terror. He wished, too, to be dictator, that he might purify society,—that he might have in his power the sole and unquestioned right to slay.

Lafayette, in spite of the invasion, would have marched on Paris to save society. He found himself abandoned, and took to flight ; the Germans, to whom he went, imprisoned him and treated him ill. Meanwhile, the allies took Longwy and Verdun, while they besieged Thionville ; the road to Paris seemed quite free to them. The effect on Paris was terrible ; no one knew who was in communication with the foreigners ; fear and anger made men brutal ; the massacres in the prisons went on incessantly. Danton, "fiercely as he might bellow, was ashamed, for he had a human heart ; and he delivered from the fury as many of the victims as he could." Meanwhile, the Prussians had forced their way into France through the Argonne, in spite of Dumouriez ; and the duke of Brunswick, who hoped to cut him off, and had abandoned the direct road for Paris through Chalons, was met by Kellermann who lay in his path at Valmy. The spirit which Kellermann infused into his raw troops staggered the assailants, who hesitated and drew back. The cannonade of Valmy, for it was little more, was more to France than many a great victory ; the Germans had to fall back discomfited ; the siege of Thionville was raised. By the 1st of October not one of them remained in France. Unfortunately, no steps were taken to harass them in the retreat ; their state was so bad that a little vigour might have entirely ruined them. Shortly afterwards came news to Paris that the army of Alsace under Custine had taken Worms, Spirea, and Mainz, where lay the chief magazines of the allies ; in the north an attack on Lille was repulsed. Savoy was occupied by French troops, who also seized on the coast line, and occupied Nice and Villafranca, with its great munitions of war. Abroad the Revolution showed itself proud and defiant ; at home the National Convention replaced the Legislative Assembly.

V. THE REPUBLIC.

The National Convention : parties in it.

Abolition of royalty.

The new government of France reflected the changes which had taken place. Paris sent the chief Jacobins to it ; the Girondists sat on the right and had a large majority ; the Jacobins on the left, high up, with the *soubriquet* of the Mountain ; below sat the "Plain" and the "Marsh," the timid moderates, who leaned towards the Girondists. Paris was behind all, fierce and bloodstained, supporting the Jacobins. At once the Convention decreed (21st September 1792) the abolition of royalty in France, and proclaimed the Republic. The 22d of September 1792 is the "First day of year I. of the Republic." Roland, the most influential of the Girondists, retained office as minister of the interior ; and his party, encouraged by the protests of the permanent department of Paris, which felt itself set aside, attacked the anarchy of the capital and the Jacobins. Robespierre was denounced, and great debates ensued ; the Girondists, however, in spite of their majority in the Convention, had no force, and little political sagacity. Paris was in no mood for submission to the more moderate and constitutional friends of the republic ; before the end of 1792 the commune, and the Mountain with it, had defeated the Gironde, the executive power, and Roland himself. For a time, however, the trial of the king absorbed all attention.

It had begun in November 1792 ; in December Louis had 1792-93 been questioned by the Convention ; all France discussed The trial with vehemence the different views as to the method of the and execution of Louis XVI. death, and the country from a great blunder, called for an appeal to the sovereign people ; they still clung to constitutional forms. The Mountain held that the Convention was competent to undertake the task of an immediate trial. The opinion of the country re-echoed the cries of Paris ; and the Convention, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th January 1793, took on itself to decide the question ; by a majority of a few votes (387 against 334) it decreed that the king's punishment should be death. Philip Égalité, his nearest kinsman, was one of those who voted with the majority, to the disgrace of his name ; even those who wished for the king's death despised and condemned him for an act dictated by weak ambition and cowardice. On the 21st of January 1793 Louis XVI. was executed on the Square of the Revolution.

By this act, as the Montagnards themselves said, "the Revolution threw down the glove to all ancient Europe." They had accused their rivals the Girondists of intriguing to save the monarchy, of coqueting with the emigrants and the foreign sovereigns. The Girondists, in their turn, accused them of being "anarchists sold to the foreigner," men who were treacherously pushing on the Revolution to excess in order to discredit it, and to bring in the foreign help which the court desired ; men who were in the pay of Pitt, the supposed Macchiavelli of the time, whose hand was believed to be in everything which could turn to the harm of France. If Henry IV. was the hero of the Revolution, Pitt was its bugbear ; Frenchmen were scared in those days by his name, just as twenty years later Englishmen were scared by the name of Napoleon. The truth is that the Girondists represented the burgher classes, and were honestly eager to establish the new constitution in all its parts ; they were on the defensive, while the Mountain, the party of offence, represented the suffering populace—eager, defiant, weary of negotiation, suspicious of treason at every point, and zealously determined to push the principles of the Revolution to their limits. In this they were utterly careless of political considerations, eager for war, come what might, quite honest and narrow,—a very dangerous and powerful party. Their victory in the trial and execution of "Louis Capet" was complete ; it brought with it inevitably the fall of Roland. When Robespierre and Danton attacked him in the Convention, finding that the Girondists no longer had a majority, he laid with dignity his resignation before the Convention, and was replaced for the time by the indolent and philosophic Garat, the minister of justice. The ascendancy of Robespierre was Robespierre assured—the man to whom the Revolution, as his enemies said, "was the religion of which he was the priest." Robespierre preaches, Robespierre censures, thunders against the rich and great, lives simply, has no physical passions, has created for himself a reputation for austerity—the austerity of a saint. He speaks of God and Providence, calls himself the friend of the poor and feeble, is followed by the women and the weak, whose adoration and homage he solemnly accepts." This is the dangerous man in whose hands lay the fortunes of France throughout the dark days of the Terror. He was the prophet who should realize on earth the beautiful and popular dreams of the *Contrat Social*.

After the withdrawal of the Germans from France at the end of the previous September, Dumouriez had easily persuaded the Executive Council at Paris that, by seizing the moment of amazement and disquiet, the French armies might secure for France her "natural frontiers,"—that is,

1792 93. might become masters of the whole left bank of the Rhine from Basel to the sea. Custine and Kellermann should master the middle Rhine at Coblenz, and Dumouriez should invade Belgium. He set out at once, and on November 6, 1792, by winning the battle of Jemmapes, roused the amazement of all Europe. It is true that the French were two to one, yet so low had their reputation for fighting-power fallen, that the courage they showed on the field took men by surprise. The Austrians fell back, and Dumouriez occupied all Belgium down to the Meuse. The Scheldt, which had been closed since 1648, thanks to the jealousy of England and Holland, was reopened; Antwerp and all Belgium regarded the French as their deliverers, and a Belgian republic, in which the clergy took the lead, was formed at once. Dumouriez, poorly seconded by the other armies, and ill-provided from France, could push the Austrians no further than Aix-la-Chapelle; Custine, who had occupied Frankfort, and thereby forced the German diet to declare war on France, was driven out of that place, and could scarcely hold his own on the Rhine. While France was laying her hand on monarchy at home, she challenged at the same moment the hostility of Europe, by this conquest of Belgium, and by the declaration of a crusade by the army against all its ancient institutions. The army began henceforth to regard itself as a great republican propaganda; it was by using this belief that Napoleon eventually worked his will on France.

The position of England. This development of a warlike tendency in the republic, coupled with the fall of the king, decided the policy of England, which hitherto had shown some sympathy with France. The ferment of opinion in England, roused by the revolutionary movement and republican ideas, was much stilled by the news of the death of Louis XVI.; and Pitt with great ability both used the feeling in favour of the Tory Government at home and tempted the French ministers to declare war against England (1st February 1793).

Pitt at once proclaimed it, by a happy phrase, to be "the war of armed opinions," and drew tighter his friendly relations with the European courts. All ancient lines of policy were entirely obliterated by the new phenomenon. Spain and Portugal agreed; Austria ceased to be jealous of Prussia; Russia and Prussia found the moment good for a farther partition of Poland; the only neutral powers remaining in Europe were Sweden and Denmark, Switzerland, Venice, and Turkey. The Mountain did not quail before so great a display of force. "France shall be an armed camp," and every Frenchman a soldier; "conquer or die," the watchword of an united people; the "principles of the Revolution" a new religion for which men of good will should devote themselves. The enthusiasm was great; a levy of 300,000 men was voted at once; the revolutionary propaganda filled Belgium, and alienated the friendly feeling there by its violence. They had also ruined Dumouriez's plans, and he, with an ill-equipped army, and feeling that hostility was rising against him at Paris, set himself to recover ground by a bold attempt to conquer Holland. He was caught by the prince of Coburg at Neerwinden, and defeated after a vehement battle (18th March 1793). Then, as a last step, Dumouriez came secretly to terms with the Austrians, agreed to evacuate Belgium, and carrying with him the young duke of Chartres, who had shown great gallantry and ability in the face of the enemy, marched for the French frontier, intending to restore the constitution of 1791, to secure the Girondists, overthrow the Jacobins, and proclaim the duke as constitutional king of France. In Paris, the struggle between the parties in the spring of 1793 was acute and close. The news of the disaster of Neerwinden and the march of Dumouriez for Paris aroused all the fury of the Jacobins; the Girondists, with horror, saw themselves innocently implicated in a counter-revolutionary

scheme, carried out lightly and suddenly by a general whom they did not trust. The Jacobins at once took the ascendant, proposed the creation of the terrible Committee of Public Safety, summoned Dumouriez to the bar of the Convention, and sent off four deputies and the minister of war to him. When they came he seized them, sent them over the frontier to the Austrians, and openly proclaimed his objects. His regular troops might have supported him; the volunteers, full of Jacobin ideas, rose on him, and compelled him to take refuge, with the Orleans princes and a handful of soldiers, within the Austrian lines. It was clear enough that the Jacobins would assume that he and the princes had had throughout an understanding with the Gironde. The Convention in alarm decreed that its own members should not be inviolable, but might be arrested on suspicion of treason; that the Orleans family should be sent to Marseilles; that three representatives should be sent to look after each army. The Committee of Public Safety was now formed of nine members re-elected monthly, as a secret spring to push the whole machine forwards without being seen. It was an ominous fact that not one of the nine representatives who formed it was a Girondist. They had still a majority in the Convention; it was all they had. Matters moved on fast; Paris, the commune, the ministers, the army, were all against them; in the country they had no adherents in the east and north-east of France; for the nearer Germany the stronger the Jacobin feeling. In the south-east royalist sentiments were still powerful, though for a time concealed. Their headquarters were at Lyons, Insurrection in La Vendée.

France defies the world. At the beginning the Vendéans carried all before them, and in fanatical enthusiasm sullied each advantage they gained by horrible massacres, by shooting their prisoners in cold blood, pillaging towns, burning villages, maltreating the defenceless. The civil war from the beginning took a fierce colour—a colour given it by the royalists. The Girondists also in the south threatened to march on Paris to put down the Jacobins. The allied powers, however, instead of closing in resolutely on France at her weakest, saved her by their long discussions as to what each of them was to take rather than what each was to undertake. At last they moved forwards in the north; Austrians, Dutchmen, and English, under Coburg and the duke of York, slowly drove back the army of the north, which unfortunately lost its commander Dampierre, who was skilfully reviving its confidence, and besieged Valenciennes. The king of Prussia blockaded Mainz; in the other scenes of war the French were too weak to do anything, and suffered losses and defeats. The struggle of Girondists and Montagnards went on all the same; it was the gloomiest moment of the history of the Revolution. In May a Committee of Twelve was appointed by the moderate party of the Convention, at the suggestion of Barrère, a moderate who had the confidence of more extreme men. It was composed of Girondists. Over against this move the sections of Paris established their Central Revolutionary Committee. On the 31st of Fall of May, guided by Danton, Paris rose against the Convention, the Girondists, and compelled it to suppress the Committee of Twelve. Marat at the head of his sans-culottes, supported by the minority of the representatives, the Mountain, on the 2d of June overthrew the Girondists, arresting two of the ministers and thirty-one deputies. More than half the departments

1793.

rose to defend the defeated party; in the Cevennes the white flag was unfurled, and the emigrants began to stream back into France. "On the one side was Europe with three-fourths of France; on the other side Paris with a few departments" (La Vallée). The position of things might well have seemed desperate for the Mountain, had there been any strong man, any true head, to direct the attack on them. But they had unity, energy, devotion to their principles, the main part of the army at their back; while their antagonists were divided in views and principles, and were in confusion. Danton, who in fact carried his party through the crisis, showed real power and energy. Under his direction the Convention proclaimed martial law in the hostile departments, called up the army, as far as possible, to the capital, and in eight days constructed a new constitution, that of the year I.—simple, thoroughly democratic. It never was really acted on; men were too busy to care about constitutions. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, which occurred at this moment, inflamed men's minds still more against the Girondists; she had come from Caen, one of their towns, and was thought to agree with them. The first active measures taken by the Jacobins showed that the Girondists were powerless; Paris and the army were at once triumphant, and by the beginning of August the Girondists were crushed.

Elsewhere things looked very dark: Toulon fell into English hands; La Vendée remained unsubdued, and defeated the incompetent officers sent to reduce it; Mainz and Valenciennes fell; all France was vexed with famine, and the assignat-system had utterly paralysed commerce. The republic, however, was full of energy. After the fête of the 10th of August, with its statues of Nature and Reason, its classical and pagan affectations, and those light frivolities which were natural to Paris even in the darkest days, men turned at once to the ever-recurring question, how the republic should be saved. The Convention decreed a *levée en masse* to resist the invader and to keep down the ill-affected at home; to the Committee of Public Safety was entrusted the real government of the country; the new constitution was not to be introduced till peaceful days came round. The overthrow of all things old was further indicated by the issue, on 24th November 1793, of the new republican calendar. Year I. was fixed to have begun on the 22d of September 1792, the date of the proclamation of the Republic. The new year should have twelve months like its predecessors, each with a new name, in four groups of three; each of 30 days, and each divided into three decades, of which the tenth days should be days of rest, in lieu of the old exploded Sunday. These 12 months of 30 days a piece, cutting across the old months so awkwardly, only made up 360 days; so that a little bundle of 5 days (in leap years of 6) had to be tacked on at the end of the Fructidor month (August-September) in an awkward and shapeless way, and called, poor things, the *Sans-culottides*. Such interferences with symmetry will naturally cause, when she sets herself against the spirit of system, and the advance of enlightenment. Attempts were also made at this time to grapple with the confusion in the currency and the crushing deficit; the mass of assignats was reduced by more than a half; a maximum price was set on the necessities of life; trade also had to bow to the will of the Revolution.

In the affairs of war the new life of the Revolution found expression in the vigorous plans of Carnot, an engineer officer, who saw the truth of the principle afterwards acted on by Napoleon, that "God aids the big battalions." "Attack in mass, and cover the want of discipline and skill by numbers and enthusiasm,"—this was the new order. For neglecting this Houchard was deprived of command in the north, and had to give place to Jourdain, who, helped by Carnot himself, defeated Coburg at Wattignies (16th

The republican calendar.

War in 1793.

Oct. 1793); on the Rhine the battle of Pirmasens was lost 1793-94 (13th October), and the allies occupied Hagenau and Fort-Vauban; they threatened Landau, and had friends in Strasburg. Hoche was then sent down to the army of the Moselle, and Pichegru to that of the Rhine. The former, after a series of rather unsuccessful battles against the duke of Brunswick, in which he failed to relieve Landau, suddenly left his adversary, and, in concert with Pichegru, cleared the Vosges, and brilliantly stormed the Wissembourg lines. The Austrians at the end of the year had raised the siege of Landau, and were across the Rhine; the Prussians took winter-quarters at Mainz; the French lay in the Palatinate. In the south also things went better with the new Government; Lyons and Toulon were retaken, though on the slopes of the Pyrenees the Spaniards forced the French to take refuge under the walls of Perpignan. In the Vendée the terrible civil war still raged; the peasants, point after point, defeated the isolated columns of the army. A more coherent plan of action, however, gave the victory at Châtillon (16th October 1793) to the Republicans; then the Vendéans crossed the Loire, and defeated Lechelle near Laval. They next attacked Cherbourg, meaning to make it their point of union with the English; here, however, they were manfully withheld, and, incapable of siege-operations, withdrew. On their return they defeated Rossignol and made a push for Angers, meaning there to recross the Loire to the left bank. Westermann and Kléber drove them thence with loss, and with Marceau pursued them to Le Mans, where, after a terrible battle in the streets, in which no quarter was given or taken, the Vendéans were utterly defeated. Westermann pressed on their heels with pitiless vigour; caught at last between the Loire and the Republicans, they were finally defeated (23d December 1793). Thenceforward they ceased to be formidable, though still troublesome at times.

So ended 1793, with fortunes, on the whole, very favourable to the French army, and very fatal to the Girondists. Meanwhile, the Reign of Terror had begun at Paris; the queen, the leading Girondists, all who were "aristocrats" or "ci-devants," as the phrases of the day called them, Philip Égalité, and a crowd of others, passed under the guillotine. In La Vendée, the revolutionary fury, goaded by the blood shed by its opponents, spared none it suspected. From Toulon most of the inhabitants had fled for refuge to the English ships; at Lyons the Convention ordered the destruction of the city, and the establishment of a new town to be called "Commune Affranchie"; many hundreds of the citizens were guillotined, and when that process proved too slow, were shot down by platoon fire.

Two parties were now to be discerned in opposition to Hebertists and Dantonists. The *Exagérés*, or Hebertists, so named from their leader Hebert, the party of terror and reckless bloodshed; and the *Modérés*, the Dantonists, who tried to calm men's minds, and lessen the atrocities of the time. The Hebertists were the stronger party; they abolished the Catholic worship, swept away the past, set up a goddess of Reason, and professed atheism. The party of Robespierre in the Committee disliked both the indulgent and the savage sections. Early in 1794 the Hebertists were seized and condemned to death; it was a first victory of the Government over the violent party. Had Robespierre been willing to ally himself with Danton, a stable rule, at least for a while, would have been possible. But he refused; he was not a person to brook a manly rival at his side; and Danton, with his party, fell victims to the ambition of the ascetic and heartless Robespierre. "If my friend is culpable, I will sacrifice him to the Republic," was his phrase,—had he said "to myself," he would have hit the truth. Then Robespierre became for a while a dictator; all France bowed before him; the revolutionary spirit in

1794. the eleven armies on foot was on his side. The campaigns of 1794 proved glorious for them ; the battle of Fleurus (26th June) won for them the second conquest of Belgium ; in the Pyrenees the French stormed the Spanish camp at Ceret, and threatened Catalonia ; in Italy, where young Bonaparte commanded the artillery, they swept the Piedmontese out of their camp at Saorgio, and got the command of all the strong points along the Alps. It was only on the sea that the French armies failed ; Corsica was taken, and Howe defeated the squadron in charge of a corn-fleet from San Domingo.

Robespierre's rule.

The Great Terror.

Robespierre's fall.

heartily republican, and had suffered enough and triumphed 1794. enough to have a high idea of its own organization and its worth. When a man comes to lead it, the army will set itself to organize France into an instrument of tremendous army power ; a despotism, solid and strong, aggressive abroad, vigorous at home, using all the terms and calls of the Revolution, will take the place of the ill-fated men who have hitherto tried to guide the destinies of the country. It will call itself an empire ; it will be a despot ruling with the liberal ideas and phrases.

Meanwhile, as Mr Carlyle says, "here was the end not The re- of Robespierre only, but of the Revolution-system itself," action on for his death was the signal of a great revulsion of feeling. Robespierre's France, so gay and light of heart, had lived an unnatural death. life under the preachings of this virtuous dictator ; she was weary of the gloom and burden of a system which crushed out gaiety, made wealth a crime, and pleasure impossible ; and public opinion hailed with joy the tidings that the régime of virtue and the guillotine was over. The Terror was past ; the committees which had destroyed Robespierre perished with his death ; the "Thermidorians," the Mountain, who had caused this revolution, became a reactionary party, sitting on the right, and remodelling, if not overthrowing, the existing government. The prisons were emptied, the terrible cruelties of Nantes stopped ; amnesty was offered to the rebels ; the sections of Paris were reduced in importance, the administration of the capital reorganized. All the parties in hiding came forth ; the Girondists returned ; society began once more to dance and glitter ; it was like the temper of England after the return of Charles II. In Close January 1795 the Convention closed the Jacobins Club ; of the Jacobsins Club. agents who had carried out the inhuman orders of the past were put to death.

The armies, which by no means sympathized with the movement of affairs at home, still pursued in the autumn abroad. and winter of 1794 a brilliant career under Pichegru in the north, Jourdain on the Sambre and Meuse, and other generals for the Moselle and the Rhine. The whole course of the Rhine from Basel to the sea was in their hands ; and the winter campaign, in which Pichegru conquered Holland, raised the fame of the commander and of his troops to the highest point. Pichegru had done what Louis XIV. had failed to do ; 1795 wiped out the discredit of 1672 ; Holland and Belgium were to become republics on the French model ; the Amsterdam populace welcomed the French as brethren. The capture of the Dutch fleet at the Texel by hussars, who stormed it on horseback, riding across the ice, seemed to the French people to realize a tale of fairyland. At home, too, the suppression of the Chouans, those Breton peasants who, taking advantage of the troubles, plied the trade of brigands and highway robbers, added to the general content. The Vendean struggled still ; their country was a scene of desolation, and the central authority had to recall their barbarous agents, and to try to reduce the district to peace by way of conciliation.

So ended the year 1794, which saw the reaction set in Things at Paris, and saw, too, the Revolution triumphant on every look frontier, and the area of its influence extended widely. The coalition against France showed signs of breaking ; the Dutch made peace, ceding northern Flanders with other districts to France ; the king of Prussia also abandoned the coalition, ceding to France the left bank of the Rhine ; the Bourbon king of Spain next abandoned "the cause of all kings" ; the little states of Germany followed ; Portugal made advances in the same direction, as did Naples, the papacy, and other Italian powers. England and Austria alone stood firm against the new ideas, and Pitt, though he could not hope to direct, or have to pay, half Europe, still felt strong enough to carry on the war.

Paris, where famine raged unchecked, was still uneasy

M795. and dissatisfied with the new Government. Men who knew how to excite the populace to fury told them that the scarcity was factitious ; and they broke out into insurrection on the 1st of April, and again on the 20th of May. On each occasion the disturbance was easily put down. The multitude was thus completely overthrown, and the guidance of affairs lay entirely with the middle classes ; the reign of wealth and comfort was what men longed for ; it was in sharp contrast with the general distress and suffering of the people, and provoked vain contests and bloodshed. The royalists thought that their time was come ; and in a large part of the south of France they rose, and pitilessly massacred their political opponents. The murders committed by them far exceeded in indiscriminate butchery and savagery even the brutal bloodshed which had defiled the progress of the Revolution. Throughout 1795 the efforts of the armies of France were languid—there was a feeling of uncertainty ; the troops were firm to the republic, but it was not clear that the generals were so as well. Pichegru paralysed the army of the Rhine, as well as Jourdain's army of the Sambre and Meuse, and ended the year by making an armistice with the Austrians, after which he was recalled and deprived of his command. The English armament, destined to rekindle the troubles of Brittany and La Vendée, failed wretchedly at Quiberon Bay ; the genius of Hoche crushed it in the outset, and captured a large number of royalists. The central Government sent him orders to destroy them all. He shot 711 émigrés. And Charette on the other side, to be at least even with him, murdered in cold blood 2000 republican prisoners in his hands.

Constitution of the year III. now appeared, the work of the restored Girondists. It was republican, of a modified type ; it entrusted legislation to two councils, the council of the Ancients, 250 persons of forty years of age and upwards, a kind of senate, who sanctioned the laws (or, to put it the other way, had the veto-power) ; and the council of Five Hundred, men at least thirty years old, who had the preparation and initiation in law-making. The executive power was entrusted to a Directory of five members, under whom should be responsible ministers, and all the machinery of practical government. The general principles of the rights of man were reaffirmed. The Convention at once accepted it, only taking care that the royalists should not be able to get hold of power by means of it. The country generally adopted the new constitution, which seemed likely to be moderate and stable. The royalists made one determined effort (5th October 1795) to overthrow it ; the fighting was severe, and for a time Paris seemed likely to accept a counter-revolution. The energy of Bonaparte, who had been set aside because of his Jacobin opinions, but was now recalled by Barras, swept away the insurrection ; Bonaparte had guns, he was a great artillery officer already, and the loose resistance of the royalists was vain against his skill and iron resolution. The elections, which took place this same month, being over, the Convention, as a last and, for the time, a very significant act, decreed the abolition of the punishment of death, and then declared its mission ended, and so ceased to exist.

The army had saved the Convention ; it had set a new man forward ; and he, for all his faults, a great man and a true ruler, became after a short time the central figure of all Europe.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica, on the 15th August 1769, just two months after the patriot Paoli had been obliged to cede that island to France. His was a dark and thoughtful boyhood. He loved history, above all the history of great men in the republics of antiquity. He read with eagerness both Caesar's *Commentaries* and, like so many other great men, Plutarch's *Lives*. The

French tongue was a foreign language to the boy ; he learnt it late, and never altogether mastered it. In 1785 he was at the military school at Paris, where he learnt to grumble at and to criticize the ancient régime ; in the next year he entered the army. When the Revolution began he declared warmly for it, though at first his ambition seemed rather to point to a career in Corsica than to one in France. When Paoli ejected him thence in 1792, he settled, first at Nice, then at Marseilles, with his mother and sisters, who had gone from Corsica with him. In 1793 he became captain of artillery, and was charged to put down the Marseilles federalists ; this successfully accomplished, he was made adjutant-general at the siege of Toulon, and by storming the Eguillette fort, secured the fall of the town. He was at once, at the age of twenty-four, named a brigadier-general, and, after arming the Provençal shores against English attacks, was sent to command the artillery (in 1794) in Italy. Here his vigour, amazing power of organization, and genius in war gave a new turn to affairs, and secured the brilliant success of the campaign, which, in about a month's time, made France the mistress of the Alps. This triumph made Bonaparte a great favourite with the Robespierres, especially with the younger brother, who had at this moment the charge of the army of Italy ; and the young general, without believing much in them, echoed the high-flown sentiments of his chiefs, accepted, with contempt, their opinions, while, as far as he dared, to his honour be it said, he sheltered those who in Italy were obnoxious to their vengeance. In after life he always shunned reference to this period of his career, and his connexion with the brief ascendancy of Rousseau's reign of virtue as expounded by Robespierre. At the time he saw that it would not last, and tried his best to avoid compromising himself. He got his reward ; when Robespierre fell, though he was arrested, and had a narrow escape, his prudence had kept him sufficiently clear of the fallen leader to save him. For a time he was in disgrace, and with other officers of the army of Italy was suspected of strong Jacobin tendencies. When, however, Barras, in October 1795, needed a vigorous artillery-officer for the streets of Paris, he found one in Bonaparte, whom Pontécoulant, with a clear sight which does him great credit, had made president of the "topographical cabinet." For Bonaparte, not being a real Frenchman, knew the value of geography, and understood how to use a map. The remarkable skill and energy with which the young general crushed the Vendémiaire insurrection secured his fortunes ; with the army he had defeated Paris. He was made general of division and commander-in-chief of the army of the interior at the age of twenty-six. The event "showed the world," says Lanfrey, "what can be the weight of a soldier's sword in the balance ; from this inauspicious day power learnt to reckon on the army, the army to dispose of power ; the path towards a military government was now open."

First, however, the Directory must have its course. The Legislative Assembly, with seemingly the fairest prospects, had lasted less than a year. The National Convention saw the fall of the Girondists, then of Hebert and Danton, lastly of Robespierre, and existed three clear years. The Directory, which came into office with a new constitution on October 28, 1795, had before it no less than four years of power. And yet at first, so far as could be seen, its chances were bad. The five directors, with exception of Barras, who was a noble, and suspected of reactionary leanings, were honest republicans, and men of character ; they set themselves to allay the commercial and popular misery of the country, by absorbing a large portion of the assignats, and then by replacing them with "territorial mandates," which represented a fixed amount of public lands ; a considerable amount of coin came again into circulation, and credit

Troubles
in the
West.

Constitu-
tion of
the year
III.

Bona-
parte
crushes
the
royalists.

Earlier
history
of Napo-
leon Bo-
naparte.

1795-96. seemed to revive. They also abolished the commune of Paris, created an army for the "interior," and established guards for the public service. Stability seemed to return; men were weary of the agitations of late years; the famine also abated, so as to render Paris less difficult of management. It was felt that the Government was in a way provisional, that France had need of repose, and, as usually happens, indifference succeeded as a reaction from the heroic measures of the past. The councils of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred were one-third new; and the elections had shown that the country was weary of the Revolution, and desired a return to a constitution, and perhaps even to a monarchy. The bourgeoisie of France were the strength of this movement. The republican party, which had offended Paris, and refused to ally itself with the doings of the Jacobins, seemed weak, and was obliged to stand on the defensive. The royalists, to whom had rallied many of the old Girondists, were able to pass more than one decree in favour of their views. Had there been a prince of any resolution at their head, their chances would have been good; as it was, the count of Provence, who in this year was recognized by the crowned heads as Louis XVIII. on the death of his nephew the dauphin (the titular Louis XVII.), was an intelligent and liberal person, but wanting in power, while his brother the count of Artois (afterwards Charles X.), whom he now named lieutenant-general of the realm, was a miserable and narrow creature, of good manners and bad morals, incapable of any worthy or heroic effort. When the Vendees and Bretons were eager to revolt again, and Charette had prepared everything, the count of Artois could not even be persuaded to land; he returned to England, discredited and despised. The fierce outbreak of despair with which Charette signalized his disappointment and anger was soon mastered by the devotion and genius of Hoche, who circled round the revolted districts, gradually hemmed in the insurgents, and eventually took and shot the desperate chieftain himself. His comrade Stofflet had perished a month before. By April 1796 the west was completely pacified, and 80,000 of the best soldiers of France were free for foreign service. At the other extreme, the former "Terrorists" formed a great secret society called the Conspiracy of Babeuf; their plans were betrayed to the Directory, and the movement easily crushed; the Government used no vengeance; only Babeuf and one comrade were executed.

Conspiracy of
Babeuf.

Foreign
wars.

These things gave stability and confidence to the new administration; it seemed to win the good-will of all except the extreme parties; there was a distinct lull in political passion; and as the Directory proved very enterprising and warlike in foreign affairs, it also secured the army. This was in large part due to the military genius and temper of Carnot, "the organizer of victory," who was one of the Five. He now planned a grand attack on Austria, feeling that the hostility of England might for the moment be neglected. Three armies, led by three young generals, were to make their way in harmony towards Vienna, one under Jourdan, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, the second under Moreau, that of the Rhine and Moselle, the third under Bonaparte, the army of Italy. This army, hitherto commanded by Scherer, who had under him Serrurier, Massena, and Augereau, had not been inactive in 1794 and 1795. Scherer, however, had no enterprise in him, and was content with partial success; his army lay scattered along the Alps, and he seemed powerless to draw it together so as to crush either Piedmontese or Austrians; the army also was not powerful in numbers, though its quality was very good. Bonaparte, on his arrival to take the command, at once addressed them in the tone of a confident adventurer speaking to hungry mercenaries: "I am going to lead you into the richest plains on earth;—there you

will find honour, glory, and wealth." Splendidly seconded 1796-97. by Massena, Laharpe, and Augereau, he at once took the Bona-ascendant, and placed his victorious army between the parts Piedmontese and the Austrians. By a succession of rapid in com-victories he forced the Turin court to sue for an armistice ^{mand in} Italy. (28th April 1796), securing the neutrality of the Sardinian and Savoyard troops, and the cession of Nice and Savoy to France at the end of the war. Then with the swiftness of an eagle he crossed the Po, won the hard-fought battle of Lodi (10th May 1796), and entered Milan in triumph. There he re-equipped and rested his army, made terms with the dukes of Parma and Modena, raised a contribution of twenty million francs on Lombardy, the half of which, with some of the masterpieces of Italian art, he sent at once to Paris to the Directory, which received his favours with a gratitude which trembled on the verge of jealousy. When they proposed to interfere with him, he threatened to throw up his command; and so marked already was this young officer's popularity in France, that the Government shrank from accepting his resignation, and the great career was not checked. In spite of infinite difficulties, by unscrupulous assertion, audacity, genius in war, Bonaparte succeeded in humbling the Italian states: Venice, with her unarmed neutrality, was easily mastered; Beaulieu, who commanded the Austrian army now falling fast asunder, was driven back towards Tyrol; Mantua was blockaded; the pope, Pius VI., signed an armistice with the young conqueror; the English were dislodged from Leghorn and Corsica; Genoa gave in; Piedmont was quieted. When Wurmser came down into Italy with 40,000 Austrians from the armies of the Rhine, these unwilling friends of France at once turned against her; it might have well appalled a man of slighter nerve. But Bonaparte at once made head against his new foes. He was a man who never failed to see the critical point in a campaign or in a battle; and at Lonato, Castiglione, Bassano, and Saint George he drove the old marshal, with his ancient ways of warfare, completely out of Italy with vast loss. The whole series of operations had taken but a week (July 30 to August 5). He hoped next to penetrate, according to Carnot's plan, through Tyrol into Bavaria, and there to unite with Moreau. He had, however, underrated the Austrian obstinacy; for Wurmser, gathering fresh forces, resumed the offensive, hoping to free Mantua, and to repulse the small French army. Bonaparte, who had won the battles of Roveredo and Calliano, and had reached Trent on his way for Innsbrück, at once hastened back, defeated Wurmser at Bassano and drove him towards Mantua, in which place he shut him up by the middle of September. In vain did whole German armies, released from the campaigns elsewhere, pour from the mountains down into Italy; the incredible swiftness, clearness of insight, vivacity of genius, ascendancy over the soldierly mind, which mark the great commander, saved Bonaparte from being crushed. Seconded by his admirable captains, he won the fields of Arcola and Rivoli, of La Favorita and Corona, in which he utterly paralysed the Austrians, secured the fall of Mantua, the prize for which the antagonists were striving, and led to the capitulation of Marshal Wurmser himself. Bonaparte instantly set Bonaparte out to reduce the feeble pope, who, scared by his approach, ^{parts} signed (19th February 1797) the treaty of Tolentino, under the ^{subdues} which he paid a heavy subsidy, and ceded Avignon and papacy. the Venaissin to France, and the Romagna, with Bologna and Ferrara, to the friends of France in the Milanese; Bonaparte also extorted from him a hundred of the chief works of art at Rome, which were sent as spoils of war to Paris. It was believed in France that the last hour of the papacy had struck. The young conqueror, in the midst of his most active movements, had found time to sketch out a future for Italy, and to frame his Cispadane and Lombard IX. — 77

1796-97. republics ; he also signed a treaty of peace with Spain. In all things he acted promptly and resolutely, awaiting no man's orders, with perfect confidence in himself and his army. The Directory at Paris could but look on in amazement, and, by seeming to advise and approve, endeavoured to associate itself with his dreaded triumphs.

The campaign in Germany. The campaign of 1796 in another way was favoured by fortune, so far as Bonaparte's interests were concerned ; for the Rhine armies, ill-supplied, and under two commands, were opposed by the archduke Charles, and were not strong enough to carry out the great and dangerous plans of Carnot. Jourdan was repelled, and Moreau, who had penetrated into Bavaria, seeing himself almost cut off and isolated, with Jourdan on the Rhine, and the Tyrolese Alps between him and Bonaparte, was forced to retreat, and late in October was back again in Alsace. A great expedition to Ireland under Hoche also failed completely ; and by the beginning of 1797 Bonaparte seemed to the eyes of all Frenchmen their only great and successful captain.

Bonaparte's plans for 1797. Now he startled all Europe by his audacious plan for the campaign of 1797. He saw his way to achieve that which Louis XIV. had attempted in vain, the overthrow of Austria by a march on Vienna. His army was strengthened, and those on the Rhine ordered to begin active operations, in order to occupy their opponents ; quite early in the spring Bonaparte began his great campaign by driving the archduke Charles away from his defences. In spite of the vehement resistance of the Tyrolese and the threatening attitude of Venice in their rear, the French advanced always, and Bonaparte, crossing the Noric Alps, penetrated in April

The preliminaries of Leoben. as far as Leoben in Styria ; his outposts were pushed to within easy reach of Vienna. Then the Austrian court fell into panic ; the Austrian armies were either beaten and scattered or were far off ; there was no resisting this terrible and swift advance. The emperor gladly signed with Bonaparte (who had no authority to do it, only the power), "the Preliminaries of Leoben" (18th April) ceding to France Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine from Basel to Andernach, as well as Lombardy, which was to be an independent state. The successful outset of the Rhine campaign, in which Hoche and Moreau had already thrust the Austrians back into the Black Forest, was early arrested by the tidings of Leoben. In Italy fortune again favoured Bonaparte. A Venetian insurrection gave him the opportunity of finally overthrowing the ancient republic of Saint Mark. The Venetian citizens were in the main favourable to France, while the oligarchical senate and the peasantry detested the "deliverers." A democratic government, centred in the people of Venice, replaced the rule of the senate. Genoa, under the grand title of the Ligurian Republic, became the submissive ally of France. The amazement of all Europe, the sympathy of the peoples everywhere, the embarrassments of the Governments, forced even Pitt

Fall of Venice. to make serious proposals for peace.

Yet at home affairs looked ill. In spite of the glorious success of the armies abroad, paper money,—which, as La Vallée says, "had done its work, had conquered Europe, had in five years subdivided property far beyond all that had been done in that direction by centuries of feudalism," because it was with paper that the thriftiler peasants had been able to purchase the lands of the crown, the church, and the nobles,—these assignats had become almost worthless, and a field for gamblers, who scandalized even Paris with their sham wealth and real dissipation. Republican manners and institutions were alike corrupted and tottering to their fall. It was thought that the elections of the year V., which renewed one-third of the two councils (May 1797), would reverse the political position, for they showed clearly that the country was returning to royalist opinions. In some departments a "White Terror," the usual accompaniment

of the rising spirits of royalists, broke out. A reaction at once began in the Directory, of which three members were still firmly republican, while two, Carnot and Barthélemy, were with the new majority, the "Clichy" party. The Directory was censured for the war against Venice, and the new alliances in Italy ; the exiled and depressed party were favoured ; it was openly said that the council would reorganize the national guard, overthrow the Directory, and proclaim Louis XVIII. "While Europe was learning to speak with terror-born respect of the name of Republican," says Thibaudeau, "it had become at home a term of contempt, a title to proscription." Napoleon Bonaparte, with his devoted and Jacobin army, had won that respect for France abroad ; how would he presently face the difficulties at home ? The Directory, finding itself menaced, and its very existence at stake, recalled Hoche, the most single-minded of republicans, with his army from the Rhine, and asked Bonaparte for one of his generals. He sent them Augereau, whom he could trust both to do the work well, and not to stand afterwards in the way of his own ambition. With these the Directory carried out the "Coup d'Etat" of The 18th Fructidor (4th September 1797) ; with cries of "Long live the Republic" the soldiers occupied Paris ; the three directors, who had the stroke in hand, Barras, Rewbel, and Laréveillière, arrested their fourth colleague Barthélemy, while Carnot, the fifth, escaped. The majority in the Councils was overthrown, fifty-three of them condemned to exile, and a kind of Reign of Terror ensued, without much bloodshed. The liberty of the press was suspended, the laws favourable to the royalists repealed, the party of the old régime crushed. Hoche, who had received the command of both the Rhine armies on the suspension of Moreau, suddenly died (it was said, of poison), at the age of twenty-nine ; he left behind him an untarnished name—that of a peasant-hero of purest and noblest character.

The Directory, though it breathed again, felt that it lived only by the grace of the army ; and so, while it signed the treaty of Campo Formio (Oct. 18, 1797), which embodied the Preliminaries of Leoben, it broke off negotiations with England. Bonaparte's work in Italy done, he was named general of the "army of England," and at the end of 1797 returned in triumph to Paris. In him men saw a new development of Revolution principles, a man of genius under whom those principles were to bring happiness and glory to France, while he taught them by force to the unwilling nations of Europe. He too saw before him an open field for his ambition ; he would destroy the kings of the earth by the agency of his Jacobin army ; and then, "head of the army," he would become master of France. His Italian blood and tastes taught him how the Roman republic had passed into empire ; he would tread the same path, and reach the same splendid goal. The coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor had destroyed the authority of the elective body over the Government ; when the departments had sent up royalists, the Directory put them down ; and, by a natural consequence, the press was at once coerced, lest public opinion, never strong in French history, should gain too much power. The result of all was the weakening of the Directory, and the gradual preparation of France for the coming of a real master.

The republican party was by no means content with The Five Directors,—the "five tyrants of the Luxembourg" ; it was a Government without splendour, or principles, or virtue. Consequently, the elections of the year VI. showed a decided majority in favour of republican principles. The Directory did not hesitate to make a second coup d'état, this time against the republicans. They also put a lawyer instead of a general into the vacant place in the Directory itself, as if to show that they could do without the army now. Yet, at the same time they had refused

1798. the advantageous terms offered them by Pitt at Lille, and were eager for war ; they proposed to remodel all Europe on democratic lines, and rejoiced to have a hand in the overthrow of the papal government, which was replaced by a Roman republic (February 1798), and in April of a Helvetic republic which replaced the old aristocratic government of Bern. By the former France defied the oldest institution in the world ; by the latter she destroyed the ancient neutrality of Switzerland, a step which afterwards turned to her own loss.

Threat of War with England was now the chief affair for France ; war with she made preparations on the western coasts, and set a considerable fleet afloat. The state of Ireland, which was thoroughly hostile to England, invited the Directory in one direction ; the appeal of Tippoo Sahib in Mysore was heard at the same moment.

Bona-part's position. Should they listen to either ? Should they not rather strike at the heart of the enemy by an invasion of England ? Bonaparte, who was now at Paris, standing aloof from parties, advising the Directory, living tranquilly with his wife Josephine, interested in his new membership of the Institute, was destined to answer this question for them. Afraid of dropping out of sight, anxious

The reasons for the Egyptian expedition. to strike the imagination of France by some singular and distant success, attracted by that love of wide combinations which characterized him, Bonaparte now proposed to the Directory to conquer Egypt. The conquest itself would be easy, for the Ottoman power was all but gone. Egypt

would be a splendid colony for France, assuring her on the one hand of the Mediterranean, and on the other hand rendering the trade and mastery of England precarious, if it did not at once prove fatal to it. The thought had been presented to Louis XIV. by Descartes, and approved by Colbert. Choiseul had not rejected it in his day. "We can destroy England in Egypt," was Bonaparte's belief. On the other hand the Directory, after much doubt, adopted the project, partly because of its dimensions and startling boldness, partly because the Five could thereby, for a time certainly, probably for ever, be delivered from the terrible young general whose ambition was clear to them, and whom they feared. And so, in spite of all whisperings of prudence, and in spite of the threatening state of Europe, and the precarious condition of their power at home, the Directory sanctioned Bonaparte's plan, and furnished him with a fine fleet and army for the purpose. That able negotiator Talleyrand set out for Constantinople charged to endeavour to satisfy the Ottoman Porte as to the objects of the expedition.

The Egyptian expedition. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon (19th May 1798) for Malta, which, by good will of some of the knights and the idleness and decadence of the Order of St John, he took at once ; thence to Alexandria, having escaped the English fleet under Nelson. He landed, and sent Kléber forward to capture Alexandria ; then leaving him to garrison that city, he marched on Cairo, threw off the gallant attacks of the Mamelukes on the way, showed to his soldiers the "forty centuries looking down on them from the Pyramids," defeated Mourad Bey, who endeavoured to defend Cairo, and entered that city in triumph. The whole of Egypt was thus subdued with one blow ; and Bonaparte was already, with his wonted energy, making plans for the permanent occupation and government of the country, was setting out with his savants to explore the wealth and wonders of the land, was writing home bulletins of glory, when there spread through the camp the news of the battle of the Nile, and one great disaster ruined all. Brueys, after receiving orders either to enter the port of Alexandria or to withdraw to Corfu, had lingered near Aboukir, and was there caught by Nelson. The battle had lasted all the night of August 1 ; by the morning the English fleet was much shattered, but it had destroyed its enemy, with the

exception of four ships which escaped to Malta. It was the ruin of the French navy ; and how should the victorious army at Cairo ever get reinforcements or escape from Egypt ? Was the fate of St Louis in store for these new crusaders, who, unlike him, affected Mahometan ways and customs, and issued proclamations which the pious Mussulman might have thought written by a true believer ?

1798. The Ottoman Porte, far from being appeased by French Second explanations (indeed Talleyrand, shrewd man, saw that it coalition was hopeless, and never went to Constantinople), declared war on France, and allied itself with England and Russia,—it was the beginning of the new politics of the Mahometans in Europe, the beginning of the end for them. A second coalition was at once organized against France. Russia, under Paul I., entered warmly into it, and constituted herself the special patron and protector of the emigrant royalists ; the court of Vienna made its preparations to shake off the yoke of Campo Formio ; the five republics round about had learnt already that republicanism under French patronage was very like servitude,—the French having an unhappy knack of always alienating those they patronize as liberators,—and seemed weary of seeing their finest works of art sent to Paris, as if to the world's centre. They were already listening to the court of Naples which hotly urged on war. France, on the other hand, was very unfit to fight. She had lost all control of the Mediterranean ; the army was weaker in itself, and much weaker by the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt ; finance was still amiss, with a terrible deficit ; the Directory inspired little confidence. The only ally of France was Spain, and her navy had been destroyed the year before off Cape St Vincent by Admiral Jervis.

The Directory raised money as it could, and passed the The con-great law of the "conscription," by which every Frenchman scription. was compelled to be a soldier from the age of twenty to twenty-five, and ordered an immediate levy of 200,000 men. War began at once in Italy ; before the end of the year the whole peninsula from Piedmont to Sicily was at the feet of France.

The Directory, having destroyed the neutrality of Switzerland, thought it now necessary to occupy that country, in order to protect the frontiers of France on that side ; they also spread their forces along their whole line, from Brune who commanded in Holland, to Macdonald who was at Naples. The army of Masséna formed the centre of the whole ; he was instructed to enter Switzerland, seize the central Alps and the Vorarlberg and Tyrol, and thence to threaten Venice. It was an entirely new combination in European warfare, thanks to the new Helvetic Republic. Masséna pushed forward into Tyrol, but was arrested there by the ill-success of his colleagues in Bavaria, and in Italy on the Po. Jourdan had been twice defeated by the archduke Charles on the Danube, while Scherer, in Italy, after some successes, had been obliged to fall back after a disastrous campaign. The Helvetic strategy had proved a failure, and Masséna had to abandon his enterprise. The news of French reverses reaching Rastadt, where France was still trying to intimidate the feeble princes of the empire, the French envoys were told to leave the town, and were murdered on the road by Austrian hussars. The news of this barbarous insult to the sacrosanct persons of a nation's envoys roused immense excitement in France, and entirely did away the depression which had crept over the country. The ranks of the army filled with amazing speed. The Helvetic plan of advance was abandoned ; Masséna had command of his old army and that of the Rhine, with his centre from the Lake of Constance to Basel ; Macdonald was withdrawn from Naples ; the army of Italy was commanded by Moreau, whom the Directory had restored to favour after eighteen months of inaction, consequent on his ambiguous dealings with Pichegru.

1799. The campaign on the upper Rhine showed that the French were not strong enough to defend so long a line ; they were pushed back as far as to Zurich, where Masséna defended himself for two days against the archduke Charles, and though in the end successful, he still found it better to fall back again. The Austrians occupied the chief part of Switzerland, and waited for the Russians to come up. In Italy Moreau was also overpowered ; his great ability as a captain alone saved his army from terrible disasters after the defeat of Cassano, in which Suwarrof treated him very roughly, driving him back and entering Milan. He took up a good position near Alessandria, and waited for Macdonald, who was coming up from Naples. After a very difficult campaign, in which Moreau showed great vigour and devotion, and Macdonald had done his best, and the French soldiers had displayed all their old bravery, the two armies, after terrible losses, united at Genoa. The Directory dismissed Macdonald, gave Moreau the command of a new force on the Rhine, and sent Joubert to command the army of Italy. In attempting to save Alessandria, he was met by Suwarrof, who defeated him completely (15th August 1799) at Novi, after a very hard-fought battle. This defeat ended the French resistance in Italy ; Naples, Rome, the valley of the Po, were all in the hands of the allies. From all sides news of disaster reached Paris ; the Dutch fleet passed over to the English ; an expeditionary force reached Ireland, only in time to be taken prisoners ; the English took Minorca and blockaded Malta ; the Russians became masters of the Ionian Islands ; Bonaparte even, with the army of Egypt, had suffered defeat from Sir Sidney Smith at St Jean d'Acre on the Syrian shore, in May, after having taken Gaza and Jaffa. In India the friend of France, Tippoo Sahib, lay dead in the breach of Seringapatam (4th May 1799). No wonder if after this the position of the Directory became very critical. It was loudly declared, in spite of facts, that the Five had intentionally sacrificed Bonaparte ; the public feeling in his favour grew with men's sympathy and indignation. The Government was, with exception of Barras, one of honest mediocrity, a dangerous type in France ; Sieyès, who entered the Directory in the year VII. (1799), was regarded as its enemy, and men rallied round him ; Lucien Bonaparte, who was one of the Five Hundred, led the opposition, which declared the councils to be in permanent session ; and thus the legislative power once more asserted its authority over the executive (18th June 1799). It was a republican revival ; the constitution of the year III. seemed to be set aside ; the character of the Directory was changed by new appointments ; things fell into confusion. It was clear that a head was wanted.

Bonaparte's return. Tidings of this state of things at last reached Bonaparte, who had been completely cut off from France by the disaster of the fleet. It is said that he learnt it from a packet of gazettes forwarded to him by Sir Sidney Smith. Turkish armies had been gathering force against him, and baffled in Syria, he had now to fight for existence in Egypt. The battle of Aboukir (24th July 1799), which destroyed one of their armies, set him free. Not without lies and deceptions he stole away, leaving his army under command of Kléber, whose independent temper troubled him ; for as he had failed to conquer Syria, and to win an Oriental empire, he must now hasten home to push his fortunes in France. About the time that he reached Paris (October 1799) in a kind of triumph, as the hero of the brilliant success of Aboukir, the anxious country also received tidings of the splendid campaign of Masséna in Switzerland, the victory of Zurich (24th September 1799), the quarrels of Russia and Austria, the retreat of Suwarrof into Bavaria, and of the lesser successes with which Brune defeated the duke of York in Holland, and forced him to sign the capitulation

of Alkmaar (18th October 1799). France, relieved rather than triumphant, welcomed Bonaparte with enthusiastic transports. No one cared to inquire what he had done with his army ; he was there, and that sufficed ; he was there, and the reign of order was about to begin. To this, then, had the reign of reason, the rights of men, the republican propaganda, fallen ; men yearned only for a strong man, a stable government under which they might have equal peace. And Bonaparte was willing enough to accept the part thus pressed on him ; he called to himself the moderate party, by far the largest in France, and prepared to seize on a dictatorship. On the 18th and 19th of Brumaire (9th and The 10th November 1799) Bonaparte, who had allied himself with Sieyès, and had round him a powerful group of friends and generals, carried out his plans in spite of the resistance of the patriots, the hostility of the Five Hundred, the uncertain temper of the troops. It was a moment of immense peril for Bonaparte and his brother Lucien, until, in reply to an appeal to the soldiers, in which nothing was spared that could rouse them, the grenadiers rallied to their hero, and ejected the council then sitting at St Cloud. The Directory was suppressed, and in their place were three consuls, appointed provisionally. These were Napoleon Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger-Ducos. Two commissions were named to revise the constitution. The three consuls took oath to the Republic.

Thus the Revolution passed into its last stage. It had tried to live with a king, had tried to govern by democratic severities, had also been moderate ; it now became military. The despot, who, according to Aristotle, haunts like a dark spectre the steps of democracy, had now, at ten years' end, overtaken and destroyed its forerunner. "Eadem magistratum nomina," no doubt ; also, as in the case of imperial Rome, a new dynasty founded on the sword.

Bonaparte had no sooner secured his revolution than he Bona-set himself with his wonted vigour and sagacity to consoli-^{partie's} date it. He saw that France was weary at heart of the ^{position.} struggles and changes of parties ; he wished to sweep away all remembrance that he too had been, in profession at least, an ardent partisan ; he felt that he, supported by his bayonets, was strong enough to treat faction with contempt. Therefore he said, "Let there be no more Jacobins, nor moderates, nor royalists ; let all be Frenchmen ;" and as he said it, all France recognized that this was the equality they sought, and hailed him as their master. When the consuls sentenced fifty-nine democrats to exile, the popular feeling showed itself so completely in favour of an amnesty for all that they were compelled to recall the order. Parties were now insignificant, because Bonaparte was great.

On the 13th of December 1799 the "Constitution of the ^{year VIII.}" chiefly the work of Sieyès, was put forth. There were to be three consuls, first, second, and third, ^{the year} not equal as at Rome, named for ten years, and re-eligible. Of these the first consul had in fact all the power ; he alone could promulgate laws, name ministers, ambassadors, and officers generally, while the second and third had only a consultative voice, which could not be of great avail ; their two voices could not out-vote that of their so-called colleague. A council of state was to be charged with the drawing of all laws, its members to be named by the first consul ; laws thus framed should be presented to a tribunate of a hundred members ; this body, after discussion of the project, was to pass it on, in the hands of three orators, who should discuss it against three counsellors of state nominated by the Government, in the presence of the legislative body, which finally adopted or rejected the law by a secret ballot without debate. This legislative body was composed of three hundred members. Lastly, there was to be a senate of eighty life members, who should confirm or annul all acts which might be referred to it, on grounds of their constitutional

1799-
1800. character. They also were to name the consuls, tribunes, and the legislative body, choosing them from a list of 5000 names, which were to be chosen by 50,000 persons, who themselves should be elected by 500,000 electors, who in their turn were to be named by universal suffrage. Senators were to be elected to vacancies by cooptation, from a list of three candidates presented by the legislative body, the tribunate, and the first consul. Bonaparte had modified this elaborate structure before it saw the light, by significantly cutting out all the poor guarantees for liberty it contained. As it stood, it was merely the decent robe which shrouded the naked dictatorship of the first consul. The people, by an enthusiastic plebiscite, adopted it almost unanimously. Bonaparte having accepted the post he had arranged for himself, two new men were associated with him; Cambacères, a distinguished lawyer, and not a politician, as second consul; and Lebrun, an elderly man, good at the bureau, the type and representative of French officiality, as third consul. The senate was filled with the most distinguished names in France—men great in science and arts, as well as in arms or politics; the legislative body whom they selected, after the decimal system explained above had reduced the candidates to 5000, were certain to be quiet obsequious people. Finally, lest public opinion should be disturbed in its happy unanimity, the freedom of the press came suddenly to an end; for the First Consul thought that thirteen journals were enough for France, and these were all duly submissive to the Government. Thus did dictatorial power usurp the place of liberty, and a system began, based on falsehood and illegal force, yet so splendid and so well-suited to the needs of fainting France that she has only in our day at last escaped from the glamour of it, and from the worship of the Napoleonic idea.

The First Consul took up his abode, early in 1800, at the Tuilleries, and at once formed a ministry:—his brother Lucien for the home office; Gaudin for finance; Berthier for the army; Talleyrand, ex-bishop, for foreign affairs; and Fouché, lord of spies, for police,—the last two the only politicians in the company; they both had abandoned holy orders. Without a portfolio, in close relation with Bonaparte, was Maret, better known by his later title of duke of Bassano, the first founder of the *Moniteur Universel*, a man of upright

The new despoticism. The spirit of system, visible in the constitution, and in the tastes and character of Bonaparte, was at once indelibly impressed on the administration of the country. All sprang from one centre, the First Consul; a prefect was set over each department, with sub-prefects under him; it was a more perfect development of the intendant's office under the old régime; the prefects named the local mayors, and thus the whole machine received all its impulses from headquarters, and formed a perfectly compact and easy-going government. Local law and local finance were also organized in a similar way; and by a simple edict as to the method of tax-gathering, joined to the new confidence all France felt in her ruler, the crushing difficulty of the deficit was at once got rid of. Speculation became impossible; taxpayers were equally and fairly charged; none were allowed to fall into arrears; and the country, being really rich, speedily rose into prosperity. Salaried officials covered the whole land with a network, each for his daily bread interested in the stability of government. The principle of the new government, in general administration, in finance, in the church, in the law, was that of absolute subservience of all officials to the head; and the love of France for bureaucracy, which has made her the chosen land of an official hierarchy, made this organization the most complete and successful that the world had hitherto ever seen. The disturbances in the west, caused by the monarchists, were put down without difficulty.

Bonaparte had promised peace to France; and he at once

wrote a letter to George III., with characteristic indifference to the English constitution, offering to make peace directly with him. Pitt, as minister, replied by refusing to negotiate, till France should replace on the throne her ancient dynasty. The terms of the refusal offended the French people, and strengthened Bonaparte's position. Russia made peace; Prussia stood neutral. Austria and England, with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Mainz, determined to continue the contest.

The campaigns of 1800 were thus planned by Bonaparte. Cam-Masséna with a weak army was left to defend the Riviera from Nice to Genoa, and there to employ as much as possible the Austrians in Italy. The Rhine army, led by Moreau, should threaten Bavaria, after finally grasping the all-important strategic position of the corner of the Black Forest, between Rhine and Danube; meanwhile Bonaparte himself, quietly and with scrupulous secrecy, collected a third great army for himself, destined for the Po. Masséna's army was driven back and suffered considerable reverses; the Austrians under Melas penetrated across the frontier; Bonaparte, however, knew that Provence was not the heart of France, and that with Masséna holding out at Genoa, no very serious attack could be made in the south. Moreau's army of the Rhine penetrated into Bavaria, drove the Austrians back to Ulm, and prepared to send a part of its right flank across the Alps to join the main central movement of Bonaparte. His army of the centre, collected rapidly at Geneva, made its famous passage of the St Bernard, while his right went over the Mont Cenis, and the right flank of Moreau's army, now his left, crossed the St Gotthard. To the amazement of all, the Austrians saw Bonaparte returning to the scene of his old triumphs, and entering Milan in triumph. They hastily drew themselves together; the fall of Genoa, after a splendid defence by Masséna, freed a large force. The astounding battle of Marengo (14th June 1800) decided the campaign; “in it The Austrians lost all they had gained in eighteen months battle of and by twenty victories.” The armistice of Alexandria followed at once; for Marengo had given Bonaparte the command of all the upper valley of the Po, and the Austrians withdrew behind the Mincio. Meanwhile Moreau, with the army of the Rhine, was doing excellent work in Bavaria, and had taken the ascendant all along his line, when tidings of the convention of Alexandria brought his campaign to an end. Peace, however, did not follow; the English Government eagerly urged the Austrians to hold on, and hostilities began again, late in the year, in the valley of the upper Danube, where Moreau, supported by Ney, won the splendid victory of Hohenlinden not far from Munich (2d December 1800), and after a series of brilliant combats drove the Austrians back, till Vienna was in terror. Then an armistice was signed at Steyer, by which Austria ceded her strong places in Tyrol and those of Bavaria to the French army. The army of Italy also won great advantages, and compelled Austria to sign an armistice, by which France occupied a number of important points in north Italy. In concert with Pius VII., lately elected pope, Murat menaced the kingdom of Naples, and a third armistice, which closed the Neapolitan harbours to England, ended the war. The peace of Lunéville was concluded on February 9, 1801, between France and Austria. It was drawn on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio; France secured the left bank of the Rhine and the Belgian provinces; the independence of the four republics was recognized; the pope was replaced in his states; Tuscany was ceded to France, and became the heart of a new kingdom of Etruria. The king of Naples also made his peace with France, on the terms of his armistice.

England alone stood out against the First Consul, who seemed able to impose his will on Europe. It is impossible,

1801-2. at this distance of time, to realize completely the combination of causes which led to the determined resistance of England ; the most prominent and least defensible cause was the "dominium maris," asserted in opposition to the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780. At the end of the 18th century the English navy had risen to very great proportions, and the interests of the country, as was then thought, were hostile to the claims of neutral commerce. Consequently, the northern powers, irritated and insulted by English claims carried out with the strong hand, formed a great coalition at the end of 1800, in which Denmark and Sweden, Russia and Prussia, set themselves to secure the liberty of the seas. They invited the First Consul to join them, and he desired nothing better ; it seemed as if the national hatred of France against Pitt and England would now find vent, and would overthrow that persistent enemy. It seemed, too, as if Bonaparte, as he consolidated his power at home, would be able to assert himself also as the protector of the liberties of Europe abroad. On the other side, the English Government did not waste time. Parker and Nelson were sent into the Baltic, to break up the coalition, if possible. As Denmark had the most ready fleet, and was in fact the most active member of the coalition, Nelson determined to strike hard at Copenhagen. The hard-fought battle of Copenhagen, in which the Danes made heroic resistance to the English forces, led to an armistice ; and the assassination of the emperor Paul I., which reversed the policy of Russia, brought the great coalition to an end. By the summer of 1801 the northern powers were all again the friends and allies of England. It was in vain that Bonaparte threatened the English shores with invasion ; he felt that his great plan had broken down, and wanted a little breathing time. He made peace with Portugal, occupying with French troops two of its provinces. On the other hand, the army Bonaparte had left in Egypt, after the refusal of England to allow it to return to Europe, had lost its general Kléber, who had been assassinated by a Turk ; all the efforts made to reinforce the army from France failed ; an English force from Minorca, and 7000 sepoys from India, as well as a Turkish army, now converged on Egypt. Abercromby, at Aboukir, repulsed the attack of the French under Menou ; the French army after a short time had to capitulate (27th June 1801), and was carried over to France in English ships.

The peace of Amiens. At the same time war between France and England was drawing to an end ; the negotiations were concluded in March 1802 by the peace of Amiens. The principles of the armed neutrality had failed to establish themselves, and England secured not only her command of the sea, but her lordship over India. She had also freed Portugal, the kingdom of Naples, the States of the Church, from French control ; Egypt was restored to the Sublime Porte. On the other hand, the authority of France in central Europe remained unbroken ; the great campaigns on the Po and the Danube had secured this result. The brilliant successes of the French arms, and the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens, prepared the way for the next forward movement of the First Consul. Meanwhile France at home was prosperous and productive ; Bonaparte's splendid gifts of organization continued to work wonders ; he made the income of the country meet all the outgoings, and created a real surplus, a thing unknown throughout the previous century. On every side fresh energy was evoked, new enterprise stimulated ; all things were felt to proceed from one centre,—a centre not, as in the old monarchy, of selfishness and waste, but of active and beneficent influence. Too little was left for private and spontaneous effort, that being the weak side of the development of France ; yet considering the state of the country, the rule of a beneficent despot was welcome and most successful. The greatest work of this period

was the construction of the civil code, on which Bonaparte himself worked with amazing zeal, clearness, and ability. The Code was issued in January 1804. In other domestic matters Napoleon's ascendancy displayed itself more and more ; the attempts made against his life enabled him to crush and terrorize the extremer republicans. The system of *senatus-consultes*, by which he veiled his arbitrary edicts under the authority of an obsequious senate, enabled him by degrees to crush the remnant of free discussion still possessed by France in the tribunate of the constitution. He got rid of constitutional opposition as readily as he had freed himself from the attempts of conspiracy, and reduced the legislative assembly to a nullity. The age of the Revolution seemed to be past ; the grand organizing faculty of the First Consul was doing what the destructive forces of the republic could not do,—was reconstructing society on a basis partly new and partly old, was centralizing authority, was creating a despotism adapted to the phraseology of a "republic one and indivisible," and giving to France a new position among the nations. For the autocracy of Napoleon was the direct outcome of republicanism, as it allied itself with military organization, and slowly attracted to itself many of the relics of the old order of things. Though essentially hostile to real liberty, the coming empire sprang out of a great and generous effort made by France in that direction ; it was not till our own days that she succeeded, if even now she has succeeded, in shaking off the iron trammels of imperialism, and ruling herself with constitutional freedom and calmness under the republic of her choice.

In these years (1800-1804) the First Consul not only crushed the spirit of the two chambers and the tribunate, but also passed on boldly to reconstruct French society, a much harder task. Directly after the peace of Amiens, when France was in the first flush of an unwonted tranquillity, Bonaparte made terms with the papacy, and by the Concordat reconstructed the Church of France. All the old divisions were swept away ; ten archbishoprics and fifty cathedral bishoprics were newly mapped out by First Consul and Pope ; and in 1802 the will of Bonaparte and Pius VII. permanently put an end to the schism between refractory and constitutional clergy, and so cut away from the ancient monarchy its chief support. The traditional life of the church was rudely cut off ; the authority of the state was displayed in full ; the constitutional priests were sacrificed to the political needs of the First Consul, who saw that, if he would have firm hold of power, he must first win over the royalist clergy. The chief opponents of the Revolution got the chief rewards ; the constitutionalists were mortified. From this moment dates the friendship between the Napoleonic dynasty and the Church of Rome ; from this date also that secret hostility between the clergy and the army, which has often since that period produced results none the less striking because their origin was concealed. For the time, however, the paramount authority of Bonaparte over the army made resistance impossible. The weak point in the arrangement was the certainty that in their hearts the courtier-like clergy would always prefer a Bourbon to a Napoleon ; and of this, too, history has provided more than one proof. Still, for the time, in church as in army, the step was successful, and gave strength to Bonaparte's position. The emigrants also returned, thanks to an armistice, and in large numbers took oath to respect the new government. It was a bold and hazardous step, which the first consul afterwards saw good reason to regret. An exiled adherent of a lost cause never changes, never learns prudence, never is satisfied with the *de facto* ruler of his people ; his mind is warped, his moral sense, in matters political, vitiated ; the existing government has in him a secret enemy, a plotter and intriguer, a fierce fanatic, outwardly subdued, inwardly smouldering, and ready to burst forth in

1802-4. flame whenever the breath of a royal whisper fans the embers.

In restoring the Catholic clergy and the ancient nobles to France, Bonaparte affirmed a principle hostile to the revolution, necessary for a despotism. He must have classes of society "intermediate," as he said, "between the people and the powers"; "to settle the bases of the Republic, one must throw on the sand some masses of granite," an apt illustration of the way in which this despot of an iron will determined to crush all liberty in France. Unfortunately for him his heavy "masses of granite" after all, while they crushed the people, formed but an insecure foundation for himself. The same motive led him to reorganize education and to establish the university—in his hands a mere creature of power, a machine to turn out public officers, and to centralize and unify all education in France; public schools or *lycées* throughout France were all dependent on this central university. Education, as is always the way under a despot, took a mathematical and scientific bias; moral sciences and history found no place; theology was left for the clergy in their seminaries; the dead languages held a secondary position. To this new organization France owes, in large part, her unpractical ignorance of modern languages, geography, political economy; she has not yet entirely shaken off the load thus imposed on her shoulders.

The Legion of Honour. Next, the institution of the Legion of Honour was the beginning of a new aristocracy, and was meant to supply another blank in the new hierarchy of this growing military despotism. Finally, the First Consul constructed a new con-

The constitution of the year X., that of the year X., which strengthened his own position, and weakened still further all the elements of republican and constitutional opposition. It was adopted with unanimous unanimity (4th August 1802). During this period the influence of the First Consul was also dominant across a large part of Europe: the four republics rested on him, and were much modified at his demand; the lesser states of Germany allowed him to interfere in their affairs; he was able to overcome, at least for a while, the suspicion and ill-will of Russia. On the seas also his activity was felt: he was anxious to restore the colonial power of France, shattered by the war; he interfered in the affairs of Hayti, and hoped also to recover his influence over Egypt and the Mediterranean. England, seeing her special province of the seas thus invaded, and never very well pleased with Bonaparte and the peace of Amiens, declared war against France in the spring of 1803.

Second war with England. Bonaparte at once occupied on the one hand Hanover, on the other Naples, made friendly overtures to the United States, and threatened the English shores with invasion. Europe was divided into two hostile camps, and a great and stubborn war impended. Russia at once sided with England; the court of Vienna, though unable at once to go to war, warmly sympathized with the opposition to France; Prussia held aloof; England also seconded the underground resistance of the old royalists in France. This was the period of the conspiracy which led to the seizure by Bonaparte of the duke of Enghien, a seizure on the soil of Baden, excusable on no plea of international law or sudden necessity, his military and violent mockery of a trial, and his peremptory execution. Moreau, whom the First Consul was glad to be rid of, for he alone could be a rival in the affections of the army, was exiled to the United States; Pichegru committed suicide in prison; a handful of others were executed; and the First Consul, taking advantage of the excitement and indignation of all France, had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French (18th May 1804). A new constitution, of imperial texture, was woven for the occasion. Hereditary succession was affirmed; six great dignitaries, with high sounding imperial titles and no power, were established; the military splendours of the marshalate

reappeared; the council of state and the senate were charged with all legislative functions; the older bodies, the tribunate and the legislative body, were a mere appendage; and thus began the imperial age.

VI. THE EMPIRE.

Imperialism is an overlordship over nations. It is more than this; it is, strictly speaking, the representation of both the empire of old Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, with all the high claims involved therein. In this sense, imperialism claims temporal lordship over all the earth, and rears its head side by side with the papacy, which asserts a spiritual headship as wide and as complete. The full theory of neither has ever been realized; and as time has gone on, both ideas have grown weaker, and pale images of both have sprung up. As the world has become wider, it has become clear that neither the principle of nationality nor that of independence of thought was compatible with either empire or papacy. And, as time has gone on, the imperial name itself has undergone large modifications. We have seen an empress of India, an emperor of Austria, an emperor of China, an emperor of Mexico,—all names completely wide of the true imperial idea. And the title of "Empereur des Français," which Bonaparte now assumed, with acclamation of France, carried in itself a reversal of old ideas, for it affirmed a personal lordship, based on the sovereignty of the people, as expressed by a *plébiscite*. Be this as it may be, the power was real, and was wielded with iron will and unscrupulous genius.

The strength of England on the seas soon compelled Napoleon to make his chief attack on Austria, while England and Russia once more drew together against him. In 1805 his grand army penetrated into the valley of the Danube, took Ulm, and in spite of the king of Prussia's accession to the coalition, pushed on as far as to Vienna. Napoleon occupied all the upper and middle Danube valley, and then marched northwards in pursuit of the emperor Francis of Austria, who had fled into Moravia. On the 2d of December 1805 he won the great battle of Austerlitz, which for the time reduced the allies to impotence. Peace followed at Presburg (26th December 1805) between France and Austria, by which that ancient power was presburged out among its neighbours.

Two months before this the decisive battle of Trafalgar had finally disposed of the remaining naval force of France of Spain (21st October 1805), and, leaving England in complete security, enabled her to continue without fear her task of obstinate resistance, at the very moment when France seemed to have completely triumphed over the united hostility of continental Europe.

The emperor at once, characteristically guided by his love of grand conceptions and far-reaching combinations, set himself to surround France with a great system of "federal states of the empire," in "three compact nations of the Italians, Germans, Spaniards." But if he overrated his own constructive genius, he underrated the obstinacy of his enemies, and soon found himself met by a fourth coalition, against which he proposed to build up the Confederacy of the Rhine, and to restore the dependence of the lesser German princes on France, and so to carry out the ideas of Henry IV., of Richelieu and Mazarin. War, however, broke out in a different quarter. The restoration by France of Hanover to England, a part of the series of negotiations which followed the peace of Presburg and the death of Pitt, roused the utmost anger in Prussia, and led to new combinations, as a consequence of which the king of Prussia, without waiting for help from England or Russia, rushed on war (September 1806). The battle of Jena (14th October 1806) and Auerstadt completely overthrew the

1807-9. Prussian power, and the conquest of Prussia was completed before the end of the year, and before the Russians had time to come up to the succour of their allies. A winter campaign followed, in which the sufferings of the troops and the obstinate resistance of the Russians at Pultusk and Eylau (8th February 1807) arrested the triumphant movement of the emperor for a time. In the summer of 1807, having secured the line of the Vistula, he defeated the Russians at Friedland (14th June), and took Königsberg. The treaty of Tilsit (7th July 1807) followed; for Russia needed rest, and Napoleon was not sorry to pause. It is the highest point of the emperor's renown. His hand was felt throughout all Europe; it seemed as if England alone was beyond his power.

The
treaty
of
Tilsit.

The
Spanish
war.

The determination of the emperor to rearrange the whole map of Europe, and to assert his power in every quarter, led him to that Spanish war whence sprang the resistance which at last overthrew him. For he decided on subduing the whole Peninsula, including Portugal; the Portuguese court took flight to Brazil on the approach of Junot, and Charles IV. of Spain abdicated when Murat threatened Madrid. Napoleon at once placed Joseph Bonaparte, a very incompetent person, on the Spanish throne; and when the Spaniards showed their irritation with him, he too abdicated, and gave place to Murat, who had married Caroline, sister of the emperor. Then the Spaniards rose in revolt, and that wearing guerilla warfare began which opened the way for the successful arms of England. The capitulation of Baylen ruined for the time the French power in Spain; Dupont and Vedel were compelled to lay down their arms; in Portugal England now began to appear, and on 21st August 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley won the battle of Vimiera. When Napoleon found that, as thus in Spain, the peoples rose against him, he ought to have recognized the hollowness of his friendships with the kings. He longed, however, to be one of their comity, as well as to have vassal kings and princes under himself; to this end he had created a new and high-sounding aristocracy around his throne; for this end when Germany, led by Austria, now began again to move against him, Napoleon drew towards Russia, and was completely duped by the emperor Alexander. Having, as he thought, made all safe on that side, he turned his attention to Spain, and, in spite of guerilla warfare, entered Madrid (4th December 1808). Sir John Moore, who from the west coast had penetrated as far as to Salamanca, was driven back by Soult supported by the emperor, and after the battle of Corunna (14th January 1809), in which he fought at bay and lost his life, the English had to embark and withdraw. The siege of Saragossa, however, contested with all the tenacity and devotion of the Spanish character, wore out the strength of the French forces, and their tenure of Spain was felt to be most precarious.

Fifth
coalition.

Battle of
Wagram.

July 1809.

Now followed a fifth coalition against Napoleon, whose subjects at home were beginning to show signs of exhaustion. Still, when his army marched into Bavaria, it seemed as strong, as enthusiastic, as well commanded as ever. By splendid combinations and a series of victories, Napoleon swept down the Danube valley, and took Vienna. Ere long he was checked by the terrible battle of Gross Aspern or Essling (21st and 22d May 1809) just below Vienna, in which his victory was purchased at a price he could ill afford. He had to pause, while the Austrian court gathered itself together in Moravia. When he saw this, and felt that all Europe was beginning to move behind him, he too gathered his strength up, and marching against the Austrians defeated them, under the command of the archduke Charles, in the decisive battle of Wagram (5th and 6th Wagram. July 1809),—a victory which, while it ruined for the time the military power of Austria, also weakened him to a dangerous point. It was therefore at once followed by

the armistice of Znaim, which led, in a short time, to the 1810-12 hollow peace of Vienna. This agreement broke up the Peace of coalition, handed over to Napoleon the Illyrian provinces Vienna, with a part of Tyrol, and gave him an imperial bride in Maria Louisa, daughter of the Austrian emperor. Napoleon at once returned to Paris, to celebrate his marriage, and to organize afresh his vast empire. Nothing escaped his care; he coerced the press, rearranged finance, which had grown to be a very heavy burden, saw that the church was duly submissive and duly paid, and held the pope in honourable bondage at Savona. In other parts things went not amiss: the foolish Walcheren expedition moulder away; in Spain Wellington with difficulty held out against Spanish indolence and corruption, and the genius of Marshal Soult. The lines of Torres Vedras (1810-1811), which the English general defended against Masséna, form the turning-point of the history of Napoleon's triumphs. His last great victory was Essling; henceforward his successes will bring no lasting good; his failures will draw him towards his fall. The successful winter in the Torres Vedras lines was followed by Wellington's famous campaign of Almeida, Badajoz, and Ciudad-Rodrigo (1811-1812), in which the English general separated Soult and Masséna, while he secured for himself a splendid base of operations for the future.

But before this, the flattering friendship of Russia had The war turned to gall. Ever since the end of 1809 Napoleon had with seen how hollow all was in the north, and at last, early in 1812, war broke out. Napoleon, misled by brilliant schemes, and ever trustful in his star, determined at once to crush the resistance of Russia; as he had entered Berlin, Madrid, and Vienna, so he would also enter Moscow, and thence at last dictate peace to all the world. He seemed to think he had two things only to do, "conscire et prescire,"—to summon up and sacrifice the whole youth of France as conscripts, and then to prescribe his own terms to Europe. This terrible blunder cost him his throne. He left his soldiers in Spain to take care of themselves; though he must have seen that they were almost as much in want of help as that army had been which he so selfishly left behind him in Egypt. With this difficulty in his rear, and the vast distances, huge armies, and terrible climate of Russia before him, he set forth in the spring of 1812 on his famous and fatal march to Moscow. He crossed the Niemen, and reaching Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, halted there to recruit his troops (June 1812), which were in unusual disorder. Here he proclaimed his sympathy for Poland, while he tried not to offend the Austrians or to unsettle their share of the dismembered kingdom. Negotiations also went on; the emperor of Russia offered terms, which were refused at once; Bernadotte, now by election prince-royal of Sweden (21st August 1810), who knew the character of his Sixth late master, also had dealings with Napoleon, while at the coalition. same time he made alliance with the czar, and began a sixth coalition against France; England joined the new league, and Turkey made peace with Russia. Still Napoleon persevered; he won the hard-fought battle of Smolensk (17th August 1812), though he did not succeed in cutting off the retreat of the Russians, who burnt everything as they withdrew, leaving a desert for the French. The terrible battle of Borodino, one of the hardest struggles in history, gave Napoleon a victory, though the Russians again withdrew in good order (7th September). They did not attempt to defend Moscow, retiring thence, and leaving the capital as "a snare in which the ruin of the foe was inevitable." And so it proved; the French army entered Moscow (15th September); the next day the whole town burst into flames; after five days nothing was standing save the churches, and perhaps a tenth of the city. It was savage

12-13.

as it was heroic; at any rate, it was completely successful. The emperor Alexander spurned all overtures for peace; his armies grew more threatening; the French communications were clearly unsafe; the winter was not far off; it looked as if Napoleon might even be shut up in Moscow. The great retreat was inevitable. In the middle of October the French army began to pour out of the gates of Moscow, and then began a running battle at every point. The army bled at every pore, and Ney with the utmost heroism protected the rear. At last Napoleon reached Wilna; there the worst of the pursuit seemed to be over, and there was both food and raiment; there he, leaving Murat in command, abandoned the shattered remnants of the grand army, and took flight to France (5th December 1812). The remainder of the retreat was even more ruinous than what had gone before; it was but a handful out of so great a host that reached the frontiers of France again. Of 450,000 men who set forth, probably not 100,000 returned.

The war in Spain. In Spain affairs had been almost as bad for France. Early in 1812 Wellington had taken Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and then advancing into Spain, defeated Marmont and the French at Salamanca (22d July 1812), and occupied Madrid. In the autumn Soult, by able dispositions and a stronger force, compelled him to retreat again to Ciudad Rodrigo. The campaign had shown the weakness of the French occupation, while it had greatly lessened their resources and the part of the Spanish territory at their disposal.

War with Prussia. France still worshipped her chief. The new and severe conscription gave him another vast army; and he set forth to punish Prussia, which had declared war against him, in concert with Russia. The Germans always have honoured this period of their history as a great resurrection, and as the birthtime of their true national life. The emperor passed through Mainz to Erfurt, and fought his first battle, a severe one, on the plain of Lützen; the defeated Prussians and Russians fell back in good order through Dresden, Napoleon following them hard, defeating them and driving them out of their entrenched camp at Bautzen (20th and 21st May 1813), whence they retreated again in perfect order. It was evident that the temper of Germany had entirely changed since Jena. An armistice, which followed, led to much negotiation at Dresden, where Napoleon's headquarters lay. The upshot of it all was that Austria joined Russia and Prussia, and the war went on. The attack of the allies on Dresden, which lasted two days (26th and 27th August), ended in their repulse and defeat; Russian supports came up in October, and it was plain that they were going to cut the French communications, and coop Napoleon up in Dresden for the winter. The king of Bavaria at this moment joined the allies, and made the emperor's position still more precarious. He now withdrew from Dresden, and near Leipsic came into collision with his enemies, who were waiting for him there. On the 16th of October 1813 began one of the decisive battles in the world's history. Napoleon's forces were far outnumbered by those of the allies; and some of his German troops deserted in the thick of the fight. The battle raged on the 16th and the 18th; on the 19th Napoleon, completely defeated, began to withdraw. At Hanau he overthrew Wrede, and cut a passage for his army; the victorious emperors followed closely on his heels, and barely half his men reached home. The campaign had broken to pieces the dominance of France in Europe; and all the imperial creations, the confederation of the Rhine, the kingdom of Westphalia, the Batavian republic, came to an end. George III. resumed the electorate of Hanover; Austria recovered her lost provinces; in Spain the throne of Joseph Bonaparte fell, for the battle of Vittoria (21st June 1813)

had utterly destroyed the power of the French in the 1813 peninsula. Wellington drove them out of Spain, and in spite of the vigour and ability of Soult, the two great frontier fortresses of Pampeluna and St Sebastian fell. Wellington entered southern France, and in November threatened Bayonne. Napoleon could only complain, with the tone of an irritated master, that he had been defeated by the treason of his servants, that is, of his German subjects.

On his return to Paris, the emperor found the tone of feeling very much changed. In the legislative body men ventured to denounce his rule; such outspoken words had not been heard for years. He angrily replied with his "l'état, c'est moi," "to attack me is to attack the nation," and abruptly closed their session. Henceforth he would rule alone, and alone with the ruins of his armies face the terrible invasion that was coming on. The whole conditions of his warfare changed; he must now act on the defensive, and bear to see France trodden under foot, even as France till now had trodden all Europe under her feet. The allies came in almost without resistance in three armies,—the Austrians from Basel advancing to Langres; Blücher with the Prussians crossed the Vosges to Nancy; the army of the north, Russians and Prussians, came down to Namur, and thence to Laon. In all there were full 200,000 of them, a force quite double that at the emperor's disposal. They all sat on the inner slopes of the mountains which form the northern, north-eastern, and eastern defences of France, awaiting the moment to advance. Napoleon had the one great advantage of the inner line. But after fighting the severe battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, he tried to paralyse the allies by striking at their communications, and so lost his one advantage; for they, instead of hesitating, marched boldly on for Paris, defeated Mortier and Marmont in the very suburbs, and forced the proud capital to surrender before Napoleon could come up to its defence. The allied emperors were received with cries of "Long live the king," "Long live the emperor Alexander." A provisional government of senators decreed the downfall of Napoleon; the other constituted bodies followed; the imperial government was swept away as in an instant. The emperor, amazed at this sudden impulse of the country, abdicated (6th April 1814) on behalf of his son, and finally (11th April) he abdicated completely, offering himself, as he said, a "personal sacrifice" to France. His titles, honours, an ample income, and the island of Elba in full sovereignty, were left to him.

The battle of Leipsic. The restoration of the Bourbons followed at once. Louis XVIII. appeared in Paris, the protégé of foreign bayonets, and not ashamed to own that he owed his return to English help. Peace followed at once; France shrank back to her old dimensions, as she had been in 1792, with some slight modifications. Louis XVIII. lastly promulgated a new charter, granting some constitutional rights to his subjects. The document was dated as of the 19th year of his reign, as though Napoleon and the Revolution had never been. The peerage was restored, its numbers now unlimited except by the king's will, who alone could appoint peers; a chamber of deputies, elected by a limited suffrage, had really but little power, as the king reserved to himself the initiative of all laws; the Roman Catholic religion was declared the faith of the state, and full toleration granted to all dissentients. This was the constitutionalism of the reaction. It showed how far France had travelled from the days of the old régime. There was no question of ancient privileges or of feudal usages; the very name of States-General had disappeared. No reaction, however severe, ever brings things back to the point from which they had drifted; France could never again be what she had been under Louis XIV.

1814-15. A congress at once assembled at Vienna, under Metternich's presidency, with a view to a peaceful resettlement of Europe. It was, however, suddenly turned to warlike thoughts by the startling news that Napoleon, leaving Elba, had landed near Cannes (1st March 1815). He appealed to citizens and soldiers alike; he appealed to the people; he spoke only of peace and liberty, and a popular constitution. The army at once saluted him again as its emperor; France with a spontaneous plébiscite restored him to his throne, and Louis XVIII. fled to Ghent. Napoleon entered Paris amidst delirious transports of delight. Cooler reflexions soon followed, when the declaration of the allied sovereigns was heard, and troubles began in the old royalist districts. Nor were men better pleased when it was seen that Napoleon returned at once to his old despotic manner of governing; signs of alienation showed themselves; the allied armies drew towards the frontiers of France. Blücher, with his Prussians, came down to join Wellington, who had landed in Flanders, and Napoleon hastened up to prevent their union. He sent Ney to encounter and check the English, while he himself tried to destroy the Prussians. He found them at Ligny, where, on June 16, 1815, he defeated them, though Ney was unable to force Quatre Bras, so as to be ready to fall on their flank and complete the rout. The consequence was that Blücher drew off his army unbroken to Wavre; and Wellington, to keep near him, also fell back to the village of Waterloo, where he could both cover Brussels and await the Prussians. There, on the 18th of June, 1815, took place the battle of Waterloo, in which Napoleon and Ney made their final effort for the empire. The object of Wellington was to hold his ground till Blücher could come up; the object of Napoleon was, by detaching Grouchy towards Wavre, to hinder the Prussians, till he could crush the English. Grouchy, however, let himself be deluded by a single Prussian corps, while Blücher slowly made his way towards Waterloo; and Wellington's Englishmen and Germans, with heroic tenacity, had held their ground against all attacks. In the afternoon the Prussians began to come up, and after the repulse of the French guards towards evening, Napoleon knew that all was lost. He entrusted his shattered army to Soult, and fled headlong to Paris. There, finding all hope gone, he once more abdicated, on behalf of his son. He withdrew to Rochefort, hoping to find means of escaping to America; but the English cruisers rendered this impossible, and he threw himself on the generosity of his hated foes. He was taken on board the Bellerophon, and conveyed as a state prisoner to the island of St Helena, where he lived, the mere shadow of his former self, in a hated and inglorious ease, till death released him in 1821, at the age of fifty-two.

The character of Napoleon. There is a saying attributed to Talleyrand, which hits the prominent characteristics of Napoleon's nature:—"What a pity that so great a man was so ill brought up!" For he had genius and no breeding; he never shook off the adventurer-element in his life; nor had he that high sense of honour, truthfulness, and gentleness which go with true nobility of soul. With a frame of iron, Napoleon could endure any hardships; and in war, in artillery especially and engineering, he stands unrivalled in the world's history. His quick intelligence was altogether scientific in the colder and harder aspects of scientific knowledge. He took no interest in moral sciences or history, or the brighter works of imagination. Throughout we discern in him the precision, the despot on exact principles. Even when he unbent among his intimate friends, his was "a tyrant's familiarity," with a touch of Oriental ferocity under it. He was ever on the watch against rivals, ever full of distrust, treating great men with a false and feline grace of manner, which seemed to be expecting a surprise. No one was ever so

naturally untrue as he; he never hesitated to lie and to deceive; the most important despatches he would readily falsify, if he thought there was anything to be gained by it. There was in him a swiftness of intelligence which answered to his hot and passionate nature; the true and solid balance was wanting. He could not rest, and knew not when he had achieved success. And this was immediately connected with another Oriental quality, his vast and unmeasured ambition, and the schemes and dreams of a visionary, which led him to the greatest errors of his life,—his expedition to Egypt and his hopes of an Eastern empire, and his terrible attack on Russia. The same largeness of vision showed itself in his endeavours to reconstruct the map of Europe, and to organize anew the whole of society in France. He could have in his mouth the phrases and cries of the 18th century, and with them he knew how to charm mankind. Yet with this gift, and with his amazing power of influencing his soldiers, who sacrificed themselves in myriads for him with enthusiasm, there was a coldness of moral character which enabled him to abandon those who had given up all for him, and made him show shameless ingratitude towards those who had done him the greatest services. We can gauge a man's character by his complaints against others, for those complaints are always the reflexion of his own characteristics. Napoleon was ever inveighing against the deceit of Alexander, the treachery of the Germans, the perfidy of Pitt, the warfare of savages which he had to face; and the phrases represent the worst elements in his own character. He was, in fact, the successor and representative of the "18th century despots," the military follower of the Pombals, the Arandas, the Struenzees of the past. He had their unbalanced energies, their fierce resistance to feudalism and the older world, their ready use of benevolent and enlightened phraseology, their willingness to wade through blood and ruin to their goal, their undying ambition, their restlessness and revolutionary eagerness to reorganize society. Like them, with well-sounding professions, he succeeded in alienating the peoples of Europe, in whose behalf he pretended to be acting. And when they learnt by bitter experience that he had absolutely no love for liberty, and encouraged equality only so long as it was an equality of subjects under his rule, they soon began to war against what was in fact a world-destroying military despotism. When the popular feeling was thoroughly aroused against him in Spain, in Germany, in England, his wonderful career was at last brought to an end.

VII. THE RESTORATION.

While Napoleon had held together the enthusiasm of the French army, and had flattered the national vanity, and had raised a bulwark between the peasant tiller of the soil and his ancient oppressor, the Bourbons came back, having learnt nothing, and under auspices painful to French feeling. The peasant suspected them of wishing to restore noble privilege with the ancient throne; the army was suspicious if not hostile; the national feeling was vexed by the patronage of the victorious hosts of Russia, England, and Germany. Paris was treated by them as a conquered capital, the whole country was garrisoned by their armies, and Louis XVIII. was little but their instrument and dependent. The royalist reaction was violent, though not cruel; the new legislative chambers proved vehemently Legitimist; Fouché, who had hitherto successfully held his ground, come who might, in his dangerous department of the police, now fell and was exiled; Talleyrand also was got rid of; and the duke of Richelieu, grandson of that hoary old sinner who had been at the right hand of Louis XV., became chief minister. Meanwhile, the congress of Vienna had at last (20th November 1815) dictated its terms

815-24. of peace to France. The "Holy Alliance," of the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia, that league of monarchs against the liberties of Europe, compelled France to pay a huge indemnity, to surrender her Rhine fortresses of Philippeville, Sarrelouis, Marienburg, Landau, and Huningen ; the frontier of France was to be garrisoned for five years by a foreign army commanded by a foreign general, and paid by France ; this period was cut short in 1818 at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Louis XVIII., who was no mere reactionary, allowed little blood to be shed ; Labédoyère, who had led the army in its rally round Napoleon in 1814, and Marshal Ney were the only victims. Murat, taken in an attempt to recover his throne of Naples, was shot by the Italians.

As the chamber of deputies seemed determined to push the reaction to its utmost limits, Louis XVIII. dissolved it, and, declaring that he would rule constitutionally in accordance with the charter, rallied round himself all the moderate party, headed by the Duke Decazes. Power came now into the hands of the middle classes, and in 1818 the burgher party ruled. It was supported by the newly-risen *Doctrinaires*, men who wrote for the press, and began the modern career of French journalism. The chief of these were De Barante, Guizot, and Villemain ; on one side of them were the extremer royalists, headed by the count of Artois ; on the other side stood the new party of the *Independents*, from whom sprang the men of the "three days of July." Between these Decazes kept up the new "système de bascule," the balance-system, as it was called, allowing now this side and now that to taste the sweets of power, and to make some pretence to party-government. In 1820, however, the murder of the duke of Berri, second son of the count of Artois, gave the ultra-royalists an excuse for freeing themselves from a man who kept them somewhat in order. Using the excitement caused by the assassination, they compelled the king to dismiss his favourite minister, and seized the reins of power. They at once modified the constitution in such a way as to secure their majority in the chambers, and prepared to carry matters with a high hand.

Just at this time the extravagant conduct of the reactionary Bourbon princes of Spain and Italy had aroused insurrection and armed resistance everywhere. The people of Spain and Naples declared against arbitrary government, and were at once attacked by those "champions of order," the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance. At their bidding Louis XVIII. also declared war against Spain ; the French Government, being now entirely guided by the count of Artois, was thoroughly in harmony with all that was repressive and reactionary in Europe. In the spring of 1823 the French army, commanded by the duke of Angoulême, the eldest son of the count of Artois, crossed the Bidassoa and entered Spain. No serious resistance was met with except at Cadiz, and the triumph of the French arms was mercilessly used to crush the Spanish liberties. Ferdinand VII. of Spain returned to Madrid, and ruled henceforth as most absolute, most Catholic sovereign. The duke of Angoulême was thought by his success and personal bravery to have aroused in the French army an enthusiasm for its old Bourbon masters ; reaction ruled supreme in France ; the Jesuits were conspicuous in their delight ; and the system of influences, corruption, and manœuvres, so long the disgrace of French elections, sprang at once into full bloom.

In September 1824 Louis XVIII. died, with his last breath urging the count of Artois to rule prudently and in accordance with the charter. He was one of the best of the Bourbons, a man of ability and learning, fond of literature and science, moderate and loyal in opinion and act,—a far better man than those who surrounded his old age, and

drove him into reactionary courses which he could not approve. His successor, the count of Artois, was a very different man. He had been the chief cause of the misfortunes of the monarchy in the Revolution, and had both the fine manners and the faults of the old régime. He was the fourth son of the dauphin, and brother of Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and now became king under the title of Charles X. It was speedily seen that now the ultra-royalists would have none to check them ; the new monarch was bigoted, stupid, ignorant ; from the scandals of his early life to the devotion of his later days there had been but a step ; the sublime is not so near the ridiculous as superstition is to immorality. He was regarded as a mere tool of the Jesuits, and his reign was but a struggle against the more liberal instincts of his country. Now, if ever, it was seen that the old Bourbons "could never learn and never forget." In 1827, the national guard, which had shown itself too free in its cries, was disbanded ; a new chamber of deputies was, in spite of all efforts, strongly opposed to the policy of the king's Government ; a more moderate cabinet followed.

In this year England, France, and Russia joined to put a stop to the quarrel between Turks and Greeks, and their combined fleet under Sir Edward Codrington won the battle of Navarino, and ruined the maritime power of Turkey (20th October 1827). Early in 1828 the French occupied the Morea, and ere long the independence of Greece was accepted by the Ottoman Porte, and a new national life began in Europe.

In 1829, finding the new ministry too moderate for him, Charles X. dismissed it, and gave the seals to Prince Polignac. This meant war to the knife against all constitutional liberties in France, and was the return to power of Charles all that Frenchmen most feared and disliked. The chambers, supported by popular feeling, stood firm, and carried an address to the throne, which declared that the new ministry did not enjoy their confidence. Thereupon the chambers were dissolved, and the fresh elections which followed were a decisive struggle between liberty and despotism. The success of the expedition to Algiers, in which France vindicated her honour by the capture of the robber-city and the complete defeat of the dey, while she acquired for herself her most flourishing and important colony, brought no relief to the Government in its contest against the people. The new chamber was stronger against the ministry than the late chamber had been. Then Charles X. suddenly attempted the usual *coup d'état*, and assumed a kind of provisional dictatorship, which produced at once the five famous ordinances of St Cloud (25th July 1830). These were—(1) the suspension of the liberty of the press ; (2) the dissolution of the new chamber of deputies ; (3) a new system of election, so as to secure absolute power to the king ; (4) the convocation of a new chamber ; (5) some ultra-royalist appointments to the council of state. At this time a young journalist from Marseilles, M. Thiers, was editor of the *National* ; under his fearless leadership the "fourth estate" made its first collective revolt against illegal power, and signed a vigorous protest against the ordinances. It is the beginning of that wholesome influence of the press on modern politics of which the history has yet to be written, because its limits have not yet been reached. Men waited breathlessly to see what steps would follow such an insurrection of opinion against power. On the 27th of July it was announced that Marshal Marmont, although he disapproved of the measures agreed on, and did not sympathize with the five ordinances, had been charged with the defence of the capital. Then insurrection broke out at once, and the "Revolution of the three days of July" began. On the 27th the barricades raised by the citizens were forced and the streets cleared ;

few
arrange-
ment of
parties.

The ef-
forts of
the reac-
tionists.

Charac-
ter of
Louis
XVIII.

1830.
The
three
days of
July.

Charles
X. ab-
dicates.

The
count of
Chambord.

Louis
Philippe
succeeds.

The new
constitu-
tional
gov-
ern-
ment.

on the 28th the insurgents, not abashed by their defeat, seized the Hôtel de Ville, and hoisted the tricolour. Marmont, who urged pacification, was ordered by Charles, who kept out of the way, to crush all opposition ruthlessly; before evening his troops had retaken the Hôtel de Ville, and most of the important positions. Again he urged moderation on the king, and the leaders of the revolt offered to lay down arms if the ministers were dismissed and the five ordinances withdrawn. Charles, however, would listen to nothing, and sent orders to Marmont to persevere. On the 29th, however, two regiments fraternized with the people; and Marmont, paralysed by their defection, and by suspicions as to the fidelity of other troops, gave way. The populace rushed into the Louvre and the Tuilleries, sacking and destroying the insignia of Bourbon power. They neither stole nor murdered. Charles X. at St Cloud now offered all he had refused the day before; of course it was a day too late. Paris had triumphed over the reaction, and the unteachable older Bourbons had to go. The veteran Lafayette was once more named chief of the national guard; —how much had France seen and done since he had first girded on that same sword! The tricolour flag and cockade reappeared everywhere. Thiers and Mignet issued a proclamation, urging the Parisians to transfer the crown of France to the duke of Orleans, who came up to the capital at once, and declared his ready acceptance of the office of lieutenant-general of the realm. In his first address he assured France that thenceforward the charter should be a reality. On the 2d of August 1830 Charles X., finding that the army had deserted his cause, and that necessity was on him, abdicated in favour of his young grandson Henry duke of Bordeaux, son of the duke of Berri; the dauphin, who was childless, also renounced his own claims on behalf of his nephew, who was then ten years old. This last representative of the older Bourbons, the last hope of the legitimists of France, lives still, cherishing his claims, and known to modern history as Henry, count of Chambord. Charles withdrew to England, where he died in 1836.

The day after his abdication Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, the representative of the Orleans branch of the Bourbons, son of Philippe Égalité, and great-great-grandson of the Regent Philip, opened the session of the chambers as lieutenant-general of the realm. The charter was carefully revised in a liberal direction, and the crown was offered to the duke and his heirs-male with the title of "King of the French." On the 9th of August 1830 the new constitutional monarch, ruling, not by divine right, nor by territorial possession, but by the will of the sovereign people, "king of the French," not "king of France,"¹ king of the tricolour, not of the lilies and the white cockade, took oath faithfully to observe the amended charter. The era of constitutional monarchy seemed at last to have begun in France; men thought that the fires of the Revolution had died down, that republicanism was discredited, while the follies of the older Bourbons, on the other hand, had been shown to be no longer possible. "The days of July" were hailed as heralding a new epoch of moderate politics; the "citizen-king," who had carefully shunned the reactionary party, and was by family tradition head of the liberal branch of the Bourbons, should lead France along a new course of decorum and material prosperity. It should be the reign, not of noble and priest, nor of grim artisan and sans-culotte, but of broadcloth burgher, a rule of common sense and constitutional use. Lafayette, who in these later days had sided much with carbonari and republicans, was greatly blamed for lending the support of his name to any monarchical system of government. His excuse lay in

his belief that, for the time at least, the republicans were 1830/4 but a small minority of the people. The events of subsequent years seemed to prove him right; yet in the end the stronger beliefs and energies of republicanism were fatal to the throne. Peace at home and abroad, and a constitutional government, allied with such countries as also enjoyed the blessings of a moderate form of polity, especially with England,—these were the chief aims of the reign, as it was worked out by the two antagonistic statesmen, the rivals Thiers and Guizot.

This revolution of the "three glorious days of July" was ^{Ch. 22} a part of a general movement throughout a large part of Europe; for men were weary of the triumphs of reaction. ^{Europe} In England these were the days of the Reform agitation which is indissolubly connected with the name of Earl Russell. In Belgium the news of the three days led to a violent insurrection, and the Belgians, who hated the union with the Dutch, threw them off and declared themselves independent; they bestowed a constitutional crown on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. When the Dutch refused to deliver up Antwerp and let the Scheldt run free, England and France combined to help the young kingdom; a strong French army soon forced the Dutch to evacuate Antwerp citadel.

At home the country was still uneasy; both legitimists ^{Distr.} and republicans were anxious to embarrass the Government. ^{Ancien régime} There were troubles in Paris, at Lyons, at Grenoble, ^{France} and in La Vendée, where the romantic duchess of Berri kept up the hopes of the old Bourbon party. After a time the Government succeeded in capturing her, and then it came out that she had been for some time secretly married to an Italian gentleman; this, and the birth of a daughter, discredited the legitimist cause completely; the duchess was allowed to retire in peace to Palermo. The disturbances at Paris and Lyons were also put down, and their chief instigators punished. After this the efforts of the dissatisfied took the form of attempts at assassination, and this in turn led in 1836 to the passing of the Laws of September, which treated press offences with severity, and regulated strictly the procedure of the law-courts. In this period could be seen a more marked divergence of parties, ^{Two} even among the Orleanists themselves. On the one hand ^{partie} there were the more conservative or reactionary men; on the other the upholders of the English theory that "the ^{French} king reigns, but does not govern." At first Louis Philippe had chosen his Government from the former party, which, at the beginning of the reign had embraced not only Casimir Périer, the head of the Government, but Guizot, Thiers, and other men of name in politics and literature. Casimir Périer, vigorous in combat, but not a large-minded statesman, was carried off in 1832 by cholera, then raging fearfully in Paris; and soon after that time the lifelong feud between Guizot and Thiers began. A series of ^{Thiers} Governments followed one another in quick succession, and ^{and} without stability; at last, the cabinet, headed by Marshal Soult, having proved unable to hold its own, a new ministry followed, of which Thiers was the head (February 1836). The ambitious little statesman, with the fire and heat of the south in him, advocate, newspaper editor, historian, and politician, seemed now to have reached his goal. His ministry, however, lasted but a very few months. He wanted to interfere in the affairs of Spain, while the king refused to change his policy of non-intervention; the cabinet broke up, and Count Molé, with Guizot as minister of public instruction, succeeded. The new Government had to face the anger of France at the failure of French troops in Algeria before the hill-fort of Constantine, and the agitation which succeeded the strange attempt (October 1836) of Prince Louis Napoleon to arouse imperialist echoes among the troops at Strasburg. Though,

¹ It is a mistake to lay stress on this change of style. In the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae* (1648) even Louis XIV. is actually styled "Roi des François," not "Roi de France."

336-40. when he showed himself and read a proclamation to the soldiers, many replied with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur," the bulk of the troops refused to listen, and he was arrested with his companion, a M. Persigny, and sent on to Paris. The Government treated him leniently, and allowed him to leave France for New York. In 1838 Count Molé, finding the state of parties very uneasy, dissolved the chambers, and fresh elections followed. There had been four chief parties in the Assembly,—the Right, led by the famous conservative lawyer Berryer; the Right Centre, under guidance of Guizot; the Left Centre, headed by Thiers; and the Left, led by Odillon-Barrot, formerly president of the society "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera," an association formed to advance purity and freedom of elections, and a chief motive-power in the revolution of July. This last party, till 1840, was in constant opposition to Government. It was felt that the king, who was obstinate in his opinions, and not very scrupulous, had for some time past been interfering more than was wholesome in electioneering matters; the system of help to official candidates, the snare of French politics, took large development under him. The elections resulted in a majority for Molé and the Government. The other parties, however, made a coalition against him, which, under the leading of Thiers and Guizot, overthrew the ministry in 1839. The parties, however, did not agree well after their victory; the king was not cordial with them, and chose his ministers so as to exclude the three victorious leaders. In 1840 the king's friends were again defeated. Thiers again became chief minister, and Guizot was sent as ambassador to St James's, where he had a very difficult part to play, in consequence of the state of the Eastern question. The rebellion of Mehemet Ali, the able viceroy of Egypt, against the sultan had aroused no small excitement in Europe. Mehemet was well known in France, where his adventurous career had attracted much attention. Though the French and their allies had destroyed his fleet at Navarino in 1827, he had since (1831-1833) acquired the government of Syria as well as that of Egypt, by the energy of his son Ibrahim Pasha. When the sultan in 1837 endeavoured to reduce his power, he again declared war against him, and Ibrahim once more defeated the Turks, securing Syria for his father. Now arose a great difference between France and England. The French Government wished that both Egypt and Syria should be finally guaranteed to Mehemet; the English Government, declaring that such a step would be fatal to the Turkish empire, insisted that Syria should be, with some small exceptions, restored to the Porte. In July 1840 England formed a quadruple alliance with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, without communicating at all with Guizot till after the treaty had been actually signed. Napier speedily bombarded and took Beyrouth, while Stopford blockaded Alexandria. In one short campaign the Egyptians were easily cleared out of Syria, and Mehemet Ali acquiescing in the power of the stronger, secured his position in Egypt, while he finally restored Syria to the Porte.

In France the irritation was extreme. The nation had watched Mehemet's regeneration of Egypt, a country in which, ever since Bonaparte's expedition, France had seemed to have a special interest; it was a great shock to her to see her diplomacy rudely foiled, her sympathies neglected, her strength unemployed. The restoration to France in 1840 of the ashes of Napoleon, a rash act due to Louis Philippe himself, woke many a slumbering echo of the old national pride; Napoleon, it was urged, had never let his country fall, as the present Government had done, out of the foremost place in the councils of Europe. The second attempt of Louis Bonaparte to win over the garrison of Boulogne, in spite of the absurdities of the tame eagle, and the utter failure of the venture, added not a little to the popular uneasiness. By shutting up the adventurer in the

castle of Ham, the Government made him a martyr, and 1841-48 roused much dormant sympathy for him. The ministry accordingly fell, and Guizot, under the nominal presidency of Marshal Soult, became the real head of the new Government. The step was far from allaying the strong feeling in France; men accused Guizot of having played the country false while in London; his bitter antagonism to Thiers seemed to them to be the cause of the humiliation of France. Fortification of Paris. For the moment, however, the only result was the fortification of Paris, which was begun in 1841.

The annals of France were now tranquil, under the cold administration of Guizot; party spirit seemed to have died down; the "Pritchard affair," arising out of the occupation of France of Otaheite, in accordance with a treaty in 1842, aroused again the slumbering irritation between France and England. The English Government had not objected to the treaty between Queen Pomare of Otaheite and the French Government; Mr Pritchard, however, consul, missionary and medical man to the queen, believing that the treaty was bad for the natives, had succeeded in persuading Queen Pomare to repudiate it, and to call on England to support her. Thereon in 1844 the French arrested him, sent him back to England, and occupied the island as its protector. The success of the French arms in Africa also angered the English; Marshal Bugeaud had vigorously attacked and punished the emperor of Morocco for giving refuge and support to Abd-el-Kader, and the defeated emperor was obliged to sue for peace (September 1846). In 1847 Lamoricière succeeded in capturing the picturesque chieftain who had caused France so much trouble, and sent him as a prisoner to France. Lastly, the vexed question of the Spanish marriages, in 1846, in which Louis Philippe succeeded in re-aligning the Bourbons of France and Spain by a double marriage, caused very strong feeling in England; it was felt that Guizot had broken his word in the matter, and that France was taking unfair means of avenging herself for the affront of the quadruple alliance of 1840.

So things stood when 1847 opened with gloomy aspects. The for the French Government: irritation, want, the feeling gloomy that the Government had done little to lessen the commercial and agricultural distress; the desire of a more popular and perhaps more brilliant rule; the distrust of Guizot's policy, as shown in the risks of the Spanish marriages, by which he had endangered the peace of France for the sake of illusory dynastic advantages; the consciousness that the king's feelings were not friendly to the people, that his government was selfish, and that he did not hesitate to use corruption and influence in elections,—these things all made affairs seem unsettled and precarious. Guizot's policy in the affair of the marriages, in his support of the Swiss Sonderbund, which was the resistance of reactionary against popular principles in Switzerland, his appeals to the treaties of 1815, his friendly attitude towards Metternich and Austria, his divergence from the liberal views of Lord Palmerston, his dislike for the patriots of Italy, shocked and alienated all liberal opinion in France, and made the minister completely unpopular. The role of prudence at home and peace abroad, never an heroic one, had been abandoned by Guizot for a system which endangered peace with the neighbours of France and irritated the passions of party at home. Trickery and subterfuge seemed to rule in high places.

VIII. THE SECOND REVOLUTION.

The agitation of the country at first was seen chiefly in speeches made at fervid banquets. When the session of 1848 opened, the opposition, led by Odillon-Barrot, showed itself strong and resolute; the interference of Government against a popular banquet in Paris led to the outbreak of the Revolution (22d February 1848). On the 23d the

1848. national guard took part with the populace against the troops, and the soldiers, unwilling to attack them, hesitated, and the day passed by. Guizot now yielded, and sent in his resignation ; it was, however, too late ; that evening, the troops having fired on and killed some of the mob, a ghastly procession with the bodies of the slain passed through the streets. The excitement redoubled ; the troops refused to act ; Louis Philippe even called on Thiers to form a liberal ministry with Odillon-Barrot. A proclamation was issued stating that the troops were ordered to withdraw. Forthwith the regular soldiers laid down their arms, and the people with the national guards marched on the Tuilleries. Louis Philippe now abdicated in favour of his grandson the count of Paris, and, assuming the name of Mr William Smith, closed an inglorious reign by an inglorious flight in a hackney cab. He reached England, and died there in peace some two years later. Writers have called the Revolution of 1848 a mere trick, and have wondered how so mean an effort could have overthrown a constitutional and organized government. The truth is that France was weary of such a rule, that Paris wanted a republic, and that in the country generally the citizen-king was unpopular.

The republic of 1848. In the chamber of deputies the republican party at once took the command, and established a provisional Government, which immediately proclaimed a republic, to be ratified by a popular vote ; to be based on the sovereignty of the people ; to re-echo the old watchwords, "liberty, equality, fraternity," to secure a pure and liberal administration. The presidency of the new Government was given to Dupont de l'Eure ; Lamartine had the portfolio of foreign affairs ; Crémieux, justice ; Ledru-Rollin, the home-office ; Arago, the admiralty ; Bédeau, the army ; Carnot, education ; Bethmont, trade ; Garnier-Pagès was named mayor of Paris ; Louis Blanc, with three others, were first named as secretaries, and soon after became actual members of the Government. The decree which established the tricolour flag, with a red rosette, indicated, as trifles often will do, the position taken up by the new administration. They would not accept the red flag of the Parisian communists, which Louis Blanc wished to take as symbol of a thorough republicanism ; they added the red rosette to express a certain sympathy with that side ; they kept the tricolour as the flag of the old Revolution. One step—and it was a great blunder—they did make under the influence of Louis Blanc : they issued a decree promising to provide work for all,—promising in fact to suspend the first laws of political economy on behalf of the working man.

The republic at once established. Though the revolution had been a thorough Parisian surprise at the moment, all France was ready to accept it. From every side cheerful acquiescence came in ; the army approved ; the clergy were guided by the liberal archbishop of Paris, M. Affre, who three months later lost his life in the sacred attempt to stay bloodshed in the streets of the capital ; politicians either were silent or joined the Government ; the adventurer of Strasburg and Boulogne, who had escaped from Ham in 1846, offered his services to France, and was politely sent back to England. In April the elections to the new constituent assembly took place. They returned a body of, on the whole, moderate republicans, not favourable to the extremest views of Paris, and appointed an executive commission of five members, Lamartine, Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. A serious outbreak was easily quelled in May ; in June, however, things took a more alarming turn. The reaction, which had already begun in France, was supported by the conviction of moderate men that the "national workshop" system, a practical socialism, was too burdensome for the finances of the state, and that the country generally would not long subsidize the Parisian artisan. A decree ordering a portion of the working men to be enrolled in the army

led to the terrible revolt of eastern Paris. The Government declared the town to be in a state of siege, and entrusted The revolt of Paris. General Cavaignac with a dictatorship. For four days the battle of the barricades raged ; the artisans did not yield till the last barricade of the Faubourg St Antoine had been stormed. Then Cavaignac laid down his dictatorship and was named president of the council, with right of naming the ministers. The national workshops were absolutely closed on the 3d of July, and thus the republic freed itself from the dictation of Paris. After the May disturbance the leaders of reaction had begun to pluck up courage, and to offer themselves for the elections ; Thiers was returned for the Lower Seine, and became its political leader ; Changarnier was its military chief. Louis Bonaparte was also among the elected. He veiled his ambition under popular phrases, and, as had been seen before, a Bonaparte made ready to pass into absolute power by an alliance with the people and a seeming deference to its sovereignty. "My name," he said, "is the symbol of order, nationality, and glory." The Assembly next proceeded to do its work as a constitutional body, and organized the Government thus :—A president of the republic, elected for four years, and then not re-eligible till after four years more ; a council of state, named by the assembly for six years, and charged with the drafting of all public acts, and other honourable functions ; a legislative assembly of 750 members. The date of election of a president was fixed for the 10th of December. The true republicans failed to support their man, General Cavaignac ; they also left Lamartine entirely out, in spite of his honourable services. The instincts of the nation turned towards one who Louis bore the charmed name of Bonaparte, and the prince-adventurer was elected by a vast majority of votes, nearly five millions and a half supporting him against less than one million and a half who voted for Cavaignac. Thus the "Napoleonic idea," strong in the country-places, prevailed over the moderate republicanism of the Assembly, and the wishes of the chief towns of France. The new president was formally proclaimed, and took oath of office on December 20, 1848.

The first act of the new Government was the overthrow His first of the republic of Rome, and the military restoration of Pius IX. By this the president declared himself hostile to all the liberal movements of Europe, and won the firm gratitude and allegiance of the Catholic clergy of France. Before Louis Bonaparte had been in office a year, it was seen that he was preparing to move in the direction of absolute power. Stormy debates in the Assembly took place ; a law was passed limiting the suffrage, as it was seen that in the existing temper of the country the ignorant peasant-vote was at the mercy of adventurers. Discussion also followed as to a revision of the constitution of 1848. At last, on December 2, 1851, the prince-president, guided by a group of friends and brother-conspirators, ventured on his famous *coup d'état*, and swept away the whole The existing fabric of the constitution. In the most lawless manner sixteen prominent members of the Assembly were arrested, among them Cavaignac and Thiers ; the Assembly itself was forcibly dissolved, universal suffrage restored, and a *plébiscite* on the new form of government was appointed to follow at once ; the capital was placed in a state of siege ; the council of state dismissed. A new ministry was also formed of the chief members of the successful conspiracy,—Morny for the home-office, St Arnaud for war ; Fould, finance ; Rouher, justice. A project for a Constitution of the presidency for ten years, with ministers responsible only to the president, a council of state to draft and prepare laws, a legislative body, and a conservative senate,—this was the new constitution of 1852. It was clearly a reminiscence of that form of government which

1852 led to the first empire. Outbursts of despairing resistance in Paris were sternly put down, with brutal severities, which aimed at striking terror into the capital; the men round Louis Bonaparte did not want for vigour; they had won power by conspiracy, and did not hesitate to keep it by a massacre. The new constitution was accepted by an overwhelming majority; it seemed as if the Napoleonic idea was omnipotent in France. The new government was, like that of the great Napoleon, the union of strong and arbitrary rule with an appeal to the ignorant passions of the populace. The burgher world acceded to it, because it was strong, and promised order and hopes of material prosperity, and because it was scared and puzzled by the fitful appearances of the "red spectre" of eastern Paris.

Little trouble did the successful party take about the remaining step. The high tide of the popularity of Louis Bonaparte was still running up in flood; and in November 1852 an almost unanimous vote (7,824,129 against 253,149) accepted him as hereditary emperor of the French under the name of Napoleon III. Before the end of the year he made solemn entry into Paris.

IX. THE SECOND EMPIRE.

The second empire lasted from November 4, 1852, to September 4, 1870, a period of nearly 18 years. It was openly modelled on the first empire, and Napoleon III never forgot that he was his uncle's nephew. His mother, the ex-queen of Holland, was Hortense Eugénie de Beauharnais, daughter of the empress Josephine by her first husband, the viscount Alexandre de Beauharnais; the emperor married her to his brother Louis Bonaparte in 1802; and her son Louis was born in 1808. He was now forty-four years of age, a man of no dignity of moral character, ambitious and unscrupulous, but somewhat wanting in nerve; far better than the adventurers who surrounded him; a man of very considerable clearness of vision, who did his utmost to develop the home-prosperity of France, by sweeping away the barriers which wrong-headed Governments had placed on commerce, and by introducing the new doctrines, strange to French ears, of free trade, which he had learnt to admire by seeing their applications in England. His government was frequently, almost incessantly, involved in wars; yet the emperor himself was doubtless sincere in proclaiming his wish for peace. "The empire," he said, "menaces no one; it desires to develop in peace and full independence the vast resources it has received from heaven." It is but one of the inevitable results of a bad tradition that he, like his predecessors, hoped to succeed in securing prosperity to France by constant interference, and by making the nation feel the presence at its head of an irresponsible yet beneficent master. At the same time this ostentatious activity assured labour to the restless artisans of the great cities; towns were half rebuilt; Paris especially felt this malign benevolence, which, while it fed the workman, made him destroy his own means of resistance to government—for the rebuilding of Paris by Haussmann was planned so as to drive great and straight military roads through all the disaffected quarters of the north and east. Railways, canals, harbours, public buildings, above all, new churches and old, owned the imperial hand. If, as must be granted, this lower empire was based on popular ignorance and plentiful bloodshed and terrorism, both in Paris and in the provinces, it must also be conceded that the emperor himself, dreamer as he was, was heartily anxious for the welfare of France. He was unfortunate in his associates, and perhaps also in the beautiful lady he chose as empress.

When the second empire began, the sovereigns of Europe thought that republicanism was gone for ever; they recog-

nized the new government of France with some cordiality. 1852-54. England came first—for in England the unmistakable expression of the popular will was regarded just as the result of a general election at home might have been; the vote of the people had expressed their wishes clearly, and England was ready to accept their views as to their own affairs. It was noticed that Prussia was unfriendly towards the new government; and when the emperor, anxious to secure the hereditary succession promised to him by France, looked round him for a wife, his proposal to wed a Hohenzollern princess met with a marked rebuff. He had before Marriage failed to win a Swedish princess; he finally chose for himself of the handsome Eugénie de Téba, a Spanish lady, who had already been conspicuous for her beauty at his court. France was divided in mind respecting her: her appearance won men's hearts; the national vanity was vexed at the rebuffs, while it was pleased to say that the emperor had disdained royal and formal alliances in order to choose the lady after his own heart; and lastly, there were not a few who grumbled that he ought not to have slighted the ladies of France by selecting a Spaniard. Anyhow, the young empress bore him a son, the prince imperial, on whom rested all the hopes of the new dynasty. For the rest, her extravagant and frivolous tastes in dress and habits set a very bad example to a nation far too willing to copy it; and her influence and advice were invariably on the unlucky side. She was a devoted Catholic, and to her counsels are due some of the worst mishaps of the reign.

In 1854 began the first war of the second empire,—the first denial to the famous utterance of Bordeaux in 1852, Crimean "L'empire, c'est la paix," which had enlisted the warm war. The large and ambitious schemes of the czar Nicholas against Turkey, "the sick man" of that day, alarmed all Europe; the dispute between Russia and the Porte as to the holy places was referred to a conference at Vienna, which proposed to solve the difficulty on the lines of the treaty of 1841, which had placed Turkey under the guarantee of the five great powers. Before diplomacy had got to work the Russians had invaded the Turkish territory; the Anglo-French fleet had moved up to Besika Bay, to be within call of Constantinople, and the Russian fleet (30th November 1853) had destroyed the Turkish ships at Sinope. War, however, did not openly break out till the next spring. In April a treaty of alliance was signed between France and England, who were afterwards joined by the king of Sardinia, while Austria and Prussia also guaranteed the possessions of each other; the imperial guard was re-established, and an army of 60,000 men, one-third English, two-thirds French, set sail for the Black Sea. After halting first at Gallipoli, then at Varna, the allied fleets and armies set sail for the Crimea, and landed under protection of the ships near the mouth of the river Alma. Thence they marched along the coast towards Sebastopol, and came on the Russians strongly posted on the left bank of the Alma; on the 20th of September 1854 the allies defeated the Russians there and took their position. Mentschikoff, who commanded them, withdrew into Sebastopol, round which the allies marched, taking up their quarters not far from Balaklava, to the south-east of the great fortress. Then began a siege which lasted through the winter; on October 25 the Russians were repulsed at Balaklava itself, by the wild charge of the English cavalry; on November 5 the allied armies won the battle of Inkermann, in which the English, who were defending the points attacked, bore the chief brunt of the fighting. It was not till June that the bombardment of the allies was effectual in producing the fall of some of the outworks. Sebastopol eventually fell on the 10th of September, in consequence of the storm of the Malakoff tower by the French troops. The French and Russians had now done enough, and

1856-59. the war speedily came to an end. The English would willingly have gone on till they had ruined the Russian navy; the emperor of the French was glad to be done with it. In 1856 the czar Alexander, who had succeeded Nicholas in the winter of the great siege, signed a treaty of peace, the terms of which had been agreed on at the Congress of Paris. The Black Sea and the Danube were neutralized; the Danubian principalities taken, in part at least, from under Russian protection; the sultan was admitted to the council-board of Europe. The peace did little for the real good of France, created a cold feeling between her and England, annoyed Prussia, and did not satisfy Austria. The war had not been very brilliant; the losses had been heavy; the appearance of Count Cavour at the congress had forecast the coming events of 1859.

The attempt of Orsini on the emperor's life in January 1858 led the way. A man who had been among the carbonari, and had handled the explosive substances which lay like torpedoes in all the water ways of European politics, ought not to have been astonished that Italians, smarting under their country's wrongs, should try to avenge themselves on him for the expedition to Rome and the restoration of the papacy. To them Napoleon III. seemed to be a traitor, and the chief cause of their subjection to hateful and foreign masters. And Orsini's attempt was by no means the first. The French journals spoke gratefully of the fact that no Frenchmen were compromised in these attempts at assassination; the emperor himself, alarmed for his personal safety, and also sympathizing to some degree with the aspirations of Italy, began to think that he could secure himself from these secret and successive attacks only by satisfying the irritated feelings of Italy. The first result of it, however, was a period of terrorism at home, and of swaggering menace on the part of the army, unchecked by the Government, against England, that "lair of these monsters who are sheltered by its laws." England, disabused since the peace of its admiration for the imperial rule, replied by the volunteer movement, and the construction of defences on the coasts. But the emperor's mind was not set on war with England. New Year's Day 1859 disclosed to the diplomatic world his schemes against Austria, and showed that Italy would be the scene of warfare and change. The empress was known to be averse to a war which must be against the instincts of Catholicism. Prince Napoleon, who in January 1859 married the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, was known to be in favour of an alliance with the Piedmontese for the liberation of Italy. The emperor hoped to steer between the two; hoped to satisfy the Italians and to escape the alarms of conspiracy, and at the same time to satisfy the empress and the Catholic party by constructing an Italian federation of states under presidency of the pope. The current of affairs, the strength of the "doctrine of nationalities," the definite and heroic attitude of Italy herself, proved too strong for him. A federation in Italy, a federation in Switzerland, and a third in Germany, would have left France in the centre of the world, compact and powerful among weak and divided neighbours on every hand. This was the imperial policy; united Italy and united Germany destroyed the plan, and brought the empire with it to the ground.

The Italian war. In July 1858 Cavour and Napoleon had agreed on the terms of an alliance; Victor Emmanuel should be king of Italy, with possession of the north; Nice and Savoy, the cradle of his race, he agreed to surrender to France. With this understanding war began, after delusive talk respecting a congress, in April 1859, Austria at the last moment forcing it on by ordering the cabinet of Turin to reduce its army and dismiss the volunteers. On the 3d of May the French Government also declared war, amidst the plaudits

of Paris, and the enthusiasm of the army. The French at once entered Italy, by the Mont Cenis pass, and by sea, landing at Genoa. The emperor himself took the command in chief; King Victor Emmanuel placed himself under his orders. The affairs of Montebello and Palestro, in which the Piedmontese fought well, secured for France the safe passage of the Po. On June 4 the battle of Magenta, fought to open the passage of the Ticino, was won, after a very doubtful struggle, by the arrival of MacMahon, whom the emperor named marshal of France and duke of Magenta. The Austrians fell back, and the allies at once entered Milan. Baraguay-d' Hilliers pushed the Germans out of Marignano; and Garibaldi, with his chasseurs of the Alps, dislodging the Austrians from their positions round the Lago Maggiore, threatened their communications with Tyrol, their only sure line of retreat in case of ultimate disaster. Giulay, who commanded the Austrians, drew back within the Quadrilateral, as it was called, formed by the four fortresses of Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago, and Verona, a square within which, ever since 1815, the Austrians had been accumulating all their means of resistance. This Quadrilateral, well held, could effectually block the passage through North Italy; for Peschiera stands on the Lago di Garda, which runs up into the mountains, while Mantua is not far from the Po; an enemy venturing down southwards could never leave these great strongholds on his flank; their siege and reduction would give their holders time to recover from any disasters. To the attack of this strong position the allies now advanced; and on June 24 they met the Austrians to the west of the Mincio, and, therefore, just in advance of Peschiera and Mantua, in the broken ground which lies about the town of Solferino. The battle which then took place was fought with great gallantry by the allies, and some tenacity by the Austrians, who were on the defensive, and had the great advantage of the position, and of a thorough knowledge of the ground. French historians themselves allow that there was little strategy shown on either side: "At Solferino, as throughout the campaign, the command-in-chief was below its proper level." The defeat of the Austrians, without being crushing, was complete; they fell back to the neighbourhood of Verona, the rally-point of the Quadrilateral, and the allies laid siege to Peschiera.

These successive victories, and the release of the Milanese from Austrian domination, had an immediate effect on the rest of Italy. The duke of Tuscany had fled, and his territories were occupied by French troops under Prince Napoleon. The duke of Modena, after Magenta, also made his escape, and his duchy proclaimed Victor Emmanuel in his stead. The same took place in Parma. The "Legations," the northern portion of the States of the Church, threw off the papal government, and joyfully proclaimed their adhesion to the national cause. A French fleet in July appeared before Venice, and the Queen of the Adriatic was burning to throw off the Austrian yoke. Still, every one thought that the war was scarcely begun, and, considering the strength of the Quadrilateral and the proverbial tenacity of the Austrians under defeat, it seemed not unlikely that changes in the fortune of war might yet favour the reactionary cause, when Europe was astonished to hear that the two emperors, in a conference at Villafranca, had agreed on the bases of a peace. There should be an Italian confederation under presidency of the pope; Lombardy (with exception of Peschiera and Mantua) should be surrendered to Napoleon, who should present it to the king of Sardinia; Venice should be allowed to enter the Italian confederacy, though it was still to be an Austrian possession; the dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be replaced; reforms to be introduced into the papal states; not a word about the south of Italy. These terms agreed on, *viva voce*, between the

1859-63. emperors without a single witness on either side, were embodied, in October, in the treaty of Zurich. The result, for the moment, satisfied no one. Austria was humiliated by it; Italy disappointed, in the very moment of hope and triumph; Germany and England deemed both the war and the peace a high-handed proceeding; and France herself, in spite of the successes of her army, wished that the high-sounding promise of her emperor, "Italy free, from the Alps to the Apennines," had been more nearly fulfilled. Finally, military critics noted that the generalship of the war left much to be desired, and that the organization of the army was very far from perfect. Further changes, results as much of the force of ideas as of diplomacy or of war, were sure to follow before long. Ominous utterances and influences of the Ultramontanes in France heralded coming difficulties even before the conclusion of the peace of Zurich. The pope, Pius IX., guided by the Jesuits, threw himself into the arms of the reactionary party; and Napoleon saw good reason to give up his chimerical scheme for an Italian federation under papal presidency. He declared his intention of founding a great kingdom of Northern Italy, and announced that Savoy and Nice were to be united to France, by way of counterpoise. The forms of a plébiscite were duly gone through in those districts; and the transfer took place shortly afterwards.

Garibaldi and Italy. Even this change of attitude on the Emperor's part, in Sicily coupled as it was with the continuance of the French garrison at Rome, and the cession of Nice and Savoy, was offensive to Italian independence. Garibaldi, with his noble band of volunteers, amidst the warm sympathy of all liberal Europe, landed in Sicily, and soon defeated the half-hearted supporters of the wretched Neapolitan Government; Naples and Sicily were at once united to the Italian kingdom. Piedmontese troops entered the papal territories, and won the battle of Castelfidardo; general Lamoricière, who commanded the Papalini in the battle, was soon after taken, when Ancona surrendered, and was sent back to France by the Italian Government. The victorious troops, leaving Rome and its French garrison on one side, joined the triumphant volunteer-army of Garibaldi. In February 1861 Francis II, king of Naples, who was besieged in Gaeta, capitulated, and a new Italian parliament in the same month proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. Rome alone was left out, the natural capital of the kingdom, defended from herself and from Italy by French bayonets. The political situation was indefensible.

Distant expeditions. During these years France had also been engaged in distant expeditions; a Chinese war, in alliance with England, occupied her from 1858 to 1860; the capture of Pekin brought this war to an end. In Cochin-China, also, France had Spain as an ally, and closed an obscure if successful war with a treaty of peace in 1862. The Syrian expedition of 1860, undertaken in harmony with the other Christian powers, speedily reduced the sultan to reason, and a French occupation, which lasted till June 1861, did much to relieve the oppressed Christians of that part of the Turkish dominions. Lastly, the affairs of Mexico, in which the empress, guided by her clerical tastes, took an active part, led to the intervention of the emperor on behalf of the archduke Maximilian of Austria; at first England and Spain, which also had grievances against the revolutionary Government of Mexico, joined with France. England, however, had little real interest at stake; Spain wanted to place a prince of her own on the Mexican throne; when it came to the point, France was left to carry out her schemes as she could. The whole affair ended in a terrible disaster for the archduke in 1867, and discredit and loss to the imperial Government. It was seen by the elections of 1863 that, while the peasant-vote remained true to Napoleon III, the towns, following the leading of Paris,

and in spite of all official efforts, sent up a strong minority 1863-66. to the opposition. It was clear that the educated and thinking part of France was already weary of the second empire.

Now broke out the Danish war, which was the beginning of the consolidation of Germany. In 1852 the conference of London had settled the succession to the Danish crown on the duke of Glücksburg, who had married a Danish princess; when Frederick VII. died in 1863 and Christian IX. succeeded to the throne, the Germanic confederation, which had never agreed to the arrangement, protested against the union of Schleswig and Holstein to the Danish kingdom. Holstein had always been a German duchy, and vigorous colonization had made South Schleswig in large part German in population. The Danish Government allowed the federal forces, commanded by Baron Halkett, a Hanoverian general, to occupy Holstein provisionally, while it refused them possession of Schleswig; Prussia and Austria, acting in concert, early in 1864 invaded Schleswig, drove the Danes back, and stormed their lines at Düppel; after which they quietly occupied all the disputed territory. When England, with Russia and Sweden, pressed for a conference to settle the dispute by international arbitration, France held back, and refused to oppose Prussia and Austria. The emperor suggested, as a middle course, that a plébiscite, his favourite idea when nationalities were in question, should be taken in the two duchies. The conference admitted this for Holstein, and refused it for Schleswig, and on this point the negotiations were broken off. The allied Germans speedily brought the war to an end by their overwhelming strength, and in October 1864 it was agreed, after some difficulties, that Austria should take charge of Holstein, and Prussia of Schleswig. The confederation gained nothing; and it was obvious that Austria, too, could gain nothing by the occupation of so distant a province. France, which had so much to lose, according to the "doctrine of nationalities," had placed on record her firm belief in that idea, and had helped Prussia to become the champion of it for Germany; the foolish Mexican war, and the state of feeling at home, had in fact hampered France so much as to render her almost powerless at this moment.

The jealousy between north and south Germany, which has existed ever since the time of the Reformation, now passed into a new phase. Prussia stood forward again as of the champion of German unity, which had failed in 1848, though it had never ceased to be the desire of the nation; and the convention of Gastein, by which Austria retained Holstein, provided a starting-point for a new war in 1866, the "Seven Weeks' War." A visit of Count Bismarck to Napoleon in 1865 had shown that great statesman that he had nothing to fear from France; the second empire seemed paralysed; Italy hastened to treat at Berlin for the completion of her unity, for north Germany and she had the same aims and the same enemies. They both wanted their national life to be completed; both were struggling, in large part, against the Catholic Church; both had Austria as their chief foe. Thus secured, Bismarck went boldly to war; and in an incredibly short time had crushed the resistance of Hanover, while he destroyed the Austrian power at Sadowa. The treaty of Prague, under the mediation of Napoleon III, soon followed. Though the Italians had been defeated at Custoza in the end of June, Sadowa had stricken such a blow at the heart of Austria that she abandoned all thought of further resistance, delivered Venetia over to Napoleon, who restored it at once to Italy, and signed the peace of Prague in August 1866. By this document the old German Confederation was dissolved; Prussia took full possession of Holstein, and also of Schleswig, under the promise that if the northern or Danish-speaking part of that duchy desired to return to Denmark, it might

1866-69.

say so. Up to the present time, Prussia, true to her ancient tradition of never letting go, has quietly retained the whole of the duchy. A new confederacy of the north of Germany was established under the headship of the king of Prussia, and that kingdom also received considerable additions. It was agreed that the river Main, which runs across that narrowest part of Germany, that hilly and wooded country which has seen so many struggles for mastery, and which for centuries has been, roughly speaking, the dividing-line between Low and High Germany, should now once more separate the northern from the southern confederacy. This arrangement, however, came to naught; Baden at once placed itself under the command of Prussia, and Württemberg and Bavaria before long did the same. Austria was left alone, and almost excluded from Germany, while Prussia became at once the strongest power in Europe. France, which had welcomed with enthusiasm the restoration of Venetia to Italy, looked with less glad eyes at this growth of German strength across the Rhine. Thiers, with clear foresight, in 1866 predicted the coming empire of Germany; M. Magne, addressing Napoleon, did not hesitate to say that "the national feelings would be profoundly wounded if the final result should be that France has only gained by her intervention the establishment on her two flanks of two neighbours of abnormally increased strength. Greatness is after all a relative affair; and a country which in itself is no weaker than it was may be diminished by the accumulation of new forces around it."

French troops withdraw from Rome.

Discontent in France.

In 1866, after a convention with Italy, the French troops withdrew from Rome, while Victor Emmanuel promised not to molest the pope. There came, however, to Rome a French legion, composed of volunteers, chiefly old Bourbon partisans, commanded by a French general and officers of the French army. The presence of these troops was naturally regarded by Italy as a violation of the convention; so that when Garibaldi with his volunteers, in 1867, attempted to raise patriotic feelings in the territory round Rome, and in concert with the citizens to gain entrance into the Eternal City, the Italian Government took no steps to prevent him. The emperor, however, with unlucky zeal, after much hesitation, despatched General de Failly with a strong force to succour the pope, and thus placed himself openly in antagonism with Italy. The French and papal troops defeated the Garibaldians at Mentana (3d November 1867); and Italy regarded herself as thenceforward free from all obligation of gratitude towards imperial France. On the other hand, the clerical party loudly complained that the emperor had but half done his work, and grumbled because he had not used his victory to restore to the papacy its lost territory. Thus Napoleon III. lost the favour of both sides, and left on men's minds the impression that he was a weak and irresolute ruler. Nor did his efforts to purchase the duchy of Luxembourg from Holland add to his reputation (1866-1867). For the intervention of Prussia defeated all his plans; and although the fortifications of Luxembourg were demolished, and the Prussian garrison withdrawn, it was felt that the emperor's attempt to strengthen his north-eastern frontier had completely failed, and that the antagonism between France and Prussia must one day lead to troubles. The boldness of the opposition increased; each slight advantage yielded by the Government in these days gave it fresh strength; Thiers was listened to with great interest when he demonstrated in 1868 the hollowness of imperial finance, the terrible burden of debt, the growing dimensions of the army expenditure, which was not accompanied by any real increase in the fighting-strength of the nation. The elections of 1869 showed the quick growth of the opposition; far from the old unanimity, the imperial Government did not obtain quite three-fifths of the votes; and again the large towns returned republican

candidates. In this assembly M. Gambetta made his first public appearance among the "irreconcilables." In January 1870 a quasi-liberal cabinet, headed by M. Ollivier, who had been won over by the emperor and empress in a private interview, endeavoured to face the growing dissatisfaction; to reconcile the "irreconcilables," without endangering the imperial position. After many liberal professions, the emperor once more appealed to the country for a vote of confidence in himself, and in the hereditary character of his government. The reply of France seemed to be overwhelming and decisive,—7,358,786 Yes, against 1,571,939 No. This vote was taken on the 8th of May 1870; within two months the Hohenzollern question had begun its ominous course.

In 1868 the Spanish insurrection of September had dislodged Queen Isabella. She took refuge in France, with a crowd of partisans, and became at once the favoured guest of the emperor and his Spanish spouse. In the provisional Government of Madrid General Prim in 1869 became president of the council of ministers, and began almost at once to search about Europe for an eligible king. In the course of his inquiries he happened on Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, to whom he offered the crown of Spain without first announcing his intentions to the court of France. The intimacy existing between the empress and the ex-queen of Spain was no doubt a sufficient reason for this reticence. Prince Leopold at once informed the head of his house, the king of Prussia, of the fact, and the king authorized him to accept the offer. So stood affairs when the French cabinet thought it necessary to intervene. The two nations had regarded one another with distrust for years; in the beginning of the imperial rule the Prussians had stood aloof; the irritation which France felt at the Danish war passed into alarm after Sadowa. The failure of Benedetti's negotiation in 1870 with Bismarck as to Belgium added to the tension. The French Government was also uneasy at the evident signs of opposition at home, the decay of its popularity, the penalty of its corruption and extravagance; finally, there existed two courts, that of the empress and a more patriotic one, which dimly reflected the ancient antagonism between a Spanish party in high place and the true interests of the country. The emperor of the French, worn-out and more irresolute than ever, became the prey and victim of a faction. When Prince Leopold, on learning the objections of France, withdrew his candidature, the French Government, instead of accepting the act in a conciliatory spirit, seemed to be inspired by the temper of the duke of Grammont's speech in the Assembly at the time. "We cannot allow the actual balance of power in Europe to be deranged, and the interest and honour of France to be imperilled. We firmly hope this may not happen; against it we count on both the prudence of Germany and the friendship of Spain. Were it to be otherwise, strong in your support and in that of the nation, we should know how to do our duty, without hesitation and without weakness;"—brave words and menacing, but words which required real strength behind them, the very thing which was lacking. The empress and her friends wanted war; and consequently the king of Prussia was pressed, as a further step, to give assurances that he never would support Prince Leopold in any future candidature for the Spanish throne. This was equivalent to saying that war was determined on; and the Prussian cabinet made no further effort for peace. Steps were taken in Paris for a fresh *coup d'état* against the liberals, if they proved too obstructive; the empress was eager to secure, by a successful war, the throne for her son, and to appear as the champion of Catholic and Ultramontane principles in Europe. While the liberal party in the chamber and the country, headed by Thiers, persistently opposed the war, the Bonapartists

1870. fiercely pushed matters on ; they refused the good offices of the other states of Europe ; in shameful ignorance of the truth, they declared that everything was ready—"five times ready," "ready to the last garter-button"—and were only eager to begin. The ruffians of Paris, intoxicated after their sort by the brilliancy of an imperial policy, mobbed Thiers, attacked his house, and filled the streets with yells of a Berlin.

War with Germany. And thus war began, with the emperor as commander-in-chief and the empress as regent at Paris. France had no allies ; her appeal to South Germany failed ; Austria, however friendly, was paralysed by Russia ; for it was known that if Austria moved against Prussia, Russia would at once attack her ; and the people of the lesser German states, whatever their Governments might think, were favourable to Prussia ; for she seemed to them to be upholding a national cause. At Paris, the profoundest ignorance reigned. Nothing was known of the state of feeling in

The ignorance in France. Germany, or of the real condition of the Prussian preparations for war. As little was known of the fitness of their own army for a great war ; it was thought that it was strong and ready, whereas it was ill-organized, ill-supplied, and without proper reserves, while the incapacity of its leaders was appalling. No one knew anything of strategy ; maps and plans were bad ; even the employment of railways in war had never been properly studied ; bravery there was in plenty, but leading and management were absolutely wanting. The French army was stretched across the frontier-line looking towards Germany from Strasburg to Metz ; Metz became the French quarters-general, Mainz the German. By the 2d of August the hostile armies came into collision ; the emperor's reconnaissance drove the Germans out of Sarrebrück on that day, and the prince imperial there underwent his "*Baptême de Feu*," a baptism into misfortune. This was the one success of the French arms across the German frontier ; for on that same day fighting began near Wissembourg, whence, after a severe battle, General Douay had to withdraw on the 4th. Attacks followed sharply ; on the 6th MacMahon was driven in at Wörth, and on the same day Frossard was defeated at the other end of the line. Before Paris had recovered from her delight at the trivial success of Sarrebrück, the ominous telegram, "*Tout peut se retrouver*," awoke her to a true view of the state of things. It was soon seen that the emperor was unfit to command, and was a mere encumbrance ; there was neither strategy in detail nor a definite plan of campaign ; having let in the invasion, he resigned the post of commander-in-chief into the hands of Marshal Bazaine, and withdrew into Metz. The forward movement of the Germans soon alarmed both him and Paris, and then he decided (August 14) to retire to the camp at Chalons, where Marshal MacMahon was in command. The emperor's slow retreat, with a long train of useless followers, blocked the roads, and stopped the movement of troops and supplies. At this very time the Prussians and their allies were closing in on Metz ; on the 14th, the 16th, and the 18th great battles were fought, in which, though the Germans sometimes suffered terrible losses, and even seemed to fail, they eventually succeeded in breaking through the French defences, and compelled Bazaine to draw back into Metz. The French view of his conduct is that he meant to keep this army intact in order that afterwards, in conjunction with the Germans as his accomplices, he might secure, with a fresh military coup d'état, the imperial rule over France. Whatever he may have meant, the Germans had no intention of intrusting the fortunes of France to him. At this time General Trochu, an able soldier, whom the empress did not like, was appointed governor of Paris ; the army of MacMahon was at Chalons intact, and a prudent ruler would have made these two strong forces act in concert. The empress, on the contrary,

refused to hear of the emperor's return to Paris, and ordered MacMahon to march to the Belgian frontier, to take the Prussians on the flank, and to relieve Bazaine at Metz,—a plan excellent with a strong force able to march fast, fatal with an imperial army, disorganized, doubtful, and slow. The northward movement ended speedily in the great catastrophe of Sedan (1st September 1870). On the 2d battle of the emperor, with an army of more than 80,000 men, was Sedan. The prisoner of war of the king of Prussia.

X. THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

In spite of all precautions the news oozed out at Paris all too soon for the dismayed imperialists. On September 4 the third Republic was proclaimed on the advice of M. Thiers, with a Government of national defence ; the chief members were Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and Gambetta ; General Trochu was its military head. Gradually the Germans closed in on Paris ; no serious resistance in the field being attempted, or indeed being possible, at a moment when one half of the available army of France lay in Metz and the other half was either destroyed or prisoners at Sedan. The first siege of Paris lasted from September 19, 1870, to January 30, 1871, during which period also the temporal power of the papacy came to an end (September 1870), for it fell with the imperial cause, which alone had held it up ; and in December the king of Prussia was invited to accept the position of head of a new empire of Germany. With a German emperor, and Victor Emmanuel at Rome, and France in extremities, it was clear that great changes had come, and must lead eventually to broad rearrangements of the political world. While Paris held out bravely enough, if not very wisely, Gambetta at Tours used incredible efforts to raise fresh armies for France ; the old hero of Italy, Garibaldi, also appeared, now that imperialism was gone, and placed his sword at the disposal of the struggling republic. Before the end of October the capitulation of Metz had released a whole German army, which protected the operations of the besieging hosts ; at last, on January 28, 1871, an armistice was announced, which brought the despairing resistance of Paris to an end. The war elsewhere died out almost at once ; the Germans occupied all the forts round Paris.

On 8th February elections took place for a National Assembly to be held at Bordeaux, to deliberate on the question of peace or war, or rather, to arrange the terms of peace,—for the country returned the Assembly with that intention. It was a body nominally republican, with strong monarchical leanings, as yet unexpressed ; hardly half a dozen Bonapartists were returned to it. Garibaldi was among the deputies elected, though he declined the honour of acting as a Frenchman. The new republican Government of France now had M. Thiers as chief of the executive power, with M. Grévy as president of the Assembly ; and it was decided that the Assembly should hold its sittings at Versailles. The fierce outbreak of the hot republicans of Paris interfered sorely with their peaceful labours. On 18th March the commune of Paris declared itself in opposition to the Versailles republic ; the old grudges of artisan Paris once more asserted their unpleasant existence ; and Marshal MacMahon was instructed by the Versailles Assembly to reduce the insurgent capital. Then followed the second siege of Paris, from April 2 to May 21, with its accompanying horrors, and the gloomy spectacle of street-fighting and the burning and ruin of the public buildings of the town.

Meanwhile M. Thiers had at last, by his unwearying activity, succeeded in getting terms of peace agreed to. The treaty of Frankfort was signed on the 10th of May 1871 ; by it Alsace and a large part of Lorraine were ceded back to Germany, while Belfort was restored to

1872-75. France; a huge money indemnity was to be paid to Germany for the costs of the war.

The reactionary measures of the Versailles Assembly soon began,—timidly at first, to push forward with boldness, if the first steps succeeded. Thus, it suppressed the national guard, in spite of the moderate opposition of M. Thiers; it allowed Orleanist princes and members of the Bonapartist family to enter the Assembly; it strengthened its position at Versailles, though it had not the courage to move the Government offices thither. Early in 1872 the opposition of the Assembly to his financial proposals led to a first resignation of M. Thiers; only on its earnest and almost unanimous petition did he consent to hold office any longer.

The party in it. Meanwhile, the attempts at a fusion between the legitimists and Orleanists failed completely; the efforts of the Bonapartists, led by M. Rouher, were redoubled; a great organized propaganda was set afoot; newspapers, pamphlets, photographs, bribes for the army and for Government officials, intrigues of every kind, were in motion, in order to create a public opinion on behalf of the emperor and the young prince imperial, as he was still persistently called.

The three parties agreed in one thing, at least,—that they would before long put an end to the republic. At the end of 1872 a commission of thirty was appointed to regulate the arrangement of public powers and duties, and to settle the vexed question of ministerial responsibility. It was composed of a majority of the Right, the members of the different anti-republican parties in the Assembly. From it sprang the attempts of the Assembly to postpone the day of its dissolution, and to frame the government of France in such a way as to secure the defeat of the republic. The weakness of the majority lay in the fact that their union was only negative; and that if they did agree, it was only till they could rid themselves of the republic.

Death of Napoleon III. The death of Napoleon III. at Chislehurst in January 1873 created little or no feeling in France, and showed that imperialism had small hold on the popular mind. The Assembly now decided that it would remove the president from the chamber, because of the great influence which Thiers could always exert on a debate; and, secondly, that it would push back its own dissolution as far as possible. These proposals Thiers accepted, rather than run the risk of a collision. When, however, it was announced that, thanks chiefly to the president's exertion, the evacuation of France by the Prussian troops would take place two years sooner than had been originally stipulated, and that the last foreign soldier would march off in September 1873, the parties of the majority became seriously alarmed; for the life of the assembly had been, by their own admission, connected with the period of continuance of German troops in France. Early in April 1873, on the resignation of M. Grévy, president of the chamber, they carried their candidate M. Buffet, against the Thiers Government; in May they came to close quarters, and brandishing their favourite weapon, the "red spectre," these three reactionary parties defeated

Fallof M. Thiers. Then the old minister resigned, and the parties, which had arranged their plans beforehand, at once elected as president Marshal MacMahon, the "honnête homme et soldat," as he styled himself. With him they associated a cabinet of which the head was M. de Broglie. Immediately the functionaries were changed throughout France, and everywhere old imperialists were put in. At the beginning of 1875 it was agreed that the presidency should be for seven years, and a new constitution, with the republican element as much as possible effaced, was set up in February 1875.

A reactionary constitution. Before this M. de Broglie had fallen under the ill-will of the monarchical parties, and had been compelled by an adverse vote of the chamber to send in his resignation. He was succeeded by General de Cissey, with what was called,

by an inopportune invention, "a business cabinet." The 1875-77. new constitution provided a president with a cabinet, a body which, by being thus styled "a business cabinet," seemed to make the president's personality all the stronger; then there was a senate of 300 members, of whom 75 were life-holders, and the rest elected for nine years, renewable by triennial elections of a third at a time; and, lastly, a chamber of deputies, to be elected by the country in the usual way.

The time came at last when the chamber, which had been The dis- elected to decide on peace or war, and had taken to itself solution of the As-

new constitution, and had defied the public opinion of France expressed at almost every bye-election, must bring its half-usurped functions to an end. The successive triumphs of the republicans in bye-elections had strengthened them so much that they could now hold their own in the chamber. The president, aware that his strength was going, got rid of the cabinet of Dufaure and Jules Simon, and, trusting to official pressure at a new election, hoping also to work on the old fears respecting the extreme party, the "irreconcilables," took advantage of an adverse vote, and after having in May 1877 adjourned the chamber for a month, eventually dissolved it on June 25, 1877. The republican party showed extraordinary prudence and moderation under excessive provocation; the influence of the great jurists, Dufaure and Grévy, made itself felt, neutralizing all the plots of the reaction, and quietly prolonging the crisis, until the country could speak; the "Opportunists," as the followers of Thiers and Gambetta were now styled, united with the "irreconcilables" in opposition to the "party of order," as the intriguers of the three reactionary groups, legitimists, Orleanists, imperialists, loved to call themselves. In spite of shameless interferences with the election, in spite of the unseemly appeal of the president himself, in spite of threats and all the ancient weapons of reaction, the country was so decidedly republican that even the death of Thiers (3d September 1877) could not for a moment check the fortunes of his party. His death perhaps even strengthened it, for he became the saint instead of being the leader of it. His chequered political career, so long past, was quite forgotten; his memory was revered as that of the statesman who in his old age saved Belfort to France, brought peace, secured the payment of the war indemnity, and relieved the country from the German occupation. All France felt that under his guidance tranquillity had returned, and the timid middle classes had learned to couple prosperity with the republic. And so the elections of 1877 returned a decisive majority for the republicans, now The As- headed by MM. Grévy and Gambetta; the "irreconcilables" sembly were not strong in the new chamber; the reactionary parties of 1877. lost ground; and M. Grévy was at once re-elected president of the chamber. Consequently, the marshal president, after France had been deeply agitated by rumours of a new *coup d'état*, and by ominous movements of troops, at last gave way, and, honestly if reluctantly, accepted the verdict of the country. The reactionary "Ministry of May 16" fell, and, after a new attempt at a "business ministry," a republican cabinet was formed at last (14th December 1877), under the presidency of M. Dufaure. By degrees, as the shameless behaviour of officials at election after election came to light, the bureaucracy of France began to resume a republican colour, by removals of reactionary prefects, by opportune changes of political views, and acquiescence in the loudly pronounced opinion of the nation. The army, which was far from satisfied with the late Government, showed signs of content under the new. In the senate only did the three reactionary parties still possess any power; and even there their majority was so small that they could not venture on serious resistance. The Orleanist section, which, though very weak in numbers,

1879. still held the balance, and could give the majority to either side, was timid and moderate, and averse to heroic measures. Their refusal to prolong the crisis by consenting to a second dissolution of the chamber of deputies gave time for the moderate republic to consolidate its powers. The elections of 5th January 1879, in which, according to the present constitution of France, one-third of the senate has undergone re-election, have happily brought that body into harmony with the chamber of deputies and the country. Fresh rumours of trouble had been industriously circulated; the temper of France is, however, so thoroughly tranquil, and so decided in favour of a constitutional republic, that the hopes of the reactionary parties have all been frustrated.

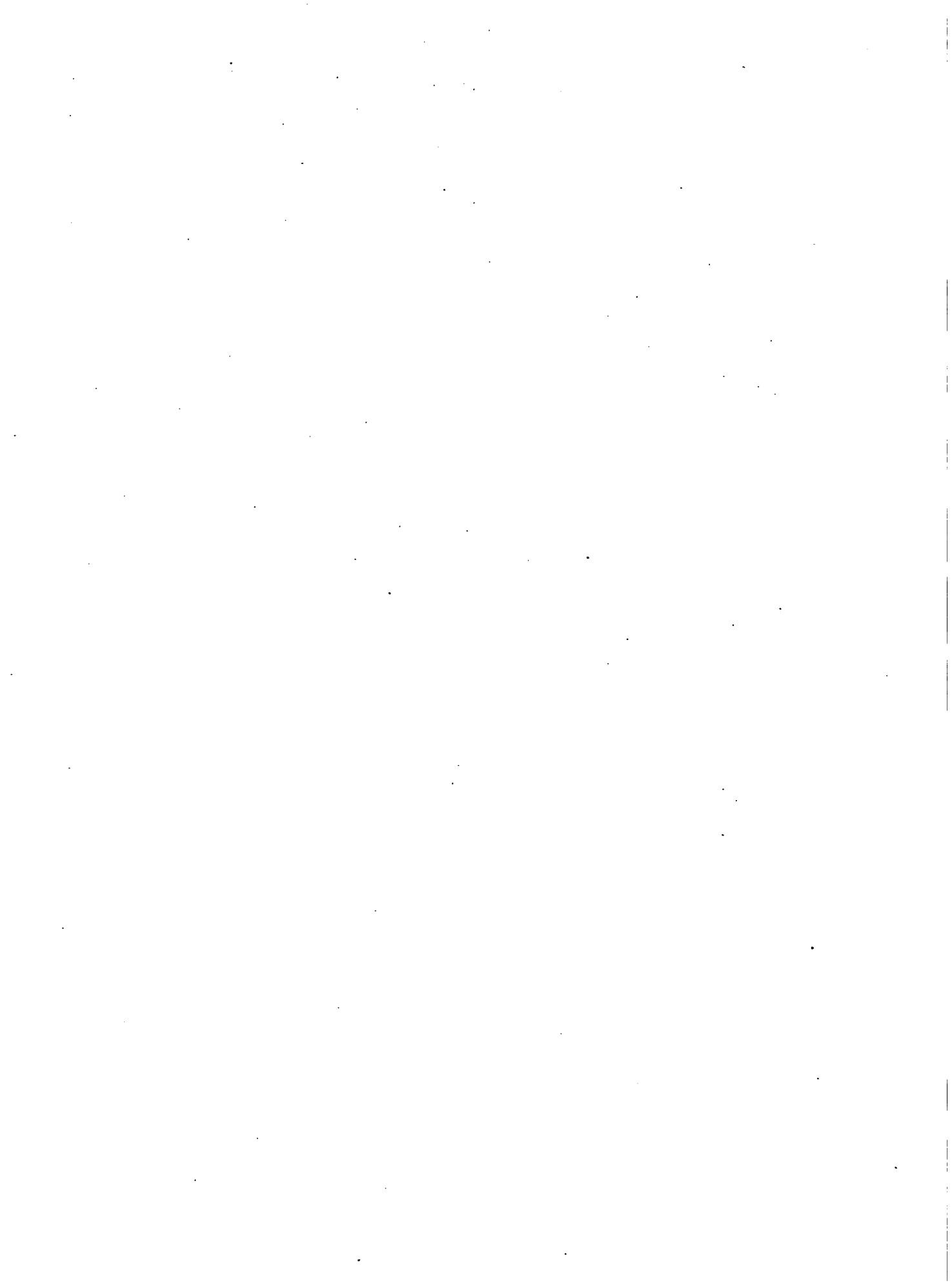
Conclusion.

It is always absurd to indulge in historical prophecy ; and forecasts as to the future of France, thanks to the quick movement of opinion, the general ignorance of the country people, the vehemence in the towns, the long succession of changes in government and constitution, must be specially precarious. Still, it is clear that, for a time at least, the reaction, however strong elsewhere, has been defeated in France ; above all it is clear that imperialism has received a heavy if not a fatal blow. This is no little matter. We live in days in which the growth of a modern imperialism, based on huge armaments and destructive of small states, had become a standing menace to the well-being of the world ; it is a ground for hope and thankfulness that France, the central state of Europe, has definitely

and calmly abandoned her imperialist traditions, and set herself to live the temperate life of a constitutional republic.

Each race has its own special function in the general polity of nations ; France seems called to lead in the propagation of wholesome political ideas. Even in her most violent moods, her principles have been right, her theories humane and noble. It is true that she is deficient in many practical gifts ; religion with her has ever held a very secondary place ; her ideas on economical questions are narrow, and in many points her sympathies are not enlisted on behalf of what seems to us to be best. Still, her present position is an incalculable gain to Europe, and a promise of good for the future. With France as a prudent republic, the resistance of the peoples of Europe to arbitrary power and crushing armies will gradually be strengthened ; and constitutional life, already developing itself throughout the Latin races, will find its best guarantee of stability. The movements of Europe have often taken their rise from France ; the union of a strong government with a vigorous national life may also come to date from her ; if England has striven to impress the practical rendering of her constitutional principles and her tongue on half the world, France can also boast that she has provided her part by enunciating, with the most admirable clearness of speech and thought, those general ideas as to the relations between man and man which lie at the basis of any wholesome system of government.

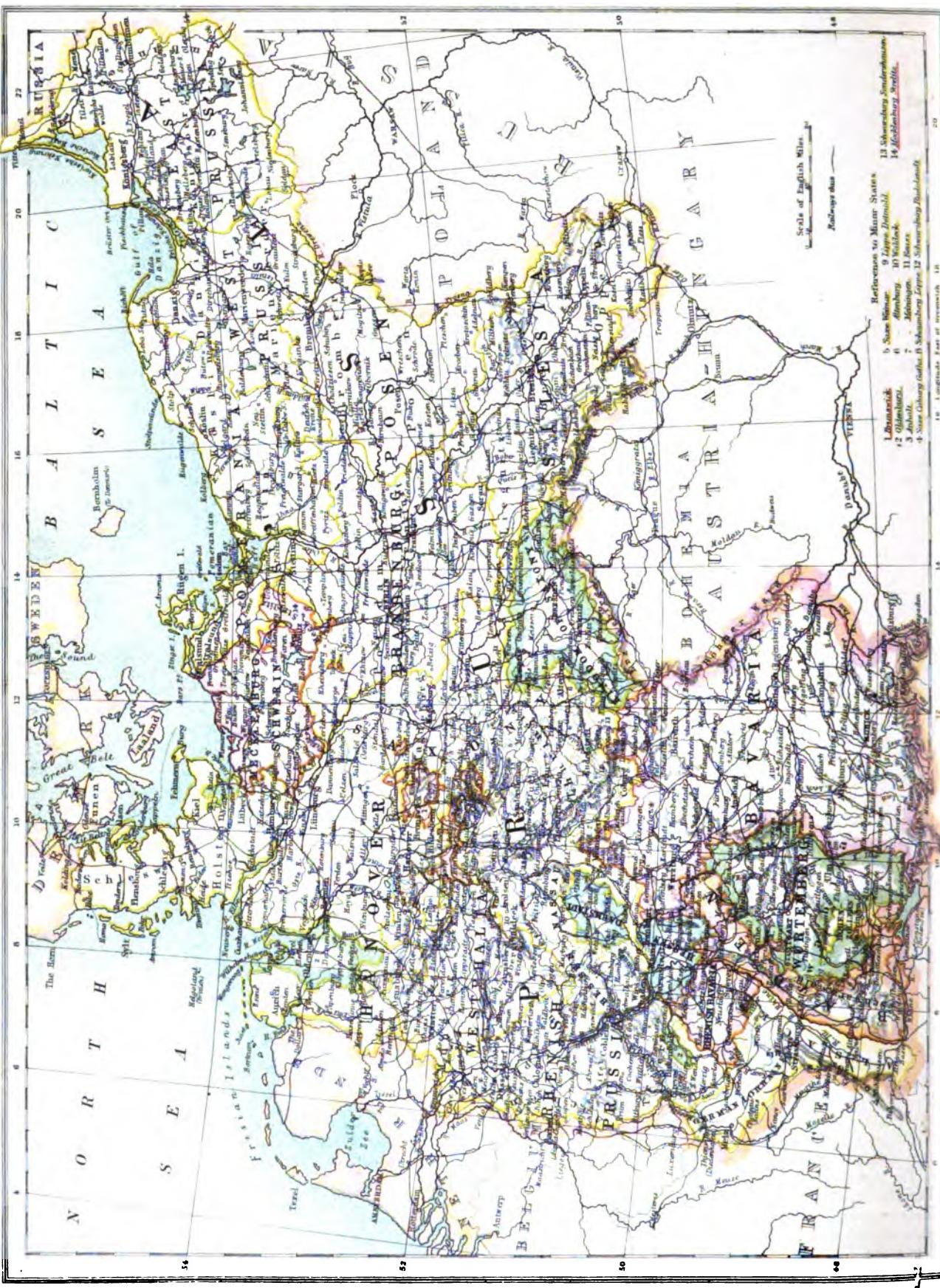
(G. W. K.)



GERMANY

PLATE IV.

VOL. X.



PART II.—HISTORY OF GERMANY. By JAMES SIME.

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year 1879, by ADAM & CHARLES BLACK, Edinburgh, Scotland, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture.

Ancient Times.

The people whom we call "the Germans," and who call themselves "die Deutschen," are a branch of the Teutonic race, which, again, belongs to the great Aryan family. At what time the Teutons broke away from their Aryan kinsfolk we have no means of knowing. In the 4th century B.C., when they are first mentioned, they were settled along the shores of the Baltic Sea; but long before that time the race must have scattered itself far and wide over the countries now known as Scandinavia and Germany, and the Scandinavians and the Germans were gradually marked off from each other by important differences in language, in customs, and in institutions.

Tribes.

At the time of Tacitus, whose *Germania* is our chief authority as to the condition of ancient Germany, central Europe was in the possession of a large number of German tribes. These tribes did not call themselves by a common name. The word "German" is of Celtic origin, meaning, according to some philologists, "shouters," according to others, "neighbours." It seems to have been applied by the Gauls in the first instance to a particular German tribe with which they were in conflict, and afterwards to the whole people. The word "Deutsch" (Goth., *Thiuda*, the people) does not occur till the 9th century, and was not used in the sense now given to it for some time later. Although without a common name, the ancient Germans believed that they had a common origin, all of them regarding as their forefather Mannus, the first man, the son of the god Tuisko. Mannus was supposed to have had three sons, from whom had sprung the Istævones, the Ingævones, and the Herminones. These groups were without political significance, but they seem to have marked real distinctions. The Istævones were the tribes with whom the Romans were brought most into contact, occupying, as they did, both banks of the Rhine. The lands held by those of them on the left bank were divided by the Romans into "Germania Superior" and "Germania Inferior," the chief tribe of the latter being the Ubii, who had an important settlement on the site of what is now Cologne. On the right bank, from the Lippe to the Ruhr, were the Usipetes and Tencteri, and to the north of them the Sicambri and the Bructeri; the land now called Hesse appears to have been inhabited by the Chatti. On the island formed by the Meuse and an arm of the Rhine were the Batavi. The second great group, the Ingævones, among whom were the Frisii, the Chauci, and the Cheruscii, were settled along the shores of the North Sea, and inland along the banks of the Weser and the Ems. The Herminones were much more numerous than either of the two other groups; they held the greater part of central and eastern Germany, reaching as far as the Vistula and the Carpathians. Most prominent among them were the Suevi, a great confederation of tribes which included the Marcomanni, the dwellers in what is now Bohemia, and the Semnones, who held what is now Lusatia and Brandenburg. Other Herminones were the Hermunduri, in and around the Thuringian forest; the Lombards, at the mouth of the Elbe; the Vandals, at the upper parts of the same river; the Heruli, to the west of the Vistula; and the Quadi, in what is now Moravia.

Character of people.

The ancient Germans were a tall and vigorous race, with long fair hair and what Tacitus calls "fiercely blue eyes." They wore mantles of fur or of coarse woollen stuff, thrown over the shoulders and fastened by a thorn or a pin. Their dwellings were wooden huts of slight construction, the inner walls of which they roughly coloured, and in which cattle were sometimes accommodated with the family.

War and the chase were the favourite occupations of the men; and when engaged neither in fighting nor in hunting they often lay idly by the hearth, leaving peaceful work to women and to males incapable of bearing arms. They liked social gatherings, but after a time conversation usually gave place to drunkenness, quarrelling, or excessive gambling. Although violent and cruel in moments of excitement, they were rarely treacherous, and in the ordinary intercourse of life they appear to have been kindly and considerate. They cherished the memory of illustrious ancestors, and listened often and with delight to songs celebrating their famous deeds.

The bulk of the people were freemen, who alone exercised Social political rights. They inherited their position, and the sign of their dignity was that they always carried arms. A limited class of freemen were nobles, whose sole privilege seems to have been that they were more respected on account of their birth than their neighbours, and more easily acquired a leading place in public life. Each freeman had slaves, who were chiefly prisoners of war and their offspring, and persons condemned to slavery for crime. They had no legal rights as against their owners, but in practice they were well treated. The Liti, composed mostly of freedmen, stood between freemen and slaves. A freeman necessarily either possessed land or was a member of a family that did; the Liti could only hold land of a superior with whom they shared the produce. If any one killed a noble, a free-man, or one of the Liti, he had to pay to the relatives a fine called afterwards the *wergeld*, and the amount was determined by the class to which the murdered man belonged.

Great importance was attributed to family relations. Instead of the bridegroom looking for a dowry, he was expected to present his bride with a valuable gift which should remain her property throughout life. The wife was completely subject to her husband, and if she proved unfaithful, custom allowed him to cut off her hair and to whip her through the village in which she lived; but this punishment had seldom to be inflicted, the German women being famous for their chastity. They were treated as friends by their husbands, who had a high respect for their judgment, and whom they often accompanied in distant expeditions. The children, over whom the father had absolute control, were hardly trained, boys being early taught the use of weapons, and girls devoting themselves to domestic duties. Relatives were held in great esteem, and, when the head of a household died, it was considered their duty to guard the interests of his family.

Many freemen lived apart from all others with their Political families and dependants, but the majority were grouped constituting in villages. The land around a village—its "mark"—originally belonged to the community, and was periodically divided among the inhabitants. About the beginning of the Christian era, however, the arable land was mostly in the possession of individual freemen, the forests and waste places being almost the only common property. A number of villages made a hundred, and the "gau," if the word existed so early, may have been a higher division, although it was more probably the name for the whole land of the tribe. Each village had its chief, elected by the freemen, but the important chiefs were the heads of the hundreds and the head of the tribe, whom the freemen also appointed. Some tribes had kings, but their power had no other source than that of other chiefs, nor was it more extensive; their only distinction was that they were chosen from particular noble families supposed to have sprung from the gods.

The chiefs of the hundreds and of the tribes had the right of gathering around them bands of followers ; and they never failed to exercise it, vying with each other in the number and quality of the young men whom they attracted to their service. These young men were generally eager for active duty, and if the tribe was at peace an adventurous chief would often give them an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by taking part in the wars of other communities. They swore to be faithful to him, and he in return supplied them with horses, with armour, and with food. The authority of the chief was extremely limited, the constitution of ancient German society being essentially democratic. Every village, hundred, and tribe had its periodical assembly, and these assemblies were attended by all freemen, no one of whom had higher rights than his fellows. Before the meeting of the assembly of the tribe, the king or other supreme chief would consult with the chiefs of the hundreds, who formed his council ; but the final decision rested with the freemen, whom they could influence only by persuasion. At this assembly the chiefs were elected ; and in its presence freemen clad their sons in the armour which indicated that they had attained the rights of citizenship. It declared war and made peace, permitted the chiefs with their followers to undertake war-like expeditions, and settled all disputed cases of justice.

Army.

The army was not a distinct institution ; it was made up of the whole body of freemen, all of whom were liable at any moment to be called to service. Each had a long shield and spear, the cavalry having no other armour. The infantry were provided also with missile weapons, of which they made dexterous use, and occasionally wielded clubs and battle-axes. The men of each hundred kept together in war, and were commanded by their chief, the supreme command being undertaken by the head of the tribe, or entrusted to a "herzog" appointed by the army. In the event of several tribes uniting, a herzog was chosen by the chiefs of the allied communities. The Germans rushed upon their enemies with fury, shouting or chanting as they did so, and adding to the noise by putting their shields to their mouths. To throw away the shield in panic was perhaps the worst crime of a German ; and most persons guilty of it committed suicide in an agony of remorse and shame.

Religion. The religion of the ancient Germans was essentially the same as that of their Scandinavian kinsmen, but our sources of information respecting it are few and imperfect. The highest place among the gods was held by Wuotan or Wodan, the Scandinavian Odin. The Romans identified him with Mercury, and the mediæval German writers, in referring to him, follow their example. He was the god of the air and of the sky, and was looked upon as the giver of the fruits of the earth. He delighted in battle and in the chase, and was represented as an imposing figure in a large white mantle, riding upon a white horse. Along with him the Germans worshipped Donar, the Scandinavian Thor, to whom Tacitus seems to refer in speaking of Hercules as a German divinity. He was the god of thunder and of the weather, and was armed with a hammer or thunderbolt. In later times the Germans supposed him to be Jupiter. He presided over marriage, and controlled the operations of agriculture ; and to him were sacred the oak and the mountain ash, the bear and the ram. Another great divinity was Ziu or Tiu, the Scandinavian Tyr, the god of war, whom Tacitus speaks of as Mars, and whose symbol was the sword. Tacitus says that a powerful goddess called Nerthus was worshipped on the shores of the Baltic ; he also mentions Isis as a goddess of the Suevic tribes. Both names evidently refer to the same divinity. On the coasts her symbol was a ship ; inland, it was a

waggon ; in some districts she was represented with the plough. Like Donar, she presided over marriage ; she also watched over the house and the fields, was the giver and protector of children, and ruled the world of the dead. At a later time she was known to the Saxons as Fria or Frigg, to the Franks as Holda, to the Bavarians as Perchta,—the first name indicating her freedom of manner, the second her kindness, the third her splendour. In the Scandinavian mythology Frigg is the wife of Odin ; and to this day, it is said, the peasants in certain parts of Low Germany speak of Fru Fricke, the wife of the wild hunter Wod. The mythology of the Germans, like that of the Scandinavians, included the three sisters of fate, two of whom were fair and good, the third dark and evil. Beneath the gods were giants, elves, and dwarfs. After death it was believed, good men were received into Walhalla ; and by good men were meant warriors who never shrank in battle—above all, warriors who died fighting. The Germans were profoundly influenced by their religious faith, and both in daily life and on special occasions attended scrupulously to the duties and precautions it was supposed to involve. Each god and goddess had his and her own festival, and their images were preserved in sacred groves. Sacrifices were offered to them, and their will was discovered by means of lots, the neighing of wild horses, and the flight of birds. Priests, without dominating the whole of life, exercised considerable influence, especially when the freemen met in public assembly, and when they were advancing against an enemy.

Roman Period.

The Cimbri and the Teutones, who appear to have wandered from the northern coasts of Germany, were the first German tribes with whom the Romans came into contact. In rather less than half a century after their final defeat by Marius, Arioivistus, a bold and powerful Suevic chief, crossed into Gaul with his followers to aid the Sequani against the *Ædui*. The latter were defeated, and, in reward for his services, he received from the Sequani a third of their best lands. It soon became obvious that his friendship was dangerous, and in 58 B.C. his terrified allies appealed for aid to the new proconsul, Julius Cæsar, who had just inflicted a crushing defeat on the Helvetii. When Cæsar sent to him proposing a personal interview, the barbarian haughtily answered that he himself had better come, which Cæsar quickly did. And the issue was that the army of Arioivistus was utterly beaten, and that he escaped with difficulty, severely wounded, across the Rhine, and soon afterwards died. Cæsar crossed the Rhine twice, but left no permanent mark of his invasions. He thoroughly subdued the Germans on the left bank, and from this time the whole people began to be powerfully affected by their mighty neighbours, many of them taking service in the Roman army.

The first serious attempt to conquer Germany was made by Augustus, who, after he rose to supreme power, wanted occupation for his legions. He began by conquering Rhætia and Noricum, Celtic countries along the southern borders of Germany, extending northwards through what is now German Austria and Bavaria to the Danube. Drusus, who, with Tiberius, executed this conquest in the summer of 15 B.C., was then entrusted with the task of subduing Germany. Deciding to reach the interior of the country by means of the sea and the northern rivers, he cut a canal between the Yssel and the Rhine ; and for the protection of Gaul he built no fewer than fifty forts along the latter river. Many of the tribes were at enmity with one another, and in his first expedition in 12 B.C. he was able to form an alliance with the Frisii against the Chauci and the Bructeri. In three different expeditions in the

immediately following years he found other native allies, and with their help mastered so many positions that the conquest of the whole country must have seemed quite certain. After the death of Drusus in 9 B.C., Tiberius conquered the Tencteri and Usipetes ; and at a later time he not only subdued the Sicambri, but settled 40,000 of them at the mouth of the Rhine, where they lived under Roman rule. A good many of the Istævones were now overcome, while others entered into a more or less compulsory alliance with Rome ; and it is probable that, if great generals had represented the empire, Germany would soon have shared the fate of Gaul. Quintilius Varus, who, in 6 A.D., was placed at the head of the Roman troops in Germany, lost all the advantages gained by his predecessors. He had held office in Syria, where he had ruled with great harshness ; and fancying that he might act in the same way towards the fierce tribes of the north, he roused among them a bitter hatred of the Romans. They found in Arminius, a son of the chief of the Cherusci, a leader of extraordinary bravery and resource. He had been a Roman soldier, and had so distinguished himself—perhaps in wars against his countrymen—that he was made a citizen and knight. He formed the design of freeing his people, and soon came to a secret understanding with influential Cheruscan and other chiefs. In the year 9, in the month of September, Varus, who had been told that a northern tribe was in revolt, was led at the head of his legions into the Teutoburg Forest. Here the Germans were lying in wait for him ; and everything was in their favour, the narrow defiles having caused disorder among the troops, and the ground having been made muddy by heavy rains. The battle which ensued lasted three days, during which the Romans were altogether destroyed, and Varus, in despair, killed himself by falling upon his sword.

The despairing cry of Augustus—"Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"—testifies to the consternation which this defeat caused at Rome, where it was expected that the barbarians would take a terrible revenge for the wrongs they supposed themselves to have suffered. The Germans, however, were too much occupied with internal disputes to think of any enterprise beyond their own country ; and in the year 14, after Tiberius had become emperor, Rome again assumed the offensive. Germanicus, the son of Drusus, crossed the Rhine, and defeated the Marsi. He returned in the year 15, when he was joined by the Chauci and other tribes, who fought for him as zealously as his own soldiers. Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, fell into the hands of Germanicus, and was sent as a prisoner to Rome. This intensified the hostility of the young chief, who now exerted to the utmost his vast influence to stir up against the invaders his tribe and its allies. The Teutoburg Forest was again selected as the scene of an attack ; and although Arminius was not victorious, he so far injured his enemy that Germanicus was forced to retreat. The struggle was resumed in the year 16, when Germanicus gained two victories. He gained them, however, at so great a cost that he and his army had to take refuge in their ships, the greater number of which were lost in a storm.

No sooner had the Romans been driven off than Arminius had to protect his people against an internal danger. Marobodus, the chief of the Marcomanni, a man of great ambition, had by treachery or by open fighting made himself master of several neighbouring tribes. Arminius began to fear his designs, and after the defeat of Varus warned him of his peril by sending him the Roman general's head. When Germanicus finally left the country, Arminius declared war against Marobodus, broke up his kingdom, and drove him from Germany. It is possible that Arminius himself may afterwards have wished to found a great state.

At any rate, a number of chiefs combined against him, and in the year 21, at the age of thirty-seven, he was killed.

Although the Romans did not again attempt on a large scale the conquest of Germany, they acquired great influence throughout the country, and they gradually obtained considerable possessions to the east of the Rhine and to the south of the Main. Among the tribes whom they forced to become their allies were the Frisians and the Batavians ; and in the year 69 a formidable conspiracy against them was headed by a Batavian chief, Claudius Civilia, who, like Claudio Arminius, had been a Roman soldier. Having been embittered by ill-usage from the emperor Nero, he stirred up his countrymen, and he found a large number of allies on both banks of the Rhine. He struggled valiantly for a time, supported by the mysterious utterances of Velleda, a prophetess who lived in a tower in the land of the Bructeri, and excited popular enthusiasm on behalf of the enemy of Rome. At last he was overcome by the Roman general Cerealis, and the Batavians were thenceforth compelled to send recruits to the Roman army.

About a hundred years after this time the relations of the Romans and the Germans began to be reversed, the latter being the aggressors. In the Marcomannic war Marcus Aurelius opposed for thirteen years a vast host of Germans who sought to push southward into Roman territory. Meanwhile the Romans had profoundly influenced large parts of the country. They built many fortresses along their frontier, and some of these were connected by a great wall, of which there are still remnants in southern Germany. Around the fortresses grew up towns, which became the Roman centres of civilization over pretty wide districts. In towns in Rhaetia, which reached from the Lake of Constance along the Danube as far as the Inn, there were important settlements at Augsburg and Regensburg (Ratisbon); Noricum, which stretched far to the east of Rhaetia, possessed, among other towns, Vienna, Salzburg, and Wels. Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, on the left bank of the Rhine, included Strasburg, Mainz (Mayence), Worms, Cologne, and Bonn. In the province of Belgium, which was at least partly German, was the great city of Treves, one of the most splendid in the Roman empire, and often the residence of the emperors.

Confederations of Tribes.

The experience of the Germans in contending with the Romans taught them the necessity of some measure of union ; and from the third century we hear no longer of the individual tribes which had before been famous, but of groups or confederations, each forming, for purposes of attack and defence, a single state. The Goths were one of the most important of these groups. They included many of the tribes in the eastern and north-eastern parts of Germany, such as the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Heruli. Next to them, in the order in which they appear in history, were the Alemanni, a confederation made up of several Suevic tribes. They held the Rhine country in the neighbourhood of the Main, and were continually pushing southwards and eastwards in the hope of securing Roman lands and towns. To the north of them, on both banks of the Rhine as far as the sea, were the Franks ; and to the east of the Franks, the Frisians and Saxons. The Thuringians, descendants of the Hermunduri, inhabited the Thuringian Forest and the surrounding country.

The Goths were the first of these confederations to found a great kingdom ; in the 4th century their lands stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This vast state was broken up by the Huns, who poured in immense hordes from the Asiatic steppes into Europe. Urged forward by so tremendous a force, the Burgundians, the Vandals, and many of the Suevi wandered westwards early in the 5th

century in search of new homes ; and the Burgundians soon conquered from the Romans the whole of the valley of the Rhone, in which they thenceforth settled. The Vandals and the Suevi went on to Spain, the latter remaining there, but the former crossing over to Africa, where they maintained an independent kingdom for upwards of a century. Meanwhile, in a portion of Rhætia a new confederation had been forming itself, the Bavarians, who were probably in part descendants of the Marcomanni and also included some of the bands which had been driven westwards by the Huns. When the latter had settled themselves in the Gothic lands, the East Goths continued subject to them ; but the West Goths crossed the Danube into Roman territory, and afterwards, under their bold chief Alaric, penetrated into Italy and seized Rome itself. In the 5th century they conquered the southern part of Gaul, and nearly the whole of Spain, shutting up the Suevi, who had preceded them, in the small part of the peninsula which now forms Portugal. In the great battle with Attila, in which the destinies of civilization were decided, they fought by the side of the Romans ; and it was chiefly owing to their valour that he was forced to retreat. After his fall and the consequent disruption of his kingdom, Odoacer, the chief of the Heruli, became lord of Italy, and his authority was recognized beyond the Alps as far as Bavaria. Theodoric, the East Goth, displaced him ; and to Theodoric, too, the Bavarians yielded some kind of submission. None of the German kings who planted themselves on Roman soil displayed higher statesmanship than this great sovereign ; but his kingdom was built on too narrow foundations, and after his death soon gave way. The Lombards, who succeeded the East Goths in Italy, were not so brilliantly successful, but their power was more enduring.

Changes
in Ger-
many.

While these migrations were going on, great changes took place in the mother country. The Slavs, the last of the Aryan family to enter Europe, and at that time a listless and indolent race, having been stirred up by the terrific onslaughts of the Huns, had followed the general impulse towards the west. Finding many German lands vacant, they took possession of them ; and so numerous were their incursions that in the 5th century the Elbe and the Saale became the eastern boundaries of Germany. Within Germany itself the confederations had greatly extended their lands. The Alemanni held both banks of the Rhine at the points where it is joined by the Moselle and the Main, and reached far into what is now Switzerland. The Thuringians had pushed down as far as the Danube, and penetrated northwards and westwards along the Elbe and towards the Weser. The basins of the Elbe and the Weser were in the hands of the Saxons, and the Bavarians steadily advanced in and around the valley of the Inn.

Franks.

More important than any of these groups were the Franks, whose destiny it was to found the German and the French kingdoms. They were remarkable for the comparatively friendly terms on which they lived with the Romans, in whose armies many of them served, and by whose side they fought the Alemanni, the West Goths, and the Burgundians. This alliance did not, however, prevent them from enriching themselves, whenever they had an opportunity, at the expense of the Romans, who were repeatedly compelled to turn against them and drive them back. The Franks who lived to the east and the west of the Rhine were called Ripuarians ; those at the mouth of the Rhine and along the western shores of the North Sea were known as Salians,—both of them names whose origin is still uncertain. One consequence of the relation of the Franks to the Romans was that the kingly authority soon became higher among them than among other Germans. The Salic code, which probably belongs to the middle of the 5th century, shows us the Salian king as in all respects the centre of

his state. He was not then elected, but inherited his rights ; and the only nobility which existed was that belonging to his officers and followers. The state was divided into "gaus," presided over by *grafs* or counts, whose duty was to administer the laws emanating from him, and to execute the sentences of his tribunal. There were still, however, popular assemblies, without whose sanction the king could not undertake any national enterprise.

Early Mediæval Period.

The first Salian king of whom we know anything is Early Chlodio, who reigned about the middle of the 5th century, Frankish, and whose kingdom reached to the Somme. His successor, Merwig, or Merovæus, who gave his name to the first great Frankish dynasty, fought beside the Romans and the West Goths against Attila. Childeric I., the son of Merovæus, offended his people, and appears to have fled from them and taken refuge for a time among the Thuringians. During his absence the Salians placed themselves under the Roman commander-in-chief, Ægidius, not as the representative of Rome, but as a personal ruler in whom they had confidence. His representative governed so badly that they were glad to welcome Childeric back. In a great battle Childeric overcame Ægidius, and made himself master of Cologne and Treves ; but afterwards he was reconciled to the Romans, and before his death he ruled in their name in Paris. When he died in 481, his son and successor, Chlodwig (Clovis) was a boy of fifteen, but a boy of high Chlod-spirit, daring and aggressive. From him, in 486, came, in wig. the battle of Soissons, the blow which made an end of Roman rule in Gaul. In a few years he conquered the greater part of the country, and many of his warriors scattered themselves over it, seizing much of its most fruitful land. He turned also against men of his own race. The Alemanni having made war on the Ripuarian Franks, the latter appealed for help to Chlodwig, who gladly responded to their summons, and defeated the invaders in the battle of Zülpich. It was in this battle that he vowed, according to tradition, to become a member of the Catholic Church if the God of the Christians gave him the victory. Whether or not the tale be true, it is certain that to his baptism he owed the greater part of his amazing success ; for the West Goths and the Burgundians were Arians, and the Gallic clergy, who exercised unlimited power over the popular mind, welcomed into their country an orthodox believer. As for the Alemanni, he would have annexed their whole territory, but Theodoric, the East Goth, who was interested in them, and whom he did not dare offend, warned him that he must not treat them with undue severity. He must, however, have taken the part of their territory in the neighbourhood of the Main and the Neckar, for it was henceforth known as Franconia. At a somewhat later date the whole of Alemannia was added to his kingdom. Being as unscrupulous as he was ambitious, he put to death all who had any claim to independent authority among the Franks ; so that he became their sole king, and they quickly acquired the proud feeling of being the centre of a vast and growing state.

Chlodwig died in Paris, his capital, in 511, leaving four Division sons. They did not destroy the unity of the kingdom, of Frank which in its relation to the outer world continued to be regarded as a single power. But each, as a king of the Franks, received a separate territory. The East or Rhenish Franks, with the Alemanni subject to them, were placed under Theodoric, the eldest. He was as valiant as his father, and not less deceitful and cruel. The great Thuringian kingdom was in his time ruled by three brothers, Hermanfried, Berthar, and Baderich. The former of these was married to a niece of Theodoric the East Goth, Amalaberga, a kind of Thuringian Lady Macbeth. Consumed by

Salic
code.

a vehement ambition, she persuaded her husband to murder Berthar ; and she would have caused the death of Baderich also, but that he knew her design and rose against the guilty pair. Hermanfried sent to Theodoric, the East Frankish king, and offered to reward him if he would form an alliance against Baderich. The offer was gladly accepted, and in a battle which followed Baderich was slain. No reward, however, was given, and Theodoric, indignant at being thus treated, vowed to be avenged. He allied himself with the northern neighbours of the Thuringians—the Saxons ; and with their united forces they completely subdued the country. Theodoric himself murdered Hermanfried by pushing him off the wall of Zülpich, where they were carrying on an apparently friendly conversation, the Thuringian king having received an assurance that he would be treated with honour. Thereupon the murderer divided between himself and the Saxons the territory of the Thuringians, annexing the southern half to the Frankish kingdom. His son, Theudebert, not only maintained this conquest but added to it, after the downfall of the Gothic kingdom in Italy, that of Bavaria. The Alemanni were also made altogether subject to his rule. Thus the Saxons and the Frisians alone retained their independence.

The rights of the Franks in Germany were at first vigorously asserted; but a change soon came. The Merovingian kings carried on so many fierce wars with each other that they had little time to look after their subjects in the remote east; moreover, the rise of a great new aristocracy steadily undermined the royal power. This aristocracy was made up of the class directly associated with the king by military or court duties. They were rewarded by immense grants of land, which they held in the first instance subject to the condition of rendering faithful service, but the possession of which, in most cases, became in the end absolute and hereditary. Nowhere was the new aristocracy so powerful as in Austrasia, the eastern division of the Frankish monarchy. In Neustria, the western division, where the sovereign had to deal for the most part with a race which for five centuries had been accustomed to the despotic government of Rome, he had little difficulty in maintaining his supremacy; for the Franks settled in different districts could not but be more or less influenced by the feeling of the native population. Besides, they lived at great distances from one another, so that it was difficult to hold popular assemblies of any kind, and the powers which belonged to them were naturally transferred to the head of the state. Hence, even when the Merovingian kings of Neustria were driven into the background, and the mayors of the palace governed, the latter had high authority, and exercised it, as a rule, in the interests of the crown. In Austrasia the conditions were wholly different. There the Franks were the predominant element; and the distances were not so great but that an assembly could be rapidly summoned on every occasion of real need. Thus the important landowners of Austrasia were able to hold together, and to limit the powers of the sovereign on the one hand and of the ordinary freemen on the other. And the mayor of the palace, who was their nominee, and could at any moment be dismissed if he displeased them, usually acted as their representative and leader.

Kings under the authority of an aristocracy of this kind are not likely to be troublesome to unruly subjects; especially kings of such feeble personal character as those who, from the first half of the 7th century, nominally held the sceptre of the mighty Chlodwig. The German confederations which he and his immediate descendants had conquered soon became virtually free. They continued to acknowledge Frankish supremacy; but the acknowledgement was only formal. At the head of each

confederation was its own herzog or duke. These rulers were at first appointed by the Frankish kings, or received their sanction; but in course of time the office became hereditary in particular families. This was the case, longer than anywhere else, in Bavaria, where the ancient Agilolfing family held the ducal dignity from the earliest days of Frankish authority down to the time of Charles the Great. The dukes were far from being absolute sovereigns, for in Germany the freemen had retained many of their primeval rights. The assemblies of the hundred and of the confederation still exercised great authority. As among the Austrasian Franks, however, although in a less degree, the leading landowners constantly encroached upon the powers both of the poorer freemen and of the head of the state.

In the time of the great dukes of the Franks, who arose Frankish to infuse new life into the decaying monachy, there was another profound change in the position of the Germans. After the battle of Testri, in 687, in which Pippin of Heristal decided that the Frankish kingdom should not then fall to pieces, and that, in the reunited state, the Austrasian Franks should have the supremacy, the German dukes began to find that they were likely again to have a master. He made war on them, and forced them to some extent to return to the allegiance which they had all but forgotten. His successor, Charles Martel, asserted his rights with not less vigour, and added East Friesland for the first time to the monarchy. The high importance of the efforts of these two illustrious rulers was seen in the struggle of Charles Martel with the Arabs. Had the Frankish kingdom been dissolved, they would have had little difficulty in overrunning Europe; but having under him a state more or less organized, Charles was able to rally around him powerful warriors from all the districts he governed, Germany among the rest. And so, at the memorable battle of Poitiers, he saved Christendom. Other favourable results of the policy of Charles and his father were that new and vigorous life streamed towards the Gallic part of the kingdom from Germany, while the Germans were brought into closer contact than before with the higher and more refined civilization of the Gauls. Pippin the Short, the first king of the Carolingian line, although his chief fame was won in his wars with Aquitania and with Lombardy, did not neglect Germany, in which he strove to assert an authority more thorough and extensive than had been exercised even by the early Merovingian sovereigns.

After all, however, even these powerful Frankish conquerors had but imperfect success in Germany. When they were present with their formidable armies, they could command obedience; when engaged, as they often were, in distant parts of the vast Frankish territory, they could not trust to the fulfilment of the fair promises they had exacted. One of the chief causes of their ill-success was the continued independence of the Saxons. Ever since they had acquired the northern half of Thuringia, this warlike race had been extending its power. They were still heathens, and maintained all the old customs and institutions of primitive Germany. As in ancient times, they appointed a herzog only when an officer of this class was needed, in time of war; at ordinary times the chiefs elected by the freemen ruled in association with the popular assemblies. They cherished bitter hatred towards the Franks, whom they justly regarded as the enemies both of their liberties and of their religion; and their hatred found expression, not only in expeditions into Frankish territory, but in help willingly rendered to every German confederation which wished to throw off the Frankish yoke. No rebellion against the dukes of the Franks, or against King Pippin, took place in Germany without the Saxons coming forward to aid the rebels. This was perfectly understood by the Frankish rulers, who tried

717-772. again and again to put an end to the evil by subduing the Saxons. They could not, however, attain their object. An occasional victory was gained, and some border tribes were from time to time compelled to pay tribute; but the mass of the Saxons remained unconquered. This was partly due to the fact that the Saxons had not, like the other German confederations, a duke who, when beaten, could be held responsible for the engagements forced upon him as the representative of his subjects. A Saxon chief who made peace with the Franks could undertake nothing for the whole people. As a conquering race, they were firmly compact; conquered, they were in the hands of the victor a rope of sand.

Introduction of Christianity. Although, at the time of King Pippin's death in 768, the Germans were still imperfectly subdued, they had received the germs of new life; for, with the exception of the Saxons, they were then nominally Christians. The first missionaries to Germany were Irish monks.

In the 7th century a number of these laboured with considerable success in different parts of the country, especially among the Alemanni and the Bavarians; and when the influence of the Franks became dominant, Frankish missionaries also began to do for the church what the warriors did for the state. The honour of converting Germany as a whole, however, belongs mainly to St Boniface, an Englishman, who in 717 began the task of his life as an assistant to another English missionary, Willibord, in Friesland. Soon afterwards, during a visit to Rome, he received from Pope Gregory II. a commission as apostle of the Germans, and worked incessantly among the Thuringians and the Frisians. He proved himself one of the most skilful of missionaries, adapting the conceptions of Christianity to the ideas of those whom he taught. The peculiar powers of Wodan, for instance, were transferred to the archangel Michael, those of Donar to St Peter; and the chief Christian festival, Easter, received its name from the goddess Ostara. His zeal and talent, although largely rewarded, effected less than he had hoped, so that in 723 he went once more to Rome to obtain, if possible, increased powers. Hitherto the mission in Germany had possessed an essentially independent character; Boniface now undertook to work in all things under the direction and for the benefit of the papacy. In return for this engagement he was not only made bishop of all Germans who had been or should be converted, but received from the pope a letter commanding him to Charles, the mighty duke of the Franks. The Frankish bishops, who had no wish to become subordinate to the papacy, received Boniface coldly, and threw every kind of obstacle in his way. Charles, however, believing that the conversion of Germany would be the most effectual means of establishing Frankish authority, took Boniface under his protection, and sent him forth with orders that he should be everywhere respected. Thus strengthened, he entered upon a wholly new stage of his career. He was looked upon as to some extent armed with the authority of the great warrior and ruler, and he and his fellow-workers rapidly brought vast districts within the pale of the church. Possessing a high talent for organization, he would willingly have established an orderly ecclesiastical system as he proceeded; but the Alemanni and the Bavarians, among whom Christianity had made some progress before his time, would not allow him free scope for his activity; and Charles, who, by "resuming" church lands and granting them to faithful followers, had done much to weaken ecclesiastical authority in Gaul, did not wish to see it assume threatening proportions in Germany. In 738 Boniface again visited Rome, from which he returned in the following year as papal legate to the Frankish state. Armed with this new authority, he was able to some extent to give effect to his ideas. The duke of Bavaria permitted him to divide the whole of

Bavaria into the episcopal sees of Salzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, and Passau, and to appoint the bishops; and a little later, with the sanction of Charles, he formed also the sees of Würzburg, Erfurt, Buraburg, and Eichstädt.

Before Pippin the Short was made king, he ruled for some years in association with his brother Carlman, to whom the eastern part of the kingdom was confided. Carlman was a man of strongly religious temperament, and warmly supported Boniface. He set up by his advice bishoprics and monasteries, among the latter being the great abbey of Fulda, which, throughout the Middle Ages, was one of the chief centres of intellectual light in Germany. In 742 was held the first German council, summoned by Carlman, and presided over by Boniface. It did much for the organization of the church, and was the beginning of an important movement for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses among the Franks. Boniface wished to become archbishop of Cologne, that he might the more readily influence the Frisians; but the suggestion met with opposition, and he ultimately accepted the see of Mainz. As archbishop of Mainz and primate of Germany, he was able to foster and control the institutions he had established. The last years of his life he spent in missionary labours among the Frisians, and in 755 he died a martyr's death. By that time all German tribes, with the exception of the Saxons, professed Christianity; and the church was not only highly organized, but possessed great wealth. The old pagan faith had struck its roots too deeply into the German nature to be at once or soon completely destroyed. Traces of its influence may even yet be detected in popular beliefs and customs; and for many centuries some of its conceptions, in altered forms, had hardly less vitality than those of the Catholic creed. Christianity was, however, the dominant power, and soon became a great civilizing agency. It was a fact of high importance that its triumph was due mainly to the influence of the papacy. The German Church thus stood from the beginning in close relation to the pope,—a circumstance which added largely to his power, and which was followed by results of the utmost consequence in the later history of the nation.

Under Charles the Great (Charlemagne) a momentous era dawned in the history of the Germans. From the outset of his reign he had vast plans, which, however, ^{magn} were not so great as those ultimately realized. He saw at once that he could not hope to execute his schemes if on the north-eastern boundary of his kingdom there was a powerful and hostile people, ready at all times to plot against him, and to take advantage of any misfortune which might temporarily befall him. Accordingly, when the death of his brother Carlman made him, in 771, sole king, one of his first resolutions was to advance against the Saxons, and thoroughly to subdue them. It is not necessary to suppose that he went to war without an ^{Conques} adequate special reason; for, as the Frankish and the Saxon ^{of} frontiers touched each other along the whole western and southern boundary of Saxony, and as the Saxons were continually robbing their neighbours, pretexts for war were always overabundant. In his first campaign in 772 he overran the country, took the fortress of Eresburg, previously supposed to be impregnable, and cast down the Irminsul, a mysterious column to which the Saxons attached profound religious significance. Awed by the lordly bearing of the great Frank, by the numbers and discipline of his army, and by these proofs of his power, the Saxons appeared to submit at once, and Charles was under the impression that he had conquered them. Never was there a more profound mistake; in reality, he was at the beginning of a struggle which lasted upwards of thirty years. Time after time, when apparently they were utterly beaten, they rose against the invaders, and tried with des-

perate energy to drive them from the country. The execution of 4500 prisoners by Charles—an act which even then was looked upon as barbarous—only deepened their resolve never to yield to his authority. At last, however, their strength was exhausted, and they had no alternative but to submit. Charles introduced among them the political institutions which were established throughout the kingdom; and they were compelled to exchange their heathenism for the Christian faith. Thus one of the greatest dangers which threatened the stability of the Frankish kingdom was overcome, and all Germany was for the first time brought under a single ruler.

Bavaria. The part of Germany which, next to Saxony, had retained most independence was Bavaria. Its duke, Thassilo, had been on ill terms with Pippin; and, had he allied himself with the Saxons during their great conflict, he might have baffled even Charles. But he did not become troublesome until they were too weak to be of service to him. Repeated acts of treachery gave Charles a pretext for depriving him of his office, and after him no duke was placed over the country. As the dukes of the Alemanni and the Thuringians had also been displaced, Germany became, more directly than it had ever before been, subject to the Frankish sovereign. Not content with completing the conquest of the German people, he made war on the tribes which harassed their eastern frontier. The Avars, who held the greater part of what is now Hungary, were thoroughly beaten; and the Slavs, including the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Slavonic tribes to the north of them, as far as the Baltic, were also more or less effectually forced into submission.

The imperial title. The great step taken by Charles on Christmas Day 800, when at St Peter's in Rome he was crowned Roman emperor, intensified the allegiance of his German as of his other subjects; but it could not produce so powerful an impression in Germany as in Gaul. Ultimately, however, it was in Germany that the significance of the step was fully revealed; for, in becoming emperor, Charles created so splendid a prize, that later German kings could not resist the temptation to grasp at it, and its possession proved their ruin.

All the advantages which attended the rule of Charles throughout his vast empire were shared by the Germans. The border countries he formed into "marches," over which he appointed margraves, whose duty was to administer justice in his name, to collect tribute, and to extend his conquests. Germany itself was placed under counts, who did not merely, like the counts of an earlier time, execute the sentences of the royal tribunals, but themselves decided questions of justice in accordance with local laws and the capitularies of Charles. Four times a year the whole country was visited by his Missi Dominici, who reported as to the state of their districts, investigated grievances, and proclaimed the imperial decrees. Although he could not write, Charles was a man of true culture, and encouraged education by causing schools to be established in connexion with cathedrals and monasteries. These schools were modelled on the famous school of the palace over which Alcuin presided, and in which the emperor himself passed some of his happiest hours. By his magnificent basilica in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), his favourite capital, and by the palaces he built there and in Ingelheim and Nimeguen, he fostered a love of art among the more advanced of his German subjects.

The clergy. In Germany, as in Gaul, Charles treated the clergy in the spirit in which he treated the papacy; he set up and put down archbishops, bishops, and abbots, as if he were the supreme lord of the church,—which indeed, in theory as well as in practice, he claimed to be. But the church never had a truer friend. As emperor, he believed that his chief duty was to protect and to encourage it, and he was stimu-

lated to the performance of his supposed duty by the conviction that a strong spiritual power would be one of the soundest pillars of his secular authority. Hence he not only founded bishoprics and monasteries in Germany, and enriched them with magnificent gifts of land, but invested the prelates with some of the functions which properly belonged to the counts. Criminal cases they did not yet decide; but they were allowed to settle all civil disputes between the inhabitants of their territories. This policy may have been beneficial at the time, but it caused much disaster to his German successors; for the church became one of the most vigorous and obstinate powers with which they had to contend in maintaining their lawful functions.

Although in many respects one of the greatest of states, Charles was of thoroughly despotic temper; more than people. any previous Frankish king he set himself against popular liberties. Hitherto all Germans had had the right of attending national assemblies or diets; the common freemen were now excluded, and only the great nobles, spiritual and secular, were summoned. Even they had but slight influence. They had the right of advising, but Charles himself originated and decided; and he would not brook opposition, although, indeed, so commanding was his presence, and so high the moral authority conferred by his great deeds, very little opposition was ever offered. Popular assemblies of all kinds he discouraged, transferring their functions to the counts. Not only were the rights of freemen limited, but severe hardships were imposed upon them by Charles's incessant warlike expeditions. At any moment they were liable to be dragged from their homes to some distant corner of the empire; and while they were away, their fields lay neglected, and their families suffered grinding poverty. What made this evil most galling was the fact that its pressure was very unequally felt. Well-off freemen knew how to purchase exemption from the counts, part of whose business was to see that the ranks of the army should be properly filled. It is true that Charles treated severely offences of this kind; but in such an empire as his, it was impossible even for his Missi Dominici to find out every case of injustice. Thus the burden of his many wars fell to the largest extent on the poorer class of freemen, who had but a sorry recompense in the glory their sacrifices reflected on their lord.

Not content with the general allegiance due to him as Feudal king and emperor, Charles compelled many great land-owners to take the oath of vassals; he imposed a like condition on his prelates and counts. A man might be his vassal without possessing land; but no land was granted by Charles except to those who were willing to assume this intimate personal relation. As his conquests put vast quantities of land at his disposal, especially in Saxony and on the frontiers, many freemen gladly swore to be his "men" in the hope that he would reward them for their services with extensive benefices. On the other hand, large numbers of poor freemen became the vassals of their stronger neighbours, as there was a chance that the military demands made upon them would thus be made rather less exorbitant. By these changes, due either directly or indirectly to him, Charles helped to build up that system of feudal tenures, the foundations of which had been laid by the first Merovingian kings. As in giving great temporal power to the church, so in establishing feudalism, he imagined that he was providing for the monarchy a steady support; but in the latter case, even more than in the former, he prepared weakness and humiliation for those who came after him.

After the death of Charles Germany remained for some time, in common with the other countries which composed the Frankish empire, under the direct rule of his son, Louis (Hludwig or Ludwig) the Pious. On the division of the monarchy, effected by the emperor in 817, in order

817-870. to secure the succession, Bavaria was given to his second son Louis; the other parts of Germany fell to his eldest son Lothair (Lothar), who received also the rest of the empire, except Aquitania, which was the portion of Pippin, the youngest. This arrangement lasted until the emperor fell completely under the power of his second wife, Judith, a Bavarian princess, who intrigued incessantly to obtain for her son Charles—afterwards "Charles the Bald"—a position similar to that of his half brothers. The emperor at last, at the expense of his son Lothair, marked off an important territory for this inconvenient child. In the wars which followed, Louis the Bavarian firmly maintained his rights; but he disapproved the cruel harshness with which his father was treated by Lothair. In Germany the emperor was highly esteemed,—especially in Saxony, where he softened the rigorous system introduced by Charles, by sanctioning as far as possible a return to ancient popular institutions. The result was that when he was virtually deposed by Lothair, and afterwards not only deposed but humiliated almost beyond endurance, the Germans warmly supported Louis the Bavarian in insisting that the emperor should be restored to imperial rights. For his services on these occasions Louis received extensive additions of territory, and had he continued to be fairly treated, he would have been the most effectual support of his father's power. But the spirit of the gentle-hearted emperor was broken by misfortune, and when Pippin of Aquitania died, he was easily persuaded by Judith, who had come to an understanding with Lothair, to sanction a division of the empire by which his son in Germany would have been confined strictly to his original possession of Bavaria. Louis instantly revolted; and it was in marching against him that the emperor fell sick and died, in 840, on a small island on the Rhine opposite Ingelheim. The last words of the dying sovereign were a message of forgiveness to his rebellious son.

Lothair at once assumed the imperial dignity, and showed that he intended to demand the complete submission of his brothers, Louis and Charles. They combined against him, and in the battle of Fontenay, in 841, after fearful slaughter, defeated him. The armies of the allied brothers soon afterwards met in Strasburg, where they swore to be true to each other, Louis taking the oath, so as to be understood by the army of Charles, in a language in which we find the beginnings of modern French, Charles in a German dialect. In 843 the treaty of Verdun was signed. By this treaty Lothair retained the title of emperor, and received, in addition to the Italian territory of the Franks, a long narrow kingdom, stretching from the Mediterranean up through the valleys of the Rhone and the Rhine to the North Sea. This kingdom was called Lotharingia, a name afterwards confined to the northern part of it along the left bank of the Rhine. To the west of Lotharingia was the kingdom of Charles, which included the greater part of what is now France. Louis received most of the German lands to the east of the Rhine, with the towns and sees of Mainz, Worms, and Spires, on the western bank.

Nothing was further from the intention of the brothers than finally to break up the Frankish state by this division. In relation to the outer world the empire was still considered a single power, as the kingdom had been after the death of Chlodwig, more than three centuries before. And, after a time, it was for a brief period reunited under one head. Still it is not an arbitrary impulse that has led historians to fix upon 843 as the date of the real beginning of the German as well as of the French kingdom. Although it can hardly be said that a true national life had yet revealed itself in Germany, at least the foundations of national life had been laid. For the first time Germany was ruled by a king who reigned nowhere else, and it could not but be

that the people should slowly acquire a sense of common interests.

Middle Mediæval Period.

Keen animosity soon revealed itself between Louis and Louis Charles the Bald, and on one occasion when the former, the accepting the invitation of certain West-Frankish nobles, rashly invaded his brother's territory, he was made prisoner. He escaped without dishonour only by the intercession of Lothair II., the emperor Lothair's second son, who, after his father's death, had received the greater part, and ultimately the whole, of Lothair's kingdom to the north of Italy. When Lothair II. died in 869, Charles the Bald pounced upon his territory; but Louis the German had naturally something to say to this seizure of the whole prize, and in 870 the rival brothers signed the treaty of Mersen, by which Louis became possessed of most of Lotharingia or Lorraine. Germany at this time assumed very nearly the proportions which it maintained during the Middle Ages. On the east boundaries were the Elbe and the Saale; to the west it reached to and included the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, taking in, among others, the important towns and dioceses of Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Metz, Strasburg, and Basel. Franconia, which reached eastward from the Rhine through the valleys of the Neckar and the Main to the Saale, and extended also a little to the west of the Rhine, occupied the central position, and, as the home of the Franks, was the most important division of the kingdom. To the north and north-east of it were Saxony and Thuringia; to the south, Alemannia, or, as it now began to be called, Swabia; and to the east of Swabia, in the valley of the Inn, Bavaria. There were five archbishoprics, those of Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Salzburg, and Bremen.

Louis, who was on the whole the worthiest of the grandsons of Charles the Great, ruled his kingdom vigorously and efficiently. During his reign the Frankish empire was vexed throughout nearly its whole extent by the Northmen, whom the fame of Charles the Great had held in awe, but who now swept the coasts of northern, southern, and western Europe with persistent fury. The East-Frankish kingdom was, however, much less troubled at this time than the kingdom of the West Franks; the main evil with which Louis had to contend was the arrogance of his Slavonic neighbours. Exactly to the east of Franconia, from the Saale to the Oder, were the Sorabi, and to the north of them, between the Elbe and the Oder, the Wiltzi and Abotrites; while along the Baltic coast, as far as the Vistula, in what is now Pomerania, were the Wends. To the south of the Sorabi, behind the Bohemian Forest, were the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia. All these Slavonic tribes Charles the Great had either thoroughly subdued or made tributary; and of course Louis the German claimed supremacy over them. But it was hard to make his claims good. While he was a very young ruler, a vigorous duke—Mojimir—acquired a position of great power among the Moravians. Soon after the signing of the treaty of Verdun, Louis, becoming alarmed at the growing influence of this chief, advanced against him, and put in his place a chief named Rastislaus, on whose allegiance he thought he could rely. But on his way back he was defeated by the Bohemians, who were on good terms with the Moravians. From this time the Moravians were a source of incessant anxiety to him. Rastislaus extended his kingdom far to the east, and formed alliances with the Bulgarians and even with the Byzantine emperor; at the same time he stirred up the Bohemians and the Sorabi against Louis, and built strong fortresses on his western frontier. This gallant chief, after much fighting, at last fell into the hands of his enemies, who put out his eyes, and caused him to end his

Treaty of
Verdun.

Beginning of
German kingdom

days in a monastery. But his successor, Svatopluk, was not less energetic, and Louis was never able to overmaster him.

The emperor Lothair's successor in the empire was his eldest son Louis II., who received as his kingdom the Frankish possessions in Italy. After his death Charles the Bald adroitly managed to secure the imperial crown. This happened in 875, almost immediately before the death of Louis the German. Having succeeded so easily in regard to the supreme title, Charles fancied he might be able to unite the whole empire under his rule. But Louis had divided Germany between his three sons, Carlman, Louis, and Charles; and the second of these met Charlemagne the Bald on the field of Andernach, and by a decided victory convinced the West Franks that it was useless to hope for dominion east of the Rhine. The same son of Louis the German forced Charlemagne the Bald to give up such portions of Lorraine as had been ceded to him by the treaty of Mersen, so that the right of possessing the whole of this important territory, which included the best part of what had been Austrasia, was vindicated for the Germans. The two eldest sons of Louis soon died, and the kingdom passed into the hands of the youngest, Charles the Fat, a prince of indolent habits and feeble mind. He crossed the Alps, however, and was crowned emperor; and, as the Northmen were at this time tormenting the West-Frankish kingdom, and no descendant of Charlemagne the Bald was fit to cope with them, Charles the Fat was invited to become king of the West Franks. He thus ruled, with the exception of Burgundy, which at this time became an independent state, the whole empire of Charlemagne the Great; but the mighty fabric could not exist without the genius which had built it up. In Germany also the Northmen had made themselves more and more troublesome. Time after time their skiffs had penetrated far up the Rhine; they had plundered Cologne and Treves, and fed their horses over the grave of the great Charlemagne himself, in his own beautiful basilica. His degenerate great-grandson adopted the policy of buying them off, and when he reached Paris, to the disgust of his subjects, he pursued the same course. It happened that his brother Carlman had left an illegitimate son, Arnulf, whom he had made ruler of Carinthia, a country lying to the east of Bavaria. This young noble, who inherited the undaunted spirit of his forefathers, was indignant at the cowardice of his uncle; and when the latter, in 887, summoned an assembly in Tribur, Arnulf, instead of obeying the summons, marched at the head of a powerful army against the emperor. Despatched even by his ministers, and unable to offer the smallest resistance, Charlemagne the Fat was dethroned, and in a week or two afterwards died; and Arnulf, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, became king. For some time after this, Germany was still called East Francia, and the western kingdom West Francia, but they never again had a common ruler; they were now in all respects separate, independent states. The empire of Charlemagne the Great had fallen to pieces.

Arnulf, following the example of Charles the Fat, went to Rome and was made emperor. He could exercise but little authority in Italy, however, and soon returned. In 890 the Northmen desolated the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, and Arnulf, instead of buying them off, sent against them a powerful army. As it was defeated, he himself took the command in the following year. The Northmen occupied a strongly entrenched camp near Louvain; and Arnulf's force, consisting mainly of cavalry, seemed to be quite powerless. Leaping from his horse, he induced his men to fight beside him on foot; and they were so stimulated by his valour that for the first time the dreaded enemy fled, leaving thousands of bodies on the field. They never returned in such numbers as to be again a national peril. The emperor had also to wage war with

the Moravians, but his efforts here were not crowned with success. By this time the fierce and warlike Magyars had become a terror to eastern Europe, and it occurred to Arnulf to ask for their alliance. They gladly assented; and with their help he overcame one of the three reigning sons of Svatopluk, and contrived to detach from Moravia the Bohemians, the Sorabi, and other Slavs whom Svatopluk had joined to his kingdom. But at the time of his death, in 899, he had not succeeded in breaking up the state established by this powerful warrior and his predecessor.

During the nominal reign of Louis the Child—the last of the Carolingian dynasty in Germany (899–911)—the German people passed through one of the darkest periods of their history; for when the Magyars heard that Arnulf had been succeeded by a child, they swept into Germany in vast numbers, and fearful was the havoc they caused in every part of the kingdom. At such a time as this it happened that there was no leader around whom the nation could rally; it was virtually defenceless, and year after year savage hordes returned, bearing away with them as much plunder as they could carry, and driving before them as many prisoners as they could control. Where the Northmen had whipped with cords, these barbarians lashed with scorpions.

During the wars with the Magyars, the Northmen, and Growth of the Slavs, feudalism made rapid advances in Germany. Even in the days of Louis the German and Arnulf it was impossible for the sovereign to protect at all times every part of the kingdom. The people themselves were obliged to rise against their enemies, and, as in old times, they appointed herzogs or dukes for special warlike expeditions. These leaders, being chosen from the ancient ducal families, naturally began to think of restoring the power of which their fathers had been deprived; and, as there never was more urgent need of strong local rulers, they found no great difficulty in gratifying their ambition. The first reigning duke of whom we hear is Otto of Saxony, a country not only liable, like the rest of Germany, to the attacks of the Magyars, but specially exposed to the Scandinavian sea-robbers and the northern Slavs. This duke ruled over both Saxony and Thuringia. Soon afterwards we hear also of dukes in Bavaria, in Swabia, in Lorraine, and last of all, in Franconia. Having unusual opportunities of acquiring new lands, the dukes increased their power by granting them as fiefs to vassals on whom they could depend; and many independent landowners were glad to obtain their protection by offering them homage. Multitudes of the humbler class of freemen either were forced to change the tenure of their possessions into a feudal tenure, or did so in order to escape from still greater evils. Thus, when Louis the Child died, the feudal tenure of land was the prevailing system in nearly all parts of the country. Even those who held their offices and lands immediately of the monarch, like the dukes themselves, might still, in theory, be deprived of both; but in reality they asserted almost complete independence, rendering only such service to their lord as he could force from them, or as suited their convenience. The royal authority, nominally great, had become but a shadow of the authority exercised by the early Carolingian kings.

Had Germany had no powerful external enemy, it is probable that it would now have lost the slight measure of unity to which it had attained. While Louis lived, the dukes were virtually kings in their duchies; and their natural tendency would have been to make themselves absolute rulers. But, threatened as they were by the Magyars, with the Slavs and Northmen always ready to take advantage of their weakness, they could not afford to do without a central government. Accordingly the nobles assembled at Forchheim, and by the advice of Otto, the aged duke of Saxony, Conrad

911–936, of Franconia was raised to the throne (911–918). He had Conrad I. some excellent qualities, and in quieter times would have done good service to Germany; but he was rash and impulsive, and far too ready to submit to priestly influence. The dukes of Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine were not present at his election; and the choice displeased them, probably because he was likely to prove considerably more powerful than they wished. Rather than acknowledge him, the duke of Lotharingia or Lorraine transferred his allegiance to Charles the Simple of France; and it was in vain that Conrad protested and despatched armies into Lorraine. With the help of the French king the duke maintained his ground, and, for the time, his country was lost to Germany. Bavaria and Swabia yielded, but, mainly through the fault of the king himself, their submission was of brief duration. The rise of the dukes had been watched with extreme jealousy by the leading prelates. They saw that the independence they had hitherto enjoyed would be much more imperilled by powerful local governors than by a sovereign who necessarily regarded it as part of his duty to protect the church. Hence they had done everything they could to prevent the dukes from extending their authority, and as the government was carried on during the reign of Louis the Child mainly by Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, they had been able to throw considerable obstacles in the way of their rivals. They now induced Conrad to force a quarrel both upon Swabia and upon Bavaria, and the result was a series of wars in which he had only partial success. What was incomparably worse, his clerical advisers involved him in a struggle with Henry, duke of Saxony, son of the duke to whom he chiefly owed his crown. Henry was a man of great personal charm, a just ruler, strong, and brave. The Saxon people were devoted to him; and his influence over them was intensified by the virtues of his beautiful wife, to whom he was known to be passionately attached. Conrad committed a profound mistake in making an enemy of a man like this; and he lived to repent his error. On his death-bed he recommended the Franconian nobles to offer the crown to Henry, whom, with fine generosity, he recognized as the only man in the kingdom who could cope with the anarchy by which he had himself been baffled.

Saxon dynasty. The nobles of Franconia acted upon the advice of their chief and king, and the Saxons were very willing that the duke they loved so well should rise to still higher honours. Henry I. (918–936) was one of the best kings Germany ever had, a born statesman and warrior. His ambition was of the noblest order, for he sank his personal interests in the cause of his country; and he knew exactly when to attain his objects by force, and when by calmness and moderation. By wise concessions he almost immediately overcame the opposition of the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria; and some time later, taking advantage of the troubled state of France, he accepted the homage of the duke of Lorraine, which for many centuries afterwards remained a part of the German kingdom.

Having established internal order, Henry was able to turn to matters of even more pressing moment. In the very first year of his reign the terrible Magyars, who had continued to scourge Germany during the reign of Conrad, broke into Saxony and plundered the land almost without hindrance. In 924 they returned, and this time, by good fortune, one of their greatest princes fell into the hands of the Germans. Henry restored him to his countrymen on condition that they should agree to a truce of nine years; and he had the courage to undertake to pay, during this period, yearly tribute. The heedless barbarians accepted his terms, and faithfully kept their word in regard to the immediate lands of Henry, although Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia they occasionally invaded as before. He made admirable use of the opportunity he had secured,

confining his efforts to Saxony and Thuringia, the only parts of Germany over which he had strong control. In the southern and western German lands, towns and fortified places had long existed; but in the north, where Roman fortifications had been few, the towns had long existed; but in the north, where Roman influence had but feebly extended, and where even the Franks had not exercised much authority until the time of Charles the Great, the people still lived as in ancient times either on solitary farms or in exposed villages. Such fortresses as Charles had built had been for the most part destroyed in the wars after his time, and almost the only attempts at fortification were to be found around the towers or castles of the great nobles, and the dwellings of the leading churchmen. Henry saw that, while this state of things lasted, the population could never be safe, and began in earnest the construction of fortresses and walled towns. Of every group of nine men one was compelled to devote himself to this work, while the remaining eight cultivated his fields, and allowed a third of their produce to be stored against times of trouble. The necessities of military discipline were next attended to. Hitherto the Germans had fought mainly on foot, and, as the Magyars came on horseback, the nation was placed at an immense disadvantage. A powerful force of cavalry was now raised, while at the same time the infantry were drilled in new and more effective modes of fighting. Although these preparations were carried on directly under Henry's supervision only in Saxony and Thuringia, the neighbouring dukes knew what he was doing, and were stimulated to follow his example. When he concluded that he was almost ready, he made use of his new troops, before turning them against their chief enemy, the Magyars, to punish refractory Slavonic tribes; and at this time he brought under temporary subjection nearly all the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder. He proceeded also against the Bohemians, whose duke was compelled to do homage.

At the expiry of the truce the Magyar messengers came as usual for their tribute. They were sent away empty handed, whereupon a vast body of invaders crossed as in former years the frontier of Thuringia. Henry prudently waited until dearth of provisions forced the enemy to divide into two bands. He then swept down upon the weaker force, annihilated it, and rapidly advanced against the remaining portion of the army. The second battle was more severe than the first, but not less decisive. The Magyars, unable to cope with a disciplined army, were cut down in great numbers, and those who survived rode in wild terror from the field. The exact scenes of these conflicts are not known, but few more important battles have ever been fought. The power of the Magyars was not indeed destroyed, but it was broken, and the way was prepared for the effective liberation of Germany from an intolerable plague. While the Magyars had been troubling Germany on the east and south, the Danes had been irritating her on the north. Charles the Great had established a march between the Eider and the Schlei; but in course of time the Danes had not only seized this territory, but had driven the German population beyond the Elbe. The Saxons had been slowly reconquering the lost ground, and now Henry, advancing with his victorious army into Jutland, forced Gorm, the Danish king, to become his vassal. The German lands were given back, and it is probable that the march of Schleswig was at this time instituted.

When this great king died, every land inhabited by a German population formed part of the kingdom, and none of the duchies were at war either with him or among themselves. Along the northern and eastern frontier were tributary races, and the country was for the time rid of an enemy which, for nearly a generation, had kept it in perpetual fear. Vast as were these results, perhaps Henry did even greater service in beginning the growth of towns

throughout north Germany. He was not content with merely making them places of defence, he decreed that they should be centres for the administration of justice, and that in them should be held all public festivities and ceremonies ; he also instituted town markets, and encouraged traders to take advantage of the opportunities provided for them. A strong check was thus imposed upon the tendency of freemen to become the vassals of great lords. This movement was made so powerful by the troubles of the epoch that, had no other current of influence set in, the entire class of freemen must soon have disappeared. As they now knew that they could in the last resort find protection without looking to a superior, they had less temptation to give up their independence, and many of them settled in the towns, where they could be safe and free. Besides maintaining a manly spirit in the population, the towns rapidly added to their importance by the stimulus they gave to all kinds of industry and trade.

Before his death, Henry obtained the promise of the nobles at a national assembly or diet in Erfurt to recognize his son Otto as his successor, and the promise was kept. Otto I. (936-973) began his reign under the most favourable circumstances. He was twenty-four years of age, and to so high a pitch of honour had Henry raised the crown that, at the coronation festival, which was of unprecedented splendour, the dukes performed for the first time the nominally menial offices known as the arch offices of the German kingdom. These peaceful relations soon came to an end. It was Henry's aim to establish the dukes in their rights, maintaining the royal authority rather by moral influence than by force. Otto, who was of haughty temper, despotic, and ambitious, seems early to have resolved that the dukes should act in the strictest sense as his vassals, or lose their dignities. At the time of his coronation Germany was virtually a federal state ; he wished to transform it into a firm and compact monarchy. This policy speedily led to a formidable rebellion, headed by Thankmar, the king's half-brother, a fierce warrior, who fancied that he had a prior claim to the crown, and who had managed to secure a number of followers in Saxony. He was joined by the dukes of Franconia and Bavaria ; and it was only by the aid of the duke of Swabia, whom the duke of Franconia had offended, that the rising was put down. A second rebellion, led by Otto's brother Henry, was supported, among other nobles, by the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine. Otto again triumphed, and derived immense advantages from his success. The duchy of Franconia he kept in his own hands, and he granted Lorraine to Conrad, an energetic and honourable count, whom he still further attached by promising him his daughter to wife. Bavaria, on the death of its duke, was placed under Henry, who, having been pardoned, had become a loyal subject and friend of his brother. The duchy of Swabia was also brought into Otto's family by the marriage of his son Ludolf with the duke's daughter. By these means he made himself master of the kingdom, as none of his immediate predecessors had been. For the time, feudalism in truth meant that lands and offices were held on condition of service ; the king was the genuine ruler, not only of freemen but of the highest vassals in the nation.

In the midst of his troubles at home Otto had brought fresh perplexities upon himself by intriguing in the West-Frankish kingdom against "Louis d'Outremer." Louis responded with unexpected vigour, giving the signal for the second rising against Otto by invading Alsace. He also asserted a claim to Lorraine. When peace had been restored in Germany, Otto penetrated far into France, and received the homage of "Hugh the Great," his son-in-law ; but he soon returned, and afterwards used his great influence in favour of Louis against his rebellious nobles. Much more important

than Otto's doings in Franco were his wars with his northern 936-952, and eastern neighbours. The duke of Bohemia, after a long struggle, was brought to submission. Among the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder the king was represented by Margrave Gero, one of his most important vassals, a warrior well fitted for the rough work he had to do, loyal to his sovereign, but capable of any treachery towards his enemies, and sometimes guilty of outrageous harshness. This remarkable man conquered most of the country north of Bohemia between the Oder and the Upper and Middle Elbe. Margrave Billung, who looked after the Abotrites at the Lower Elbe, was less fortunate, mainly because of the neighbourhood of the Danes, who, after the death of King Daues. Henry, often attacked the hated Germans. At last they made Billung prisoner, and Otto himself had to proceed against them. Their king did him homage, and he re-established the march of Schleswig, after which the margrave made rapid way among the Abotrites and Wends. Otto, having profound faith in the power of the church to reconcile conquered peoples to his rule, provided for the benefit of the Danes the bishoprics of Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhuus ; and among those which he established for the Slavs was the important bishopric of Brandenburg. In his later years he set up the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which took in the sees of Meissen, Zeitz, and Merseburg.

Having secured peace in Germany, and begun the real Expedi- conquest of the border races, Otto was by far the greatest tition into sovereign in Europe ; and, had he and his successors refused Italy.

to I. to go beyond the limits within which he had hitherto acted, it is almost certain they would have established a united monarchy. But a decision to which Otto soon came deprived posterity of the results which might have sprung from the policy of his earlier years. About this time Adelaide, the young and beautiful widow of Lothair, son of King Hugh of Provence, having refused to marry the son of Berengar, king of Lombardy, was cast into prison and cruelly treated. She appealed to the mighty German sovereign, and the appeal not only touched his sympathies, but awoke an overwhelming ambition, since the way was thus opened for a partial restoration of the Carolingian empire. At the head of a great force, accompanied by his son Ludolf and many of his chief nobles, he crossed the Alps in 951, and descended into Lombardy. He displaced Berengar, and was so fascinated by Queen Adelaide that within a few weeks he married her. Ludolf, who had received a promise of the German crown, saw his rights threatened by this marriage, and returned sullenly to Germany. He went to an old enemy of his father, the archbishop of Mainz, and the two plotted together against the king, who, hearing of their proceedings, hastily departed, leaving Duke Conrad of Lorraine to attend to Italy. Otto had already taken the title of king of Italy, and Duke Henry, who hoped to obtain a large addition to his duchy, joined Queen Adelaide in urging him to assert the claims of the old Frankish sovereigns. Conrad, however, soon appeared with the intelligence that he had restored the Italian kingdom to Berengar, although as a fief of the German crown. This news being roughly received, Conrad took offence, and entered into the conspiracy of Ludolf and the archbishop. Otto, who did not suspect how deep were their designs, paid a visit to Mainz, and there was compelled to take certain solemn pledges which, after his escape, he repudiated. War then broke out, and the struggle was the Civil most serious in which he had been engaged. In Lorraine, war. of which Otto made his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, administrator, his cause was triumphant ; but everywhere else dark clouds gathered over his head. Henry of Bavaria was deserted by his vassals ; in Swabia, in Franconia, and even in Saxony, the native land of the king, his own duchy, the majority sided with the rebels.

955-973. It is extremely remarkable that the movement acquired so quickly this force and volume. The explanation, according to some historians, is that the people looked forward with alarm to the union of Germany with Italy and the empire. There were still traditions of the hardships inflicted upon the common folk by the vast expeditions of Charles the Great, and it is supposed that they anticipated like evils in the event of his empire being once more set up. Whether or not this be the true explanation, the power of Otto was shaken to its foundations. At last he was saved by the presence of an immense external peril. The Magyars were as usual stimulated to action by the disunion of their enemies; and Conrad and Ludolf were guilty of the fatal crime and blunder of inviting their co-operation. This baseness disgusted the Germans, many of whom fell away from the enterprise, and rallied to the head and protector of the nation. In a very short time Conrad and the archbishop of Mainz submitted; and although Ludolf held out a little longer, he too broke down and entreated to be pardoned. The archbishop was ordered to be closely confined in a monastery, and soon afterwards died. Lorraine was given to Bruno; but Conrad, its former duke, although thus punished, was not disgraced, for Otto had urgent need of his services in the war with the Magyars.

Defeat of the Magyars. The great battle against them was fought in 955 at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg. They had never before appeared in such numbers, and there was a strong feeling on both sides that it was to be finally settled whether the work of King Henry should be completed or wholly overthrown. After a fierce and obstinate fight, in which Conrad with many other nobles fell, the question was decided in favour of Germany and of Europe; the Magyars were even more thoroughly scourged than in the battles in which Otto's father had given them their first real check. The deliverance of Germany was complete, and from this time, notwithstanding certain wild raids towards the east, the Magyars began to settle in the land they still occupy, and to adapt themselves to the conditions of civilized life.

Otto crowned emperor. Entreated by Pope John XII., who needed a helper against King Berengar, Otto went a second time to Italy, in 962; and on this occasion he received from the pope the imperial crown. He did not return to Germany for more than two years; and in 966 he was again in Italy, where he remained six years, exercising to the full his imperial rights in regard to the papacy, but occupied mainly in an attempt to make himself master of the southern as well as of the northern half of the peninsula.

Connexion of Germany with the empire. By far the most important act of Otto's eventful life was his assumption of the Lombard and the imperial crowns. His successors so steadily followed his example that the sovereign crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle claimed as his right to be afterwards crowned in Milan and in Rome. Thus grew up the Holy Roman empire, that strange state which, directly descending, through the empire of Charles the Great, from the empire of the Caesars, contained so many elements foreign to ancient life. We are here concerned with it only in so far as it affected Germany. Germany itself never until our own day became an empire. It is true that at last the Holy Roman empire was as a matter of fact confined to Germany; but in theory it was something quite different. Like France, Germany was a kingdom, but it differed from France in this, that its king was also king in Italy and Roman emperor. As the latter title made him nominally the secular lord of the world, it might have been expected to excite the pride of his German subjects; and doubtless, after a time, they did learn to think highly of themselves as the imperial race. But the evidence tends to show that at first they had no wish for this honour, and would have much preferred had their ruler limited himself strictly to his own people.

There are signs that during Otto's reign they began to have a distinct consciousness of national life, their use of the word "deutsch" to indicate the whole people being one of these symptoms. Their common sufferings, struggles, and triumphs, however, account far more readily for this feeling than the supposition that they were elated by their king undertaking obligations which took him for years together from his native land. So solemn were the associations with the imperial title that, after acquiring it, Otto probably looked for more intimate obedience from his subjects. They were willing enough to admit its abstract claims; but in the world of feudalism there was a multitude of established customs and rights which rudely conflicted with them, and in action, remote and abstract considerations gave way before concrete and present realities. Instead of strengthening the allegiance of the Germans towards their sovereign, the imperial title was the means of steadily undermining it. To the connexion of their kingdom with the empire they owe the fact that for centuries they were the most divided of European nations, and that they have only now begun to create a genuinely united state. France was made up of a number of loosely connected lands, each with its own lord, when Germany, under Otto, was to a large extent moved by a single will, well organized, and strong. But the attention of the French kings was concentrated on their immediate interests, and in course of time they brought their unruly vassals to order. The German kings, as emperors, had duties which often took them away for long periods from Germany. This alone would have shaken their authority, for, during their absence, the great vassals seized rights which it was afterwards difficult to recover. But the emperors were not merely absent, they had to engage in struggles in which they exhausted the energies necessary to enforce obedience at home; and, in order to obtain help, they were sometimes glad to concede advantages to which, under other conditions, they would have tenaciously clung. Moreover, the greatest of all their struggles was with the papacy; so that a power outside their kingdom, but exercising immense influence within it, was in the end always prepared to weaken them by exciting dissension among their people. Thus the imperial crown was the most fatal gift that could have been offered to the German kings; apparently giving them all things, it deprived them of nearly everything. And in doing this, it inflicted on many generations incalculable and needless suffering.

By the policy of his later years Otto did much to prepare ^{Incre-} the way for the process of disintegration which he rendered of ^{inevitable} the empire. With the kingdom divided into five great duchies, the sovereign could always have maintained at least so much unity as King Henry secured; and, as the experience of Otto himself showed, there would have been chances of much greater centralization. Yet he threw away this advantage. Lorraine was divided into two duchies, Upper Lorraine and Lower Lorraine. In each duchy of the kingdom he appointed a palgrave, whose duty was to maintain royal rights; and after Margrave Gero died, his territory was divided into several marches, and placed under six margraves, each with the same powers as Gero, and having extensive lands. Otto gave up the practice of retaining the duchies either in his own hands or in those of relatives. Even Saxony, his native duchy, and the chief source of his strength, was given to Margrave Billung, whose family long afterwards kept it. As a set-off ^{The} to the power of the princes—for the reigning immediate church vassals of the crown ranked as princes—Otto, especially after he became emperor and looked upon himself as the protector of the church, immensely increased the importance of the prelates. They received great gifts of land, were endowed with jurisdiction in criminal as well as civil cases, and obtained several other valuable sovereign rights. The

emperor's idea was that, as church lands and offices could not be hereditary, their holders would necessarily favour the crown. But he forgot that the church had a head beyond Germany, and that the passion for the rights of an order may be not less intense than that for the rights of a family. While the empire was at peace with the popes, the prelates did strongly uphold it, and their influence was unquestionably, on the whole, higher than that of rude secular nobles. But with the empire and the papacy in conflict, they could not but abide, as a rule, by the authority which had the most sacred claims to their loyalty. From all these circumstances it curiously happened that the sovereign who did more than almost any other to raise the royal power, was also the sovereign who, more than any other, wrought its decay.

^{Mto II.} Otto II. (973–983) had been crowned king and co-imperator in his father's lifetime. His troubles began within a year in Bavaria, which was now a very great duchy, not only including the valley of the Inn, but reaching up along the western frontier of Bohemia and the eastern frontiers of Swabia and Franconia as far as the Bohemian Forest. Henry, the brother of Otto I., had died soon after the battle of the Lechfeld, and had been succeeded by a young son, who, as he grew up, showed himself of so contentious a disposition that he was known as Henry the Wrangler. This young duke's sister had married the aged duke of Swabia, over whom she had absolute control, so that the younger branch of the house of Saxony had acquired an importance which the emperor could not affect to ignore. Taking offence at some action of Otto's, Henry the Wrangler conspired against him and rebelled. This first rebellion was easily put down, but Henry soon escaped from the imprisonment to which he was condemned, and then Bavaria was the scene of a war which gave occasion to great bloodshed. When at last Henry was overcome, his duchy was taken from him and granted to one of the emperor's cousins, a son of Ludolf, who had caused so much anxiety to Otto I. As this prince had already received Swabia, Otto was able, without seeming to be harsh, to deprive Bavaria of some of its importance. The southern part, Carinthia, which had hitherto been a march, was separated from it and made a duchy; and the eastern march, Austria, was also taken away, and formally made over to Liutpold, of the Babenberg family, who had already ruled it for some time, and had proved himself a faithful vassal. Another member of the same house was invested with the Nordgau, a part of Bavaria to the north of the Danube, which formed a sort of wedge between Bohemia on the one hand and Franconia and Swabia on the other. Having arrived at this settlement, Otto went to chastise the unruly Bohemians; but while he was away war was begun behind him by the new duke of Carinthia, who, forgetful of the benefits he had just received, rose to avenge the wrongs of his friend Duke Henry. The emperor hastily concluded peace with Bohemia, the duke of which did him homage; and the rising was quickly put down. Henry was made over to the keeping of the bishop of Utrecht, and Carinthia received another duke.

In his anxiety to obtain southern Italy, Otto I. had secured, as wife for his successor, Theophano, daughter of the Byzantine emperor, to whom southern Italy belonged. Otto II., having all his father's ambition with much of his strength and haughtiness, and being in the full flush of youth, longed to get away from Germany and to claim these remote possessions. But he was detained for some time by a sudden and unscrupulous invasion of Lower Lorraine in 978 by Lothair, king of France. So stealthily did the invader advance that the emperor and empress, who happened at the time to be at Aix-la-Chapelle, had just time to escape before the town was seized. As quickly as pos-

sible Otto placed himself at the head of a great army, and 978–83 marched to Paris. The approach of winter compelled him Invasion to return without taking the city, which was well fortified; but soon afterwards Lothair gave up all claim to Lorraine, France, and peace was restored. At this time Lower Lorraine, which Otto I. had added to the crown lands, was held as a fief of the German sovereign by King Lothair's brother Charles, the last of the Carolings, whose claims to the French throne were afterwards put aside in favour of Hugh the Great.

At last Otto was able to fulfil the wish of his heart, and he did not again see Germany. His claims to southern Italy were vehemently opposed; and in 982 he suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Greek emperor's sub-Defeat of jects and their allies, the Saracens of Sicily,—saving his life Otto in Italy. The tidings of this crushing blow cast gloom over Germany, and in the north and east the Danes and Slavs, as if the spell by which the first Otto had held them was broken, attacked the Germans with an audacity and a determination they had never before displayed. With the Danes the Saxons were able to cope; but the Slavs, who vehemently detested the German yoke, fought with such desperate courage that much of the work effected by Margraves Billung and Gero was altogether undone. They had seemed to be decisively conquered, but two centuries passed before they were beaten back to the position to which they had been reduced in the previous reign. Such were the first fruits of the assumption of the imperial title.

About a year before his sudden death in Rome, Otto held Otto III. a diet in Verona which was attended by the German princes. They would not help him in his Italian enterprise, which was extremely unpopular; but they consented to recognize his infant son Otto as his successor. This child they took back with them to Germany, and after the emperor's death he was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle. Henry the Wrangler, as his near relative, was released from confinement and made his guardian; but as this restless prince soon showed an inclination to secure the crown for himself, the infant king was taken from him and placed under the charge of his mother Theophano. Afterwards, when she died, he lived with his grandmother, the empress Adelaide. While these two ladies acted, one after the other, as regent, the chief functions of government were discharged by Willigis, archbishop of Mainz, a vigorous prelate who had risen from a humble rank to the highest position in the German Church. He was aided by the princes of the state, each of whom claimed to have a voice in the supreme administration. Under these conditions vigorous rule was impossible; so that during the minority of Otto the royal authority was greatly weakened. In Bavaria, after the death of Henry the Wrangler, the higher vassals, without waiting for the appointment of a duke, returned to the ancient German custom, and elected Henry's son. A similar election took place in Thuringia, the head of which, although not a duke, ranked with the chief aristocracy. And along the coasts of Friesland was formed a virtually free state, which was at a later time the scene of a long-continued contest between the Frieslanders and the powerful counts of Holland. At the age of fifteen

Otto III. (983–1002) was declared to have reached his majority. He had been so carefully trained in all the learning of the age that he was called "the wonder of the world," and a certain fascination still attaches to his imaginative, although somewhat fantastic, nature. His mother having imbued him with the extravagant conceptions of the Byzantine emperors, he introduced into his court an amount of splendour and ceremonial that had hitherto been unknown in western Europe. Most of his time he spent in Rome, Scheme and here he cherished a vast scheme by which he was to do of Otto III. much more than recall the empire of Charles the Great in its whole extent. As the heir of the Western emperors, and

1000-24. the grandson of an Eastern emperor, he fancied that he might unite the entire known world under his rule. Rome was to be its centre, and Germany but a province. In this vague design he was warmly encouraged by Gerbert, the greatest scholar of the day, whom, as Silvester II., he raised to the papal see. Silvester saw that in such an empire, with such an emperor, it would not be difficult for the papacy to become the real source of influence. Meanwhile Germany suffered severely from internal disorder and from the inroads of her rude neighbours; and when, in the year 1000—a year which Otto, with many others, feared might see the end of the world—he visited his northern kingdom, there were eager hopes that he would smite the national enemies with something of the vigour of his predecessors. But the imperial dreamer found it more interesting to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, and to descend into the tomb of the mighty Charles, beside whose gorgeously arrayed body, as it sat on its marble throne, he gave free scope to his fancy,—apparently under the strange impression that his was a spirit akin to that of the worldly and resolute conqueror. One practical step he did take, but it was in a direction contrary to that desired by his subjects. The Poles, of whom we hear first during the reign of Otto I., and who inhabited the country immediately to the east of the Oder, had since his time owed a vague allegiance to the Germans. They were now ruled by Boleslaus, a chief of an aggressive and determined spirit, who by ostentatious loyalty gained the goodwill of Otto III. The latter commissioned him to conquer the Pomeranians, a duty which he gladly and effectually discharged, adding to the Pomeranians the Prussians and some of the Bohemians. The large state thus formed the emperor made independent of Germany, probably in the hope that it might form the centre for a province of his future empire. Its Christian missions were severed from the church of Germany and formed into a new Polish church; and the emperor himself founded the head see at Gnesen, where his friend Adalbert had met a martyr's death. This was done with the sanction of Pope Silvester, who at the same time established an independent national church in Hungary, and encouraged Stephen to become the first Magyar king, by sending him from Rome a golden crown.

Otto's magnificent plans received a fatal shock from the insubordination of the Romans, for whose city he designed so much honour. When he died, perhaps by poison, there was no representative of the elder branch of the Saxon family, and several candidates came forward for **Henry II.** the throne. Henry II. (1002-1024), son and successor of Henry the Wrangler, and therefore the great-grandson of King Henry I. by a younger line, managed to reach Aix-la-Chapelle before his chief rival, the duke of Swabia, and was there crowned. As he had not been elected, he was obliged to humble himself by going about among the princes and entreating their allegiance. His shattered health, querulous temper, and abject submission to priestly influence unfitted him for the great position to which he had raised himself, and his reign was an unfortunate one for Germany. For ten years civil war raged in Lorraine; in Saxony, too, torrents of blood were shed in petty quarrels. Hitherto it had been the right of the crown, when a duke or other prince died, to appoint his successor; and obviously no royal right was of greater importance. In Henry's time, the principle of inheritance was virtually established in favour of the immediate vassals of the sovereign. He more willingly made this concession because of his extravagant generosity to the church, in which, like Otto I., he looked for his main support. He had his reward in the attachment of the papacy, by which he was ultimately canonized; but he succeeded no better than his predecessors in counterbalancing the secular by the spiritual princes. In his foreign wars he

was as little prosperous as in his government at home. Boleslaus, who was now a powerful sovereign, had conquered Bohemia and Lusatia; and so anxious was Henry to win back these lands that, notwithstanding his Christian zeal, he obtained the alliance of certain Slavonic tribes by undertaking that their religion should not be interfered with. Bohemia and Lusatia were for a time detached from the Polish kingdom, but they were reconquered, and after a war of fourteen years the Pole was a greater ruler than ever. Henry went three times to Italy, and was crowned Lombard king and emperor. Before he became emperor, in order to assert his right of sovereignty over Rome, he called himself king of the Romans; and this was the designation borne by his successors until they received the higher title from the pope. Up to this time a sovereign crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle was simply "king of the East Franks" or "king of the Franks and Saxons."

The great nobles now met at Oppenheim, and elected to ^{Francia} the throne Conrad, a count of Franconia. The dukes of ^{conis} Upper and Lower Lorraine, with a number of prelates, ^{dynas} opposed this choice; but their objections were overborne, and ^{II.} Conrad II. (1024-39) seemed to have no reason to dread internal enemies. Very soon, however, he had to battle with a formidable conspiracy, and during nearly his whole reign he was exposed to dangers of this kind; for he was a masterful king, looked with extreme jealousy on the rights the princes had acquired, and wished his crown to be the symbol of a genuine central authority. He was remarkably successful in contending with rebellion; and the chief cause of his success was that he allied himself with a powerful force, the significance of which had not been detected by previous sovereigns. Hitherto the vassals of great lords—^{Medie} the mediate nobles—had been very much at the mercy of ^{nobles} their superiors. Conrad, seeing that he and they had a common danger, made them more independent. It was not until nearly the end of his reign that he issued his famous edict in Italy, decreeing that no fief-holder should be deprived of his fief without judgment of his peers; but he carried out this policy from the beginning in Germany, and even from the judgment of a fief-holder's peers there was a right of appeal to the royal tribunal. The result of this policy was that the inferior fief-holders were unwilling to follow their lords against the king. Thus when Duke Ernest of Swabia, his stepson, rose against him, and appealed to his men, as in old times, to make his cause their own, they refused, urging that the sovereign was the supreme protector of their liberties. Conrad soon revealed that his object was the same as that which Otto I. long pursued,—not to do away with the duchies, but to get them, if possible, under his immediate control. The principle of inheritance he extended to the throne; and in his case it was recognized, his son Henry being crowned as his successor soon after he himself became king. To young King Henry he granted Bavaria in fief, when the reigning duke, by rising against him, forfeited his title; and afterwards, despite the bitter opposition of the nobles, he invested the same prince with Swabia, the ducal family of which died out. Carinthia, being vacant, was given to Conrad's nephew. As Franconia ever since the time of Otto had remained in the hands of the sovereign, Saxony, Thuringia, and the two Lorraines were the only duchies of which Conrad was not more or less master.

When Conrad mounted the throne, the safety of Germany ^{Neig.} was endangered from three different points. On the north ^{border:} Denmark was ruled by Canute, the great English sovereign; on the east was the wide Polish state, whose sovereign Boleslaus crowned himself king, and still had possession of Bohemia and Lusatia; to the south-east was Hungary, which, under Stephen I., was rapidly becoming an organized and formidable power. Conrad was prudent enough to ask

in marriage for his son Henry Canute's daughter; and in return he ceded to Denmark the march of Schleswig. The Danes thus became the friends of the Germans, and were of service to them in keeping down the Wends. With Hungary, Conrad waged war, but not successfully, for, although a statesman, he appears to have been no great general. He was more fortunate in Poland; Boleslaus having died, the Poles plunged into a furious civil war, and he was able to turn their disunion to his own advantage. Moreover, a youthful hero, Breteslaus, an illegitimate son of the duke of Bohemia, having carried away from a convent a young German lady, a powerful noble's daughter, whom he passionately loved, and who had unbounded influence over him, was induced to place his sword at the disposal of Conrad, and by a single raid he drove the Poles from Lusatia. Lusatia and Bohemia were thus restored to Germany, and the Polish ruler, who now claimed no higher title than duke, did homage to Conrad for his lands.

In Italy Conrad was ill received, for although as emperor and Lombard king he was its lawful sovereign, the Germans were still looked upon as intruders, and by force alone they could maintain their rights. The event which at the time threw most lustre on his reign was his acquisition of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. It was bequeathed to him by Rudolf III., whose niece Gisela was Conrad's wife. In 1032 he was crowned, and was at once recognized by the German-speaking population. The others resisted, but in two years all opposition had been overcome, and he received in Geneva the homage of the leading southern nobles. This beautiful kingdom was full of prosperous cities, and its possession seemed to add incalculably to the power of the German kings; but in the end it proved an occasion of humiliation rather than of strength.

Henry III. (1039-56), who had been crowned, while his father was alive, king of Burgundy as well as of Germany, had none of the rudeness and reckless impulsiveness which marred Conrad's great qualities; but he had the same decisive judgment, far-reaching ambition, and irresistible will. In the later years of Conrad, Breteslaus, the young Bohemian prince who had served him so well in Lusatia, having succeeded his father as duke of Bohemia, waged war in his own interest against the disunited Poles, and easily brought their whole state into subjection. As he showed signs of wishing to become an independent sovereign, Henry invaded his territory, and so completely overcame him that he appeared before the king in Ratisbon, barefooted and in a penitent's garb. Henry treated him generously, and was rewarded by receiving to the end of his reign the service of a loyal vassal; and the young king also gained the good-will of the Poles by placing over them their lawful prince, Casimir, who willingly did homage for his land. The king of Denmark, too, acknowledged Henry as his feudal lord. Moreover, by several campaigns in Hungary, forced upon him by the violence of its king, Samuel, son-in-law of Stephen I., Henry brought that country for the first time, but only temporarily, into the position of a fief of the German crown. In Germany itself he acquired, during the first ten years of his reign, an authority which had been unknown since the days of Otto I. His bitter enemy, Duke Gottfried of Upper Lorraine, who conspired against him time after time, and found powerful allies in certain Burgundian nobles and in the counts of Flanders and of Holland, was beaten down; and he was able to dispense against the most powerful princes the laws of the kingdom, and to force them to maintain the public peace. Under this severe and beneficent rule Germany enjoyed a period of internal quiet such as she had probably never before experienced. But even Henry could not permanently divert from its course the central political tendency of the

age. The princes, convinced that his aim was to bring the duchies under his direct authority, and thus to create a monarchy which should have but one head, sullenly awaited their opportunity; and it came when, in 1052, after a ten months' siege of Presburg, he was obliged to retreat precipitately from Hungary. The influence of his great fame was shaken, and from this time he had to contend against warlike nobles. On one occasion he found out, only through the death-bed repentance of a rebel, that he was the object of a widespread conspiracy, which, had he remained in ignorance, would inevitably have succeeded. Even the mediate nobles, who had stood loyally by Conrad, were not his friends; for his wars made serious demands upon them, and his administration of justice was often stricter in regard to their class than they quite approved. Although at the time of his death he was still one of the most powerful sovereigns who ever reigned in Germany, he was obliged to adopt a conciliatory policy,—even Duke Gottfried, after all his offences, being established in his duchy.

At the beginning of Henry's reign the church all over Europe was in a deplorable condition. Simony in its basest papacy. forms was almost universally practised, and morality among the clergy was at its lowest ebb. The papacy, too, had sunk into a degraded state, its authority being annihilated, not only by the character of successive popes, but by the fact that there were at the same time three claimants of the Roman see. These evils were regarded with sorrow by Henry, who was a man of sincere and rigorous piety. Associating himself with the reforming movement which proceeded from Cluny, he not only commanded and pleaded with his prelates to put an end to abuses, but resolved to strike the evil at its root by stern exercise of his imperial rights. In 1046 he entered Rome at the head of an army which had secured for him in northern Italy such respect as had been given to no German ruler since Charles the Great, and summarily deposed the three popes whose contentions had caused scandal throughout Christendom. He then raised to the papal see the bishop of Bamberg as Clement II., who crowned him emperor; and after Clement, when death made fresh appointments necessary, three other German popes, Damasus II., Leo IX., and Victor II. Under these popes a new era began for the church and for the papacy. Behind the two latter was the stern, unfaltering, high-minded Hildebrand, who, as their adviser, silently prepared the way for his own memorable term of rule. In thus reforming the papacy, Henry III. fulfilled what was regarded as the noblest duty of his imperial office; but he also sharpened a weapon whose keen edge was first tried against his son.

The last years of Henry III. form a turning-point in German history. Great kings and emperors came after him; but none of them possessed the direct, absolute authority which he freely wielded; even in the case of the strongest, the forms of feudalism more and more interposed themselves between the monarch and the nation, and at last royal authority virtually altogether disappeared. The process was hastened by the unfortunate fact that Henry III. was succeeded by a child. The infant king, Henry IV. Henry (1056-1106), was at first in charge of his mother, the empress Agnes, a lady of excellent qualities, but too gentle for a position which demanded the exercise of stern virtues. Her rule was jealously watched by Anno, archbishop of Cologne, a rigid churchman of imposing personality, cold to the ordinary interests of the world, but passionately devoted to his order. Discontented by the predominant influence of the bishop of Augsburg at court, he managed, by a clever trick, to get possession of the king and the insignia of royalty. Agnes, knowing his power, and deserted by her friends, retired from the regency;

1056-77. and Anno began forthwith to rule the state. By and by he was compelled by the diet to share his duties with Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, who was not less ambitious than Anno, but was as gay, sociable, and worldly as his rival was proud and morose. In the end Adalbert made himself complete master of Henry, who thus grew up under the most diverse influences. The young king was generous, and endowed with considerable intellectual gifts; but, passing as he did from the gloomy palace in Cologne, where he lived a monk's life under terrible censors, to the palace in Bremen, where he was petted and flattered, he became wayward and self-willed. He assumed the duties of government at the age of fifteen, and soon made enemies of nearly all the chief princes. In Saxony, where, like his father, he held his court, he excited by a series of injudicious proceedings intense hostility. While the Ottos were in pursuit of the imperial phantom, a number of the crown lands in this duchy had been seized by nobles whose descendants now held them. Henry insisted on restoring these; and, as Henry I. had taken possession of the domains of his Carolingian predecessors, so Henry IV. claimed the domains of his Saxon predecessors. As if this were not enough, he built a number of fortresses which the free peasantry imagined were intended for prisons; he kept in confinement the heir to the duchy, and he persistently spoke of the Saxons in a tone of supreme contempt. All classes were thus combined against him; and in 1073 the universal discontent found expression in a vast popular assembly, attended alike by freemen and by nobles, and in which—such was the gratitude of the church for royal favours—a leading place was taken by the archbishop of Magdeburg and by the bishop of Halberstadt, the former the brother, the latter the nephew, of Archbishop Anno. Henry was surprised by a band of rebels in his fortress of Harzburg, near Goslar. Attended by a few followers he escaped, and appealed to the princes for support; but he could not compel their aid, and of free will they would grant him nothing. After tedious and degrading negotiations, in which he was accused of every kind of crime, he was at last obliged to yield the demands of his enemies. As these demands did not include the destruction of the fortresses, the peasants, fancying they were betrayed, refused to lay down their arms, and stormed through the duchy, not only battering down the detested buildings, but even destroying the chapel of the Harzburg fortress and committing acts of desecration with ruthless fury. This so alarmed the princes, both spiritual and secular, that Henry was able to advance with a large army into Saxony, where in 1075 he gained a decisive victory, and re-established the authority of the crown.

Gregory VII. While Germany was in this confused state, Hildebrand had become pope, as *Gregory VII.*, and in 1075 he issued his famous decree against the marriage of the clergy and against their investiture by laymen,—for boldness and vastness the most magnificent policy ever devised, since, had it been effected, the pope must have become the secular as well as the spiritual lord of Christendom. So quickly had the reforming zeal of Henry III. made the papacy a power which threatened to overshadow the world. To the decree as to investiture it was impossible for any sovereign to submit, and in Germany there were stronger reasons than elsewhere for resistance. Half the land of the country was held by the clergy, and most of it had been granted to them because, in virtue of their feudal relation to the sovereign, it was supposed that they would be his most efficient helpers. Had the feudal tie been broken, the crown would soon have vanished, and the constitution of mediæval society must have undergone a radical change. Henry, who had hitherto treated the new pope with excessive respect, and was believed at the Vatican

to have no strength of character, now announced his intention of going to Rome and assuming the imperial title. The pope, to whom the Saxons had been encouraged to make complaint, responded by sending back certain messengers of Henry's, with the command that he should do penance for the crimes of which his subjects accused him. Enraged by this unlooked-for arrogance, Henry summoned a synod of German bishops, who declared Hildebrand deposed. The answer was a bull excommunicating the German king, dethroning him, and liberating his subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Never had a pope ventured to take so bold a step. It was within the memory of even young men that a German king had dismissed three popes, and raised, one after another, four of his own prelates to the Roman see. And now a pope attempted to drag from his throne the successor of this very sovereign. The effect of the bull was tremendous; no other was ever followed by equally important results. The princes had long been chafing under royal power; they had shaken even so stern an autocrat as Henry III., and the authority of Henry IV. was already visibly lowered. At this important stage in their contest with the crown a mighty ally suddenly offered himself, and, with indecent eagerness, they hastened to associate themselves with him. Their vassals and subjects, appalled by the invisible powers wielded by the head of the church, supported them in their rebelliousness. Henry had looked for no such result as this; he had not comprehended the influences which lay beneath the surface, and was horrified by his unexpected isolation. At a diet in Oppenheim he in vain humbled himself before the princes. They turned from him coldly, and decided that the pope should be asked to come to Germany to investigate, along with themselves, the accusations brought against him; that if, within a year, the sentence of excommunication were not removed, the king should lose his crown; and that in the meantime he should live in retirement.

Now came the strange scene at Canossa which burned itself into the memory of Europe. For three days, in the depth of winter, the representative of the Cæsars, clad in a penitent's shirt, shivered in the outer court of the Countess Mathilda's castle, entreating to be admitted into the pope's presence. No other mode of escape than complete subjection to Gregory had suggested itself, or was perhaps possible; but it did not save him. Although the pope in a manner forgave him, the German princes, being resolved not to miss the chance which fortune had given them, met in his absence and deposed him, electing Rudolf, duke of Swabia, as his successor. But Henry's bitter humiliations transformed his character; they brought out all his latent capacities of manliness. From being a wilful, thoughtless lad, he became a resolute man, with many evil traces indeed of his irregular training, but with a deep consciousness of his rights, and a fixed determination to maintain them.

The war that followed—the war of investitures—was the opening of that tremendous struggle between the empire and the papacy, which is the central fact of mediæval history, and which, after two centuries of conflict, ended in the exhaustion of both powers. Its details belong more to the history of Italy than to that of Germany, but in Germany its effects were most deeply felt. It was now that the nation plucked the bitter fruits of the seed planted by Otto I. in assuming the imperial crown, and both by Otto and his predecessors and successors in lavishing worldly power upon the church. In the ambition of the spiritual and the secular princes the popes had an immense engine of offence against the emperors; and they unscrupulously turned it to the utmost advantage. The most loyal friends of the emperors were the cities. They had been

steadily growing up, especially in the Rhine country and in southern Germany, and could not but see that they had far more to fear from the princes than from the crown. Hence, when Henry returned to Germany, Worms, Spires, and many other towns opened their gates to him, and freely contributed of their wealth ; and towards his successors they pursued a like policy.

After several indecisive battles the rival king, Rudolf, was, in 1080, defeated and slain. Henry then carried the war into Italy, where he was crowned emperor by his own anti-pope, and in 1085 Hildebrand died an exile from Rome, although with unbroken spirit. In Germany two other rival kings were set up, Hermann, count of Luxembourg, and Ekbert, margrave of Meissen ; but they were only partially successful, and after the death of the latter in 1089, had Germany followed her own impulses, there would have been peace. In the papacy, however, Henry had an implacable foe ; and again and again, when he seemed to be on the point of complete triumph, it kindled anew the smouldering embers. His son Conrad was stirred up against him in Italy ; and in Germany, when he was near the end of his days, his second son Henry was induced to head a dangerous rebellion. During his reign the first crusade took place, and he suffered severely from the pious zeal which it expressed and intensified. The movement was not in the end favourable to papal supremacy, but the early crusaders, and those who sympathized with them, regarded the enemies of the pope as the enemies of religion.

Henry V. Pope Paschal II. did not doubt, after the death of Henry IV., that he would immediately triumph, but he was mistaken. Henry V. (1106–25), who had promised, with unconscious irony, to treat him as a father, went on, like his predecessors, investing prelates with ring and staff, and, when expostulated with, replied that he could not be expected to give up a right which had belonged to all previous kings. War broke out anew, and, as in the time of Henry IV., the pope found enthusiastic supporters among the princes. One of the most ardent of these was Lothair, whom Henry V. himself had made duke of Saxony, after the extinction of the Billung line, by which for a century and a half the duchy had been ruled. Henry's chief friends were the two Hohenstaufen princes, Frederick and Conrad, to the former of whom Henry IV. gave the duchy of Swabia when Rudolf became his rival king, while the latter was created by Henry V. duke of Franconia, a country which had been attached to the crown lands since the time of Otto I. These two brothers were enthusiastic imperialists, and upheld with persistent courage the cause of their sovereign on the repeated occasions on which he went to Italy to chastise the pope. At last, in 1122, peace was restored by the concordat of Worms. By this compromise, which was forced by exhaustion upon both parties, the right of electing the prelates was granted to the clergy, and the emperor resigned the right of investing them with ring and staff. On the other hand, it was arranged that the elections should take place in the presence either of the emperor or of his representative, and that he should invest the prelates with the sceptre. The papacy was thus very far from realizing the great schemes of Hildebrand ; still, even in regard to the particular question in dispute, it gained solid advantages, and its general authority was incomparably more important than it had been half a century before. For it had waged war on the emperor himself ; instead of acknowledging its inferiority as in old times, it had claimed to be the highest power ; it had even attempted to dispose of the imperial crown as if the empire were a fief which it granted of its good will ; and it had found out that it could at any time hamper, perhaps paralyse, imperial authority, by exciting strife in Germany.

The Franconian dynasty died out with Henry V., and 1080–Lothair, duke of Saxony, was elected to succeed him. Lothair (1125–37) excited the enmity of the Hohenstaufen princes Lothair by demanding that they should give up certain crown lands the Saxon. which had been incorporated with their duchies. Unable to defend himself against them without help, he secured a powerful ally by granting his daughter in marriage to Henry the Proud, grandson of Welf, a prince whom Henry IV. the Proud had made duke of Bavaria. As this vehement noble soon succeeded to Bavaria, and was also invested with Saxony, he became by far the greatest subject in Germany. Nevertheless, the duke of Franconia and the duke of Swabia withheld him, and not until within three years of the emperor's death were they forced to crave for peace. A considerable portion of Lothair's reign was spent in Italy ; and Innocent II. claimed that when he received the imperial crown he did so as a vassal of the pope.

Nothing could indicate more clearly than this fact Decay of how much of their old power the German kings had lost, royal It was not past hope that even yet some of their former power. splendour might be restored ; and for a brief period monarchy did again stand high. Still, its foundations were sapped. Incessant war, both at home and in Italy, had deprived it of its force ; it had lost moral influence by humiliations of which the scene at Canossa was an extreme type. Steadily, with unwearied energy, letting no opportunity escape, the princes had advanced towards independence, and they might well look forward to such a bearing in regard to the kings as the kings had formerly adopted in regard to them.

Later Mediæval Period.

Henry the Proud was confident that he would succeed Hohen-Lothair; but, by a hasty and irregular election, Conrad, duke staufen of Franconia, was chosen king. Conrad III. (1137–52), an impulsive and not very wise ruler, found himself at once in Conrad III. serious perplexities. Henry the Proud, knowing that evil was designed against him, rebelled, whereupon he was declared to have forfeited his duchies ; and Saxony was granted to Albert the Bear, a strong and truly great Saxon noble, while Bavaria fell to Leopold, margrave of Austria. Thus again the country was ravaged by war, for Henry the Proud, although he was unpopular in Bavaria—the duchy he had inherited—was powerfully upheld in Saxony, which, ever since Henry IV. had alienated it, had always been ready to join in an attack on the monarchy. Henry suddenly died, but the struggle was continued by his brother Duke Welf ; and, but for the opportune death of some of the chief combatants, among them Leopold of Bavaria, it seemed probable that it would go hard with the king. Welf, hoping to be made Leopold's successor, agreed to a compromise, by which Saxony, with the assent of Albert the Bear, was granted to Henry—afterwards Henry the Lion—the young son of Henry the Proud. Bavaria, however, was in the end given to Henry Jasomirgott (so called from his habit of saying “Ja so mir Gott helfe !”), margrave of Austria, a rough noble, who was afterwards found to have a decidedly inconvenient temper. Welf again took to arms, and for years contended with his rival. Notwithstanding this and many other sources of confusion, Conrad was Second persuaded by the passionate eloquence of St Bernard to crusade. He came back broken, dispirited, and near his end, to find Henry the Lion at the head of a great army, claiming Bavaria in addition to Saxony, —a claim which Conrad in vain attempted to dispute.

Germany now passed under one of the greatest of her Frederick sovereigns, Frederick Barbarossa (1152–90), nephew of King Conrad, and son of the Frederick, duke of Swabia, who had fought along with Conrad against Henry the Proud. He was a man of large and noble nature, capable, indeed,

1112-90. if resisted, of great harshness, but a passionate lover of justice, with far-reaching ideals, ready to battle with gigantic difficulties, yet knowing how to recognize and submit to the inevitable. Allied to the Welfs through his mother, and having a personal regard for Henry the Lion, he was anxious to bring to an end the strife of the Welfic and the Hohenstaufen families, and began his reign by promising to secure for Henry the duchy of Bavaria. For his adventurous and imaginative spirit the splendour of the imperial name had an irresistible charm; and two years after he ascended the throne, in 1154, he went to Rome to be crowned emperor. After this the best years of his life were spent in Italy, where, in his obstinate struggle with the Lombard cities and with Pope Alexander III, he chiefly acquired his fame. Although it was conducted on his side mainly with German troops, it properly comes under Italian history, in which the record of his reign forms a bloody page, while his name is associated with one of the most peaceful and prosperous periods in the internal history of Germany.

Henry
the
Lion.

The promise that Bavaria should be granted to Henry the Lion was not easily fulfilled, for Henry Jasomirgott doggedly refused to give it up. At last, however, Frederick, after his return from his first expedition to Italy, in 1156, reconciled the surly prince by detaching Austria, his native march, from Bavaria, and making it a duchy with certain special privileges,—an important step in the process by which Austria gradually became the centre of a powerful state. Henry the Lion then became duke both of Bavaria and of Saxony. This prince often gave offence by a haughty and aggressive disposition, but few German dukes won so true a title to the good-will of posterity. Since the time of Otto II. and Otto III. the Slavonic countries to the east of Saxony had been very imperfectly held in subjection. Henry devoted himself to the conquest of the territory along the shores of the Baltic, and he succeeded as no one before him had ever done. But he was not a mere conqueror; he built towns and encouraged those which already existed, founded bishoprics in the newly-won lands, and planted in them bodies of industrious colonists. While he was thus at work, a similar task was fulfilled a little to the south of him by Albert the Bear, the first margrave of Brandenburg, who, by just and energetic rule, worthily prepared the land for its great, although far-off, destinies.

Frede-
rick's
relations
to other
countries.

Early in his reign, by settling a dispute between two brothers who claimed the crown of Denmark, Frederick brought the king of that country once more into the position of a vassal of Germany. He broke into Poland also, and compelled its ruler to do homage, and, in return for great services rendered in his Polish campaign, raised the duke of Bohemia to royal rank,—a change which in no way affected his duties to the German crown, but which gave him a certain precedence over all other subject princes. The king of Hungary, although no attempt was made to subdue him, became a useful ally of Frederick. Thus the ancient fame of Germany, which was lost during the confusion that came after Henry III., was to a large extent restored in the neighbouring countries. Frederick asserted the royal authority in Burgundy, and added to the kingdom, by right of marriage, Upper Burgundy, or, as it was afterwards called, Franche Comté. Internal quiet he established by strictly applying such laws as existed against those who should break the peace; and the robber nobles never found a more implacable enemy. The cities flourished during his reign, and he attached them to himself by granting to many of them the very liberties which, by a too literal interpretation of his imperial rights, he withheld from the cities of Lombardy. Yet, with all this, the nobles appear to have been enthusiastically devoted to him. They followed him time after time into Italy,

going through incredible sufferings that he might assert claims which were of no advantage to them, and which had been a curse to their nation. On one occasion, when a too confident legate read before the diet a papal letter, which seemed to imply that the empire was a fief of the papacy, indignant murmurs broke from the assembly, and the life of the offender was saved only by the intervention of Frederick himself. The secret of this great popularity was partly the national pride excited by his foreign achievements, partly the ascendancy which his genius gave him over other minds, partly the conviction that, while he would abate nothing of his rights, he would ask no more than the laws of the empire sanctioned.

In the later years of Frederick's reign, Henry the Lion had the misfortune to incur his deep displeasure. The Henry duke, rendered arrogant by success, positively refused, because his conditions were not admitted, to attend the emperor in the Italian campaign which resulted in the fatal battle of Legnano. Ascribing this defeat wholly to Henry, Frederick returned to Germany resolved to work his ruin. Summoned on three different occasions to attend the diet, Henry held aloof; whereupon, by judgment of his peers, he was condemned to the loss of both his duchies. After some resistance he submitted; but the utmost favour he could secure was permission to retain Brunswick and Lüneburg, while his term of banishment to England was reduced from seven years to three. Bavaria was granted to Otto of Wittelsbach, but it lost much of its importance, for, among other changes, Styria was taken from it and made a separate duchy. Saxony was finally broken up. The duchy was confined to a comparatively small territory to the east of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and conferred upon Bernard, son of Albert the Bear, while most of the western half of the country was attached, as the duchy of Westphalia, to the archbishopric of Cologne. The chief prelates of Saxony, and many of the most important vassals of the duke, such as the counts of Oldenburg, of Holstein, and of Schwerin, were made virtually independent of all control save that of the crown. Frederick's object in thus disintegrating the two greatest duchies in the kingdom was, by playing off the nobles against each other, to secure imperial authority. But, in reality, he made it doubly certain that the princes would one day shake off imperial power altogether; for it was incomparably more difficult for the sovereign to contend with scores of petty nobles than with two or three great lords.

Towards the close of Frederick's career fortune appeared last to smile upon him. Germany was at peace; even in Italy, since the force of events had persuaded him that the time was past for too severe a straining of his lawful claims, he had been well received by the cities which had wrought him so much disaster; pope and emperor were temporarily reconciled; and, by the marriage of his son Henry with the princess Constantia, he had reason to hope that the empire would soon include Naples and Sicily. Resolving that the sunset of his life should be even more splendid than its dawn, he undertook the third crusade, and started with a great army for the Holy Land. When the news reached Germany that he had been drowned, men felt that evil days must come, since the elements of strife could no longer be controlled by his strong hand.

Evil days did not, however, come in the time of Henry VI. (1190-97), who, although without his father's greatness VI. of soul, had his determination and energy. Partly by means of the immense ransom obtained from his prisoner Richard of England, he was able to beat down resistance in the south Italian kingdom to which his marriage entitled him; and the papacy was more completely subject to him than it had ever been to Frederick. In Germany he was so powerful that he not only secured the election of

Internal
pros-
perity.

his infant son Frederick as king of the Romans (as a king elected during the lifetime of an emperor was now and henceforth called), but he made proposals that the crown should be declared hereditary. To secure this important end, he offered so many concessions that, but for his sudden death, it would probably have been achieved.

Great as was Henry's authority, there had been a dangerous conspiracy against even him, and after his death the princes who had taken part in it refused to recognize his son. There was now a double election, those who were favourable to the Hohenstaufen dynasty choosing Philip, Henry's brother, their enemies appointing Otto, son of Henry the Lion. Had Germany had no relation to the papacy, or had the papacy continued as weak as in the days of Henry VI., there could have been no doubt how the strife would end. A large majority of the princes were on Philip's side, and his personal character commanded universal respect, while Otto was a man without principle, harsh and violent. But, to Germany's misfortune, the papal see was at this time held by Innocent III., a pope in whom were revived the ambition, statesmanship, and force of Hildebrand. After a little delay he decided for Otto, and thenceforward for some years the country was desolated by civil war. Even with the help of the pope, Otto by and by lost ground; and Philip, had he not been murdered, in 1208, would soon have been universally acknowledged. After his death, however, there was no longer any excuse for war, and Otto IV. was crowned emperor. While his position was undecided he remained a humble suppliant of the pope, but after his coronation he cast aside his pledges, and began to act as an independent sovereign. Up to this time Frederick, the son of Henry VI., had lived in his southern kingdom, nominally under the guardianship of Innocent, but in reality left to be trained by the severe discipline of practical life. Although the pope did not altogether like him, he now resolved to punish Otto by bringing forward this young prince as a candidate for the German throne. A party among the princes was easily induced to elect him, and in 1214 he started, full of youthful hope, on his journey across the Alps. In the period which followed, he displayed an unsurpassed power of managing men; while Otto, thinking to injure him by indirectly striking a heavy blow at his patron the pope, was short-sighted enough to leave Germany and to support John of England against the French king, Philip Augustus. In the battle of Bouvines, memorable alike in the history of England, France, and Germany, his fate was sealed. After so crushing a defeat nothing remained for him but to make way for his rival by withdrawing from public life.

Frederick II. (1212-50), if not the strongest, was personally the most brilliant, of the German kings. With the mediæval passion for adventure he combined the intellectual freedom and culture of a modern gentleman. A lover of poetry, of science, and of art, he was also a great statesman; with a power of will which the most adverse circumstances could not break, he knew how to adapt his policy to changing circumstances, and how to move men by appealing at one time to their selfishness and weakness, at another to the most ideal qualities of human nature. And for outward splendour his position never was surpassed, since, when he died, he possessed no fewer than six crowns,—the imperial crown, and the crowns of Germany, Burgundy, Lombardy, Sicily, and Jerusalem. But Germany, his proper kingdom, profited not at all by his magnificent gifts. In 1220 he left it for a space of 15 years, to accomplish his famous crusade, to carry on his bitter contest with the Lombard cities and Pope Gregory IX., and to rule Sicily, with an insight into its needs that made it the most prosperous land in Christendom. In his absence he was represented in Germany by his young son Henry, who was

crowned king of the Romans, and in whose name the 1190-country was governed by two successive regents. Through-out the kingdom the princes did very much what seemed good in their own eyes; and in the north a confused warfare was carried on between the Germans and the Danes. As there was now no powerful Saxon duke to uphold the northern interests of the kingdom, and as the central Government did not choose, or was unable, to act with energy, the Danes had decidedly the best of this struggle, and extended their power along the Baltic coast. At the same time Prussia was conquered for Christianity and for civilization Con- by the knights of the Teutonic Order, who here slowly built quest of up the state which ultimately, in association with Brandenburg, was to influence so profoundly the course of history. Crusading knights from all lands came to their help against the Prussian heathen, and their strength was permanently increased by their union with the Knights of the Sword, who, before their appearance in Prussia, had been subduing Livonia and Courland. In all these countries Christian institutions were introduced, and German settlers brought with them the peaceful arts.

As young King Henry grew up, he displayed none of the good characteristics of his house, and in 1235 he openly rebelled. So confident was Frederick of his own position that he entered Germany with only a few personal attendants, and his presence had the effect he anticipated. At Mainz, amid circumstances of unprecedented pomp, he held a diet which was attended by nearly all the princes, and Henry was solemnly deposed. Yet Frederick was in reality watched with sullen suspicion. The princes did not know what might be implied in his extraordinary display of imperial power; they resented his evident dislike of their country; as loyal sons of the church, they could not but hold somewhat aloof from one who was believed to be at heart a Mahometan. It was significant of the limits of his influence that, in declaring private war to be unlawful, he had to except cases in which justice could not be obtained; and that, although desirous of setting up courts of justice which should make private war unnecessary, he could only establish a tribunal from whose jurisdiction

princes of the empire were excluded. Some years after this, the gulf between Frederick and The the nation was further widened by his indifference to a Mongols. fearful danger by which Germany was threatened. Hordes of Mongols appeared on the eastern frontiers, yet Frederick had neither counsel nor help for his subjects; the peril was warded off independently of him by the brave margrave, Henry of Liegnitz. At that time he was once more absorbed by his Italian wars. In Innocent IV. he found an enemy quite as persistent as Gregory IX. Innocent grasped at the old and well-tried weapon, the ambition of the princes; and he succeeded so far as to induce a number of them, mostly prelates, to accept his sentence of deposition, and to appoint a rival king. The king of their choice was Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, a rude noble, who had extended his territories at the expense of those of his dead brother, husband of the famous St Elizabeth of Hungary. Frederick's younger son, Conrad, who had some time before been elected king of the Romans, resisted the parsons' king, as Henry Raspe was popularly called; and the rebellion did not at any time assume dangerous proportions. After Henry Raspe's death, the papal party elected William, count William of Holland, a prince who had no quality to recommend him, except that he was young and weak, and therefore likely to be a willing tool in the hands of his friends. Had Frederick chosen to leave the Lombard cities, he might still have found sources of strength in Germany; but he preferred to remain at what he considered the centre of his empire, and King Conrad had not influence enough to restore harmony. At the time of the emperor's death, when he was almost ready

Henry Raspe.

William of Holland.

1250-54. to make a new spring at his enemies, but when to the world he seemed to have lost everything, the prospects of his supporters were dark indeed. They acknowledged Conrad IV. as their lawful sovereign, but he, too, fought in Italy rather than at home, and the country continued till his death, in 1254, to be torn by the two contending factions.

Conrad IV.
With King Conrad IV. the Hohenstaufen line came to an end in Germany, and William of Holland received a nominal allegiance. In two years he followed his predecessors, and then there was a double election, that of Alphonso, king of Castile, and Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. Richard was crowned, but he went to Germany only three times, and the majority of his subjects probably hardly knew his name. Alphonso never even visited the country of which he also claimed to be the sovereign.

Period of Hohenstaufen dynasty.
The age of the Hohenstaufen emperors is, in many respects, the most interesting in the mediæval history of Germany. Everywhere there were dramatic contrasts of character : in the innumerable struggles of the time we are struck, now by heroic devotion, again by almost incredible selfishness ; a gay enjoyment of the world as it is existed side by side with almost superhuman spirituality. Chivalry was in full bloom, with much in its nature that was fantastic and insincere, but keeping alive a beautiful ideal of manliness, courtesy, and generosity. Women never held a higher place, nor, on the whole, did they ever respond more nobly to the honours freely lavished upon them. The excitement of the crusades, contact with the life of Italy (in that age presenting so many elements fitted to awaken even dull minds), and study of the Provençal poets revealed worlds that had been hitherto unknown ; while the national genius for the first time flowered in the romances and lyrics of the Minnesänger. In the cities, magnificent churches in the Gothic style gave expression to high aspiration, and gratified a cultivated feeling for art. And the problems of government were seen in new lights, partly from the study of Roman law which passed from Italy to Germany, partly from the summaries of native custom in the "Sachsenspiegel" and "Schwabenspiegel." Altogether, Germany has seen no more fascinating epoch, none more full of life, movement, and colour.

Political character of Germany settled.
Yet it was in this age that the German nation utterly lost its political strength. Even after Lothair the Saxon, a line of sovereigns rigidly confining themselves to their own kingdom might have mastered the many influences which were making for disunion. But the Hohenstaufen family, like their Saxon and Franconian predecessors, would be content with nothing short of world-dominion ; and thus the crown which had once been significant of power and splendour gradually sank into contempt. Under the strong rule of Frederick Barbarossa and his son the process was temporarily stopped, but only to advance the more rapidly when they were gone. During the confusion of the civil war carried on by Otto IV. and Philip, the princes, being subject to hardly any check, seized crown lands and crown rights ; and the mischief was too extensive to be undone by Frederick II. In 1220, in order to secure the adhesion of the church to his son Henry, he formally confirmed the spiritual princes in their usurpations, agreeing not to introduce into their territories, without their consent, new coinage, or customs, or tolls. Fifteen years later the rebel king, Henry, was isolated by similar advantages being granted to the secular princes. The two pragmatic sanctions in which Frederick made these concessions formed the lawful basis of the independence of the princely class. Such authority as he reserved he could ill exercise from a distant land in which his energies were otherwise occupied. His immediate successors can hardly be said to have exercised any authority whatever ; and they lost hold of the

border countries which had hitherto been dependent upon or connected with Germany. Denmark and Poland rendered no homage thenceforth to the German crown, and Burgundy was gradually absorbed by France.

The country was not now divided into a few duchies Clases which, with skilful management, might still on difficult of the emergencies have been made to act together. The age of population. the great duchies was past. As we have seen, Bavaria was shorn of extensive lands, over which new dukes were placed, and the duchy of Saxony was altogether broken up. Swabia and Franconia also ceased to have dukes, and Lorraine gave place to the duchy of Brabant and other small immediate states. Thus there were prelates, dukes, palgraves, margraves, landgraves, counts—forming together a large body—each of whom claimed to have no superior save the emperor, whose authority they and their predecessors had slowly destroyed. All immediate nobles were not princes ; but even petty knights or barons, who possessed little more than the rude towers from which they descended upon passing travellers, if their only lord was the emperor, recognized no law save their own will. Another independent element of the state was composed of the imperial cities. So long as the emperor really reigned, they enjoyed only such liberties as they could wring from him, or as he voluntarily conferred. But when the sovereign's power decayed, the imperial cities were really free republics, governing themselves according to their own ideas of law and justice. Besides the imperial cities, and the princes and other immediate nobles, there were the mediate nobles, the men who held land in fief of the highest classes of the aristocracy, and who, in virtue of this feudal relation, thought themselves entitled to look down upon allodial proprietors or freemen, and upon simple burghers. There were also mediate towns, acknowledging the supremacy of some lord other than the sovereign. Beneath all these, forming the mass of the agricultural population, were the peasantry and the serfs, the latter attached to the land, the former ground down by heavy taxes.

The period which followed the death of Conrad IV., called Great Interregnum, was made good use of by the princes interv. num. for the extension of their territories and the confirmation of their authority. On several occasions the crown had seemed to be on the verge of becoming hereditary ; but the electors, jealous of the papacy, and the growing influence of the aristocracy, had succeeded in keeping it elective. Although each election needed the sanction of the whole class of immediate nobles, the right of appointing the king had long been virtually in the hands of the leading princes. During the interregnum, mainly through the influence of Pope Urban IV., it was definitely transferred to the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, the houses of Wittelsbach and Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia. After this the electors became a distinct element in the state. Their importance consisted in this, that they could maintain the existing disunion by imposing rigid conditions on candidates for the crown, and by taking care that it should be conferred on no prince likely to be dangerous to the aristocracy.

Up to the time of the interregnum the territories of a Division prince were never divided among his descendants, the reason of principality being that, although the private fiefs of the princes were hereditary, their offices as rulers were in theory at the disposal of the crown. This principle was now set aside. Otto, duke of Bavaria, of the house of Wittelsbach, had become by marriage lord also of the Rhenish palatinate. After his death these extensive lands were ruled in common by his two sons ; but a formal division soon took place, by which the powerful family of Wittelsbach was separated into two branches, the Palatine and the Bavarian. The small duchy of Saxony was also divided into two duchies,

that of Wittenberg and that of Lauenburg, the former to the south, the latter to the north, of the great march of Brandenburg. About the same time there were like divisions in Nassau, Brunswick, Meissen, and Holstein. It was thus practically settled that the offices and territories, as well as the private fiefs, of the princes were hereditary, to be disposed of by them at their pleasure. This being thoroughly established, it would have been hard, perhaps impossible, even for a sovereign of the highest genius, to reassert in anything like its full extent the royal authority. The process of division and subdivision which steadily went on broke up Germany into a bewildering multitude of principalities ; but as a rule the members of each princely house held together against common enemies. Ultimately they learned to arrange by private treaties that no territory should pass from the family while a single representative of it survived.

Importance of the cities. This consolidation of the power of the princes was contemporary with the rise of the cities into new importance. The destruction of imperial authority compelled them to organize their resources, so as to be at all times prepared against ambitious neighbours. They began to form leagues which the greatest princes, and combinations of princes, could not afford to despise. Of these leagues the chief at this time was the Rhenish Confederation, which was founded by Mainz and Worms, and which, within a year of its formation—so pressing was the need of union—included about 70 cities,—among them Cologne, Strasburg, Basel, and towns far to the east and north, such as Nuremberg, Erfurt, and Bremen. Great importance was also acquired by the Hanseatic League, which had originated some time before the interregnum in a treaty of alliance between Lübeck and Hamburg. It ultimately included more than 80 cities, and became one of the greatest commercial powers in Europe.

A political system which allowed the princes to do as they pleased was exactly to their liking ; and had they been able to follow their own impulses, it is improbable that they would have placed over the country even a nominal king. But the papacy intervened. It found from its troubles at home and from its diminished northern revenues that it would still be convenient to have in Germany a sovereign who would, like his predecessors, be the protector of the church. Pope Gregory X. therefore, after the death of Richard, let the electors know that if they did not choose a king he himself would appoint one. This threat was effective. The electors met, and raised to the throne

Rudolf I. Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, a petty Swabian noble who was supposed to be too unimportant to do much harm. Rudolf (1273–91), however, proved himself to have much more energy than the electors supposed. For a long time the most powerful prince in Germany had been Ottocar, king of Bohemia. He had by marriage and conquest obtained a great territory beyond his native state, including the Austrian possessions of the house of Babenberg, of which the male line had died out. As he had himself expected to receive the German crown, he refused to do homage to the new sovereign, who could not for a time compel his allegiance. At last, in a great battle at the Marchfeld, Ottocar was defeated and slain. Rudolf has often been called the restorer of the German kingdom, but he has no real claim to this honourable title. In the later years of his life he made some attempts to maintain the public peace, and he distinguished himself by the vigour with which he punished robber barons ; he also won back some of the crown lands and dues which had been stolen during the interregnum. But he made no essential change in the condition of Germany. There was but one way in which a king could hope still to overcome the arrogance of the princes, and that was to encourage the cities and to form with them a close and enduring alliance. This was the

policy pursued by the French kings, and it was pursued with 1254–1308. splendid effect. But Rudolf invariably favoured the princes rather than the cities. The latter had a peculiar class of citizens called “pfahlbürger,” who dwelt in the open country beyond the city palisades, and could claim the protection of the city authorities. As freemen were able, by becoming pfahlbürger, to escape from the tyranny of local despots, the princes vehemently opposed the right of the towns to receive them. Rudolf not only took the side of despotism in this important struggle, but harassed and weakened the cities by subjecting them to severe imposts. He had all the sympathies and prejudices of a noble ; and the supreme object of his life was not to increase the authority of the state, but to add to the greatness of his own family. In this he was brilliantly successful. Some years after the fall of Ottocar he obtained the assent of the princes, notwithstanding their dislike of the scheme, to the granting of Austria, Styria, and Carniola in fief to his son Albert. Carinthia was given to Meinhard, count of Tyrol, on condition that on the dying out of his male line it should fall to Rudolf's descendants. Thus Rudolf made himself memorable as the founder of the house of Hapsburg, which from his time formed one of the most influential forces in the national life of Germany.

In vain Rudolf sought to obtain the crown for his son ; the electors would not take a step that might endanger their special rights. Guided mainly by the archbishop of Cologne, they chose Adolf, count of Nassau (1291–98), a Adolf of noble of even less importance than Rudolf had been. He Nassau. had, however, a considerable reputation for valour and ability. Edward I. of England persuaded him to form an alliance against France. Instead of applying the large sum sent from England to promote the objects of the alliance, Adolf was unprincipled enough to expend it in the purchase of Thuringia from the worthless landgrave, Albert the Degenerate. As the transfer was resisted by Albert's sons, it led to a war in which Adolf was opposed by several princes. In his general policy he was much more enlightened than in these wretched proceedings, for he detected what had escaped his predecessor, the value of the cities as the true support of the monarchy. He relieved them of some of their burdens, and upheld them in the controversy respecting the pfahlbürger. Taking alarm, the electors met, and by an irregular vote proclaimed him dethroned. Adolf resisted, but lost his life in a battle near Worms.

Now that there could be no pretext for asserting that the Albert I. crown had been obtained by inheritance, Duke Albert of Austria, Rudolf's son, was chosen to be Adolf's successor. Albert I. (1298–1308), like his father, made it his principal object to extend the power of his house, and he came very near to securing Bohemia and Thuringia ; but his schemes were cut short by a violent death. Although a hard, stern man, he had a keen sense of justice when his selfish interests were not involved, and few of the German kings possessed so strongly practical an intelligence. He encouraged the cities even more effectually than his predecessor, and was not content with issuing proclamations against private war, but formed alliances with the princes in order to enforce his decrees. The serfs, whose wrongs seldom attracted notice in an age indifferent to human dignity, found a friend in this severe monarch, and he protected even the despised and persecuted Jews.

Albert's successor was Henry, count of Luxembourg. Henry VII. (1308–13) was fortunate enough to obtain for VII. his son John the crown of Bohemia, but the aggrandisement of his family was not the main object of this remarkable sovereign, the last of the German kings of the old, grandly ambitious type. It was the memory of the empire which stirred his blood ; and from the beginning of his reign he looked forward to the assumption of the Lombard and

1308-47. imperial crowns. His purpose of crossing the Alps at the head of a mighty force was hailed with delight in Italy by the Ghibelline faction, whose aspirations found noble utterance in Dante's prose ; but the emperor lived too short a time to fulfil the hopes of his friends. The effect of the connexion of Germany with the empire was in his time, as in former ages, altogether mischievous ; for before starting for Rome he tried to conciliate the princes by adding to their already enormous privileges and by repressing the energies of the cities.

Frederick III. and Louis IV. The electors, with their usual dread of the crown becoming hereditary, would not appoint Henry's son, John, the young king of Bohemia. But they were unable to agree on any one else, and the result of their disputes was a double election—one party choosing Frederick the Fair, duke of Austria, son of Albert I ; another, Louis, duke of Bavaria. War at once broke out and lasted for about nine years. In 1322 the rival claims were set at rest by the battle of Mühlberg, in which Frederick's army was decisively routed. Louis had no personal ill-will to his opponent, who was the friend of his youth ; and in 1325 he agreed that they should rule in common. Frederick III., however, being without strength of character, sank into insignificance, and in 1330 he died.

The success of Louis IV. (1314-47) in the war with Frederick was to a large extent due to the imperial cities, which clung to him from the first. They not only willingly paid high taxes, but made splendid voluntary contributions ; and they often stimulated anew the king of their choice, when he himself would have preferred to give up a struggle in which the sympathies of most of the princes and nobles were with his enemy. He was even more indebted to the memorable conflict between the house of Hapsburg and the League composed of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. The inhabitants of these districts claimed to have never owed allegiance to any sovereign save the emperor. Although this claim had been confirmed by King Adolf and Henry VII., the dukes of Austria would not recognize it ; and when Frederick was chosen king by his party among the electors, he sent bailiffs into the country to bring it under the rule of his family. Probably the tyranny of these officers, although it occurred at a later time than that to which the Tell legend refers, afterwards gave rise to the romantic tales which gathered around the name of the mythical champion of Swiss independence. At any rate it brought on a conflict between Austria and the confederates, which strained the resources of Frederick at the very time when he needed them in defence of his royal claims. It was not only Louis who profited by this struggle, for the splendid battle of Morgarten Pass laid the foundation of the structure which we now see in free Switzerland.

Relations of Louis to the papacy. Had Louis been a wise prince it would have been easy for him to rise to a great position after the battle of Mühlberg ; but he was wayward, treacherous, and selfish. He mortally offended King John of Bohemia, who had been of great service to him, but who now became his bitter and unrelenting enemy. Pope John XXII., stirred up by Charles IV. of France, who had some hope of obtaining the empire for himself, took advantage of the strife of the two princes, and arrogantly claimed that the German crown could not be worn but with papal sanction. When Louis gave the answer that was to be expected, the pope responded by excommunicating him and by placing under the interdict all places by which he should be supported. Thus it seemed that the ancient struggle between the papacy and the empire was to be revived ; but the pope and his French master had altogether misread the signs of the times. The princes had no longer, as in former ages, reason to dread an ambitious ruler ; the kingdom was their own, and therefore they could not tolerate that its destinies should be

decided by a foreign power. Even the spiritual princes for the most part took this view. The electors had of course the strongest of all motives for resisting the papal claim, since, had it been conceded, they would have been deprived of their importance. As for the cities, they had stood beside the empire in the most difficult crises of its contest with Rome, and they were not likely to desert it now. Encouraged, or rather driven forward, by the national sentiment, Louis continued to maintain the independence of his crown, and even made a descent upon Italy, where he was crowned emperor by his own anti-pope. This enterprise ended disastrously, but it made no difference in the conditions of the controversy. Louis was personally very much frightened by the possible consequences of excommunication, and intrigued incessantly with Pope John and his successor Benedict XII. to be taken back into the church. In order to win papal favour he basely betrayed Edward III. of England, with whom he had formed an alliance against the French king, Philip VI. The nation, however, stood fast, and in 1338 the electors, with the exception of King John of Bohemia, met at Rense, near Coblenz, and formally declared that the German king and emperor, if appointed by a majority of the electors, received his authority from God alone, and needed not papal sanction in the exercise of his rights. This declaration was accepted as the fundamental law of the empire by a diet which Louis summoned in Frankfort, and which was largely attended by princes, nobles, and citizens.

Louis did not maintain the popularity forced upon him Unpop. by this conflict. His greed of territory for his family made him so unscrupulous, and excited so many jealousies, that ^{Louis} the Bohemian king succeeded in forming a party against him ; and in 1346 a number of the electors voted his deposition, and appointed in his place Charles, margrave of Moravia, King John's son. The cities persisted in their loyalty, and few of the princes were willing to involve themselves in another great war ; so that for a time the sentence of deposition had no effect. But after King John had met his death, fighting heroically despite his blindness as the French king's ally, on the field of Crécy, Charles, who succeeded him on the Bohemian throne, began to make vigorous preparations ; and probably the sudden death of Louis prevented Germany from being once more rent by civil strife.

Notwithstanding the defects of Louis's personal character his reign was one of the most important in German history. The claim of the papacy to political supremacy received in his time its deathblow, and the popes themselves sowed the seeds of the spiritual alienation from Rome which was effected at the Reformation. In regard to the public peace, Louis persistently followed the lines laid down by Albert I. He encouraged the princes to form alliances for its maintenance, and at the time of his death such alliances existed in all parts of the country. To the cities he usually showed ^{Leicit.} himself a faithful friend. In many of them there had been ^{and the} cities for more than a century a struggle between the old patrician families and the guilds composed of workmen and tradespeople. Louis could not always follow his own impulses ; but whenever he could, he associated himself with the latter party. Thus in his day the government of the imperial cities became more democratic, and industry and trade flourished as they had never before done. The steady dislike of the princes was the best proof of the importance of the cities. They contained elements capable of enormous development ; and had a great king arisen he might even yet, by their means, have secured for Germany a truly national life.

The friends of Louis elected Günther, count of Schwarz-Luxemburg, but Charles IV. (1347-78), by a liberal use of bribes, bought over his enemies ; and Günther himself resigned dyn.

Charles
IV.

his claim, and soon afterwards died. Charles was an accomplished diplomatist, of a keen and penetrating intellect, but capable of almost any trickery in order to gain his ends. Apparently the most pliant of men, he had in reality great persistence of character, and if foiled in one set of plans readily turned round and reached his goal by a wholly different path. The result of his endless intrigues was that, when he died, he wore the crowns of Bohemia, of Germany, of Burgundy, of Lombardy, and of the empire; and he succeeded in adding to his native kingdom Lusatia, Silesia, and Brandenburg. As a Bohemian king he ranked high among the rulers of his day. He so carefully organized the administration, and practised such strict economy in government, that no German country was so lightly taxed as Bohemia; and it became, under his rule, a home of learning and of the arts. Towards Germany he was cynically indifferent, caring for it only in so far as it could add to his personal welfare. It never stood in more urgent need of a strong and beneficent ruler than in the early years of his reign, for the Black Death swept over the land, and the half-mad population rose in fury against the Jews, who were supposed to have in some way caused the evil. In dealing with this monstrous outburst of fanaticism, many of the princes, both spiritual and secular, displayed vigour and humanity; but Charles saw in the suffering of the down-trodden race, which was peculiarly under his protection, only an excuse for robbing it of its wealth.

Golden
Bull.

His most famous achievement is the Golden Bull. Although the principle of election to the crown had long been settled, it was surrounded by many practical difficulties. It had never, for instance, been decided whether all the princes of each electoral house were entitled to vote; nor was it certain, when a choice was made among several branches of a family, by what law the choice ought to be regulated. The Golden Bull, which was granted as the result of many tedious negotiations in 1356, was primarily intended to set at rest such doubts as these; but it did very much more. It decided that the number of electors should be strictly limited to seven, that the spiritual electorates should belong as before to the archbishops of Mainz, of Cologne, and of Treves, and the secular electorates to the king of Bohemia, the Rhenish palgrave, the duke of Saxony (Sachsen-Wittenberg), and the margrave of Brandenburg. That there might be no possibility of dispute between the princes of a single house, these countries were declared to be indivisible, and to be heritable only on the principle of primogeniture. The electors were invested with full sovereign rights within their territories, and their subjects were allowed to appeal to the royal or imperial tribunals only if the administration of justice should be refused. The king of Bohemia received precedence among the secular electors, but it is difficult to believe that this alone was his aim in making these vast concessions. Whatever may have been his motives, the effect of the Golden Bull was to perpetuate the disunion of the state. With such powers the electors collectively were of more importance than the sovereign; and their greatness stimulated the other princes to seize every chance of acquiring like privileges.

Fehm-
gerichte.

If we except the Golden Bull, the true interest of Charles's reign is not in his unimportant labours for Germany, but in the movements beyond the range of his influence. It is significant that at this time the Fehmgerichte, for whose origin we must go back to the 12th century, vastly extended the sphere of their activity, and that in the utter absence of central authority they were respected as a rough check upon the lawlessness even of high princes. The cities, notwithstanding every kind of discouragement, formed new associations for mutual defence, or strengthened those which already existed. The Hansatic League carried

on war with the Danish king and forced him to come to 1347-1437. terms, and its commerce was extended to nearly every part of the known world. A powerful league was formed by the Swabian towns, but it was defeated in the battle of Altheim by a confederation of princes who regarded its growth with fear and jealousy.

Wenceslaus (1378-1400), son of Charles IV., and also Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, had some good natural qualities; but he had been badly trained, and when he became his own master was indolent and capricious. His bloodhounds had stronger attractions for him than the duties of government, and even more than his father he left Germany to look after itself. The tendency to association became the deepest of the time; princes allied themselves against cities, cities against princes, and nobles against both. For a brief period the prospects of the cities seemed to be splendid, for the Swabian League recovered from the effects of its reverse, extended its relations far and wide, and formed an alliance with the Swiss confederates. The latter won the brilliant victories of Sempach and Näfels, and had the Swabian League taken advantage of the opportunity, it might have definitely gained predominance. But it gave the princes time to reorganize their scattered forces, and in 1388, in the battle of Döffingen, it suffered complete defeat. So crushing was this blow that the Swabian cities were never again so strong, and all over Germany it encouraged the princes to fresh aggression.

The confusion caused by the king's neglect of his most elementary duties gave rise to a conspiracy against him, in which Rupert, the elector of the palatinate, took a leading part. Wenceslaus was deposed, and after much intrigue the crown was granted to Rupert (1400-10). He was an excellent elector, and under favourable circumstances would have been a good king; but such were the jealousies and divisions of the state that he found no scope for his energy beyond his native dominions. He made an attempt to reach Rome, but the result covered him with ridicule. After his death Jobst, margrave of Moravia, and Sigismund, king of Hungary, brother of Wenceslaus, were elected by opposing parties. Jobst soon died, and then Sigismund was generally recognized. Sigismund (1410-37) was an intelligent and cultivated prince, but vain, restless, and shifty. He could form great plans, but had not determination to execute them, and was easily moved by flattering counsellors. The commanding questions of his reign were ecclesiastical. It was the age of the great schism, and through all ranks of the church there was an urgent cry for thorough reform. Unfortunately, the council of Constance, summoned mainly through the efforts of Sigismund, marred its labours by the judicial murder of Husa and Jerome of Prague. This atrocious act, for which the king was to a large extent responsible, stirred vehement rage among the Bohemians; and when, after the death of Wenceslaus, Sigismund, as his heir, claimed the crown, they broke into revolt. Led for a time by the blind general Zisca, and afterwards by commanders who, although his inferiors in genius, were of equally resolute temper, they defeated army after army, and spread havoc through the neighbouring German lands. So divided was Germany, and so poor was Sigismund himself, that for fifteen years he could not collect a force sufficient to put down the rebellion; and he at last succeeded only because the Hussites gradually split into two factions, the Calixtines and Taborites, and he was able to conciliate the less extreme party.

Sigismund, who was of lavish habits, never had enough money for his wants; sometimes he had even to force himself upon princes and cities as an unwelcome guest. This undignified poverty had one good result. In return for 400,000 gulden he granted to his friend Frederick, count of Hohenzollern, first as a pledge, afterwards as a permanent

The
cities.

1438-93. fief, the march of Brandenburg. Thus Brandenburg passed into the hands of the family under whom it was destined to become the centre of a mighty kingdom.

Hapsburg dynasty. Albert II. Sigismund was succeeded by Albert, duke of Austria, who, as his son-in-law, became king of Bohemia and Hungary. Although the German crown remained elective, it was henceforth always conferred on a member of the house of Hapsburg until the extinction of the male line; and the same family never willingly lost its grip of the two countries which now fell to it, and of which it ultimately gained complete possession. Albert II (1438-39) evidently meant well by Germany; but his reign was too short to enable him to do more than indicate his good intentions. He was succeeded by Frederick, duke of Styria. Frederick IV. (1440-93), unfortunately for his subjects, occupied the throne longer than any other sovereign. He was a solemn trifler, obstinate without being firm, and bent on promoting only the interests of his family. The council of Basel having met after the council of Constance, King Albert accepted its reforming decrees; and it appeared probable that the abuses which scandalized Christendom were about to be brought to an end. But Frederick, whose dull mind did not see that in the changed circumstances of the world the papacy could be strong only in proportion to its purity, fancied that in its existing condition it might be made a powerful ally of the empire. He accordingly carried his submissiveness so far as to sign in 1448 the concordat of Aschaffenburg, perpetuating the very evils from which the church had aimed at delivering itself. After his assent had been obtained it was comparatively easy to overcome the scruples of the princes, so that the chances of a voluntary reformation were lost; the upheaval of the 16th century was rendered inevitable.

Private wars. Frederick's career is one of great importance in Austrian history; he was involved in wars with the Turks, with the Hungarians, with his brothers, and with his own subjects. In 1452 he was crowned emperor, being the last who passed through the ceremony in Rome. He had no influence in Italy; and in Burgundy he could neither check the towering ambition of Charles the Bold, nor after Charles's death prevent the seizure of the duchy of Burgundy by the French king. In Germany he hardly made a pretence of exercising supreme authority, and many private wars were waged, especially between the cities and the princes. The most famous of these was the margraves' war, carried on by Albert of Brandenburg with a number of princely allies against Nuremberg, which had the support of the Swiss League and upwards of 70 cities. The war was in every respect a critical one. Had the cities gained they might still have aimed at balancing the power of the princes; but owing partly to their imperfect union, partly to the necessity of fighting with hired troops, they were not successful. They won, indeed, great advantages in the course of the war; but after the conclusion of peace it was felt that on the whole they had decidedly lost ground. After this struggle, which lasted seven years, there could be no doubt as to the element in which the centre of gravity of the state was to be found.

Local diets. The princes, however, did not have everything their own way. About this time their power was seriously limited by the formation of diets in nearly all the principalities. These bodies were composed of the mediate prelates, the mediate nobles, and representatives of the mediate cities. They were not summoned because the princes wished their aid, but because arms could be had only with the consent of the nobles, and money only with that of the cities and the clergy. When once formed, the local diets soon extended their functions. They claimed the right of sanctioning taxation; they had something to say as to the expenditure of the public revenues; they insisted on

justice being administered. Such institutions as these were clearly of the highest importance, and for two centuries they did much to make up for the lack of a genuine monarchy.

During this reign the conditions of warfare began to be radically changed. The discovery of gunpowder made small bodies of men, properly armed, more than a match for great forces equipped in the mediæval style. Hence the custom of hiring mercenary troops came into use; and a prince could never feel sure, however numerous his vassals, that the advantage would not rest with his opponent. This fact, added to the influence of the local diets, made even the princes sick of war; and everywhere a demand arose for the reform of the national institutions. In 1488 a great Swabian confederation, consisting of princes, nobles, and towns, was created for the establishment of peace; and its effects were excellent. But obviously no partial remedy of this kind could suffice; it was essential that there should be some central reform by which every part of the kingdom could be effectually reached. Had the proposal been that the imperial authority should be directly strengthened, Frederick would not have objected; but the scheme repeatedly forced upon him was that he should in some form delegate to others the power which theoretically belonged to him, so that it might really be put in force. The emperor doggedly withheld his assent, and the nation impatiently waited in the hope that his successor would be more pliant.

Maximilian I. (1493-1519) mounted the throne with unusual advantages. He was not only lord of the great Austrian lands, but, as husband of the princess Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, administered the Low Countries and the free county of Burgundy. These territories he soon gave up to their lawful ruler, his son Philip; but the fact that they were in the possession of his family added to his influence, which was still further increased when Philip, by marrying the infanta Joanna, had the prospect of becoming king of Spain. From this time the empire exercised in the affairs of Europe an authority which had not belonged to it for several centuries. The reason was not that the empire itself was stronger, but that the crown was held by princes who were in their own right mighty sovereigns.

This emperor is often called the last of the knights, and in some respects the name is strikingly appropriate. He had not, indeed, sufficient dignity to rank among the greatest representatives of chivalry. A knight who was also emperor ought not, for instance, as Maximilian did at the siege of Terouenne, to have served a foreign prince for pay. But he possessed many of the more prominent qualities suggested by the word chivalry; he was a man of fascinating manner, a lover of poetry and art, and endowed with a bold and adventurous spirit. Above all, he was a knight in his political opinions. Maximilian never could learn that the world had changed since the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty; that the old order of society was passing away, and a new order arising, was altogether hidden from him. An irresistible fascination attracted him to the glitter of the mediæval empire, and the best part of his life he spent in vague schemes for its revival. The agitation for reform in the direction indicated by the princes and the cities met his unqualified disapproval. During the whole course of his reign the diet, which was now composed of three colleges, the electors, the princes, and representatives of the imperial cities, urged him with even greater importunity than it had displayed toward his father, to adapt himself to the circumstances of the time. The only occasions on which it could bend him to its will were when he needed money for his military enterprises; and by taking advantage of these opportunities it obtained his sanction to the division of the

kingdom into ten circles, each with its own administrators, appointed for the purpose of preventing private war. These institutions were of genuine service, but no other real concession could be wrung from Maximilian. In his first diet, held at Worms in 1495, a permanent public peace was proclaimed, and he unwillingly consented to the formation of an imperial chamber, consisting of a president and assessors, the former to be appointed by the emperor, the latter by the states. This chamber was to judge between princes of the empire, and to act as a court of appeal for parties of lower grade ; and partly for the payment of its expenses a tax called the common penny was granted. Maximilian, who was always in straits for money, took much interest in the common penny ; but to the imperial chamber, which limited the rights of the crown, he was so persistently hostile that it did no good in his day. An administrative council to which, after his defeat by the Swiss League in 1499, he was forced to agree, also failed in consequence of his opposition.

The famous invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France in 1494 brought Maximilian into the field, and ever afterwards he mixed himself up in the confused struggles to the south of the Alps, hoping to assert the ancient claims of the German kings, at least in northern Italy. In 1508 he joined the infamous League of Cambray against the Venetian republic, and at a later time he took part in the conflict of the Holy League against Louis XII. of France. He was everywhere baffled, for his own territories, great as they were, did not suffice for his vast undertakings, and Germany refused to let herself be dragged into conflicts in which she was not directly concerned.

Period of the Reformation.

The reign of Maximilian must be regarded as in many respects the end of the Middle Ages. The feudal relations between the king and the princes, and between the princes and their vassals, had become purely nominal. No real control was exerted by the crown over the heads of the various states, and now that war was carried on mainly by mercenary troops, the mediate nobles did not hold their lands on condition of military service. The princes were sovereigns, not merely feudal lords ; and by the institution of local diets in their territories an approach was made to modern conceptions of government. The age of war was far indeed from being over, but men had at least begun to see that unnecessary bloodshed is an evil, and that the true outlet for the mass of human energies is not conflict but peaceful industry. By the growth of the cities in social if not in political importance the products of labour were being more and more widely diffused ; and it was now incomparably easier than at any previous time for the nation to be moved by common ideas and impulses. The discovery of the New World, the invention of printing, the revival of learning, and many other causes had contributed to effect a radical change in the point of view from which the world was regarded ; and the strongest of all mediæval relations, that of the nation to the church, was about to pass through the fiery trial of the Reformation. This vast movement, which began in the later years of Maximilian, definitely severed the mediæval from the modern world.

The seeds of the Reformation were laid at so remote a time as that of the conflict between the papacy and the empire. The arrogance and the ambition of the popes then stamped upon the minds of the people an impression that was never effaced. During the temporary struggle of Louis IV. with the popes of his day the old feeling revived with fresh intensity ; all classes, clerical as well as lay, looked upon resistance to papal pretensions as a necessity imposed by the national honour. At the same time the spiritual teaching of the mystics awakened in many minds an

aspiration which the church, in its corrupt state, could 1495-1521. ill satisfy, and which was in any case unfavourable to a merely external authority. The Hussite movement, shaking as it did many ancient beliefs and shattering many ancient institutions, further weakened the spell of the church. Still more powerful, because touching deeper elements of human nature and affecting a more important class, was the influence of the Renaissance, which, towards the end of the 15th century, passed from Italy to the universities of Germany. The men of the new learning did not sever themselves from Christianity, but they became indifferent to it ; its conceptions seemed to them dim and faded, while there was a constantly increasing charm in literature, in philosophy, and in art. No kind of effort was made by the church to prepare for the storm which might have been foreseen. The spiritual princes, besides displaying all the faults of the secular princes, had special defects of their own ; and as simony was universally practised, the lives of multitudes of the inferior clergy were a public scandal, while their services were cold and unimpressive. The moral sense was outraged by such a pope as Alexander VI. ; and neither the military ambition of Julius II. nor the refined paganism of Leo X. could tend to revive the decaying faith in the spirituality of their office. Pope Leo by his incessant demands for money, and his unscrupulous methods of obtaining it, awakened bitter hostility in every class of the community.

The popular feeling for the first time found expression Luther, when Luther, in 1517, nailed to a church door in Wittenberg the theses in which he contested the doctrine at the root of the detestable traffic carried on for the pope by Tetzel and his accomplices. In appearance a slight circumstance, this was in reality an event of vast significance ; for it brought to the front, as the exponent of the national sentiment, one of the mightiest spirits whom Germany has produced,—a man who had certainly many faults, but who amply made up for them by the force of his intellect, the loftiness of his aims, and the rare combination of caution and audacity with which he devoted himself to noble causes. Under the influence of Luther's great personality the most active and progressive elements of the nation were soon in more or less open antagonism to the papacy.

When Maximilian died, the throne was competed for by his grandson Charles, by Henry VIII. of England, and by Francis I. of France. The first and the last were the only real candidates, and ultimately Charles was chosen. By the time he reached Germany in 1521, Luther had passed through his famous controversy with Eck ; he had confronted the papal legate, Cajetan ; he had burned the pope's bull. After this, retreat was impossible ; and his innumerable adherents waited with keen excitement to see on which side the new king would declare himself. Charles V. (1520-55), although a boy in years, was not really young. He soon made up his mind as to the general lines His of his policy, and no one who knew his grave and obstinate spirit supposed that any influence would cause him to diverge from his path. He had no adequate conception of the strength of the feeling which had been aroused. He fancied, as had at first been imagined in Rome, that he had to deal with a monkish quarrel ; at one time he even supposed that a little money would easily set the difficulty at rest. Nor did he ever comprehend the real nature of the questions which stirred the hearts of his subjects. For Charles, although a diplomatist of astonishing skill, was a man of cold and narrow nature ; it was incredible to him that men should be genuinely moved by aspirations to which he was himself a stranger. Even if his knowledge had been far more exact, he would not have turned against the church. Since the interregnum none of the emperors, with the exception of Maximilian, had been powerful princes

1521-32. apart from the empire, and some of them had been wretchedly poor and insignificant. Maximilian himself could not compete on equal terms with the leading European monarchs. Charles, however, was by far the most important sovereign of his time. He was king of Spain and the Two Sicilies, with the resources of the New World at his command, lord of the Low Countries and of the county of Burgundy, co-regent with his brother Ferdinand of the great Austrian inheritance; and now he had been made king of Germany with a right to the imperial crown. To such a potentate it naturally seemed possible to restore the splendour of Charles the Great, and he early set before himself this ideal. But the protection of the church had always been looked upon as the chief function of the empire; he could not, therefore, desert it at the very time when it seemed to be in need of his services. He reserved to himself the same right as his predecessors to resist it in the realm of politics; in the realm of faith he considered that he owed it his entire allegiance. Moreover, he intended to complete the task at which his grandfather had worked in vain, the subjection of northern Italy; and in order to realize this scheme it was of high importance that he should in no way needlessly offend the pope. Hence, in 1521, in the diet of Worms, without really examining the positions of Luther, Charles issued an edict denouncing him and his followers, and placing him under the ban of the empire.

National reform. Alarmed lest the emperor's great power should be too freely applied in Germany, the electors had before his appointment exacted a promise that he would respect German liberties and institute the reforms which had been vainly demanded of Maximilian. At the diet of Worms steps were taken to give effect to these conditions. An administrative council was nominated for the government of Germany while Charles should be away; and the imperial charter was so effectually re-established that, with the aulic council (which was at first subordinate to it, but ultimately became independent), it lasted till the destruction of the empire. A matricula was drawn up settling the number of troops to be raised for common purposes by each state; and this also was in force while the empire existed. Having made these arrangements, Charles invested his brother Ferdinand with the sole authority in the Austrian territories, and then left Germany, to begin soon after his long struggle with Francis I. of France.

Nobles' war. While Charles was absent carrying on his wars with Francis, great disturbances took place in Germany. One of the most remarkable of Luther's friends was Ulrich von Hutten, a young noble, who, although penetrated by the enthusiasm of the Renaissance, was emphatically a man of action. His class, the nobles, had ever chafed against the supremacy of the princes; and it occurred to him that the Reformation might be made the means of effecting a total change in the constitution of the empire. As no general reform either in church or state could be effected while the nation was cut up into a large number of principalities, his plan was to combine against the princes all who were discontented with the existing order, and to place the emperor at the head of a united country. Then the nobles would obtain their due, peace would be secured throughout the land, and papal authority might be easily put down. The scheme was a great one, and Hutten inspired with his enthusiasm Francis von Sickingen, an energetic and popular Rhenish baron who could at any time attract a large army to his standard. A force of 12,000 men was soon collected, and the enterprise was begun in 1522 by an attack on the elector of Treves, who, being a spiritual prince, would not, it was supposed, receive the sympathy of the reforming party. For a moment it seemed as if this dream of a new empire might be realized; but it was too late to make so vast a change. Several princes united, and in 1523

Sickingen was defeated and slain, while Hutten, who had devoted pen and sword to his cause, died in loneliness and misery on an island in the Lake of Zürich.

This war was followed by another of a still more serious Peas. nature. The peasantry of Germany had grievances com-war. pared with which those of the nobles were imaginary, for they were treated as if they had no right to expect any ray of brightness in their dreary lot. Extravagant hopes were kindled among them by the Reformation, and in a few years, notwithstanding all Luther's efforts to dissuade them, widespread conspiracies were formed. In 1524 war broke out in the greater part of southern and central Germany, and the peasants, aided by a few valiant knights like Götz von Berlichingen, were at first triumphant. But they soon became so violent that Luther himself urged they should be sternly punished; and in 1525, after a vast amount of confusion and bloodshed, the rising was completely suppressed. By these two wars the authority of the princes was made greater than ever; the peasantry suffered if possible more severe oppression, and many even of the immediate nobles were compelled to submit to a yoke which they detested.

Notwithstanding the injurious impression caused by the Project of the struggles of the peasantry and of the barons, the Refor-mat. Reformation made rapid progress, and those who remained loyal to the church became so alarmed that at the diet of Spires in 1526 they clamoured for repressive measures. The administrative council at the head of Germany in Charles's absence was, however, not unfriendly to the Reformers, and the diet ended by decreeing that, until the questions in dispute should be authoritatively settled, each state should have religious freedom. This proved to be a most important edict. As yet no religious body had been organized to compete with the Catholic Church; now the leading states in which the ideas of the Reformation prevailed began, under the guidance of Luther and Melanchthon, to carry out measures which they had in vain hoped the church itself, by means of a general council, would undertake. The Catholics saw clearly the significance of what was done; and at another diet held in Spires in 1529 they obtained, in opposition to the previous edict, a new decree, forbidding further changes in religion. The supporters of Luther formally protested; but the Catholics maintained their ground. In the following year the emperor, who was no longer an untried youth, but a sovereign famous for skill in council and success in war, came to Germany for the express purpose of making an end of heresy. At the diet he held in Augsburg the Lutherans submitted a summary of their doctrines in the Augsburg Confession, which had been drawn up, with the sanction of Luther, by Melanchthon, and which was afterwards regarded as their chief standard of faith. Charles made no real effort to comprehend the controversy; he was resolved, whether the heretics had right on their side or not, that they should submit, and he had at first no doubt that he would awe them into submission by an unwonted display of power and splendour. To his surprise the Lutheran princes, while perfectly respectful, continued firm, and not only declined to attend mass, but held Lutheran services in their own quarters. Paying no attention to the edict of Spires of 1526, he renewed that which he had issued at Worms in 1521; and it seemed more than probable that if it were not obeyed he would soon have recourse to arms.

But fresh difficulties with France, and a threatened invasion of the Turks, who had besieged Vienna in 1529, forced him to mask his designs. In 1532 he granted the religious peace of Nuremberg, which conceded temporary toleration to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and this peace was repeatedly confirmed in the following years. Meanwhile, the Lutherans, both princes and cities, had increased their power by forming the League of Smalkald,

and this confederation ultimately took in, besides many cities of South Germany, most of the North-German cities and principalities. The Reformation in Germany was above all things a popular movement. It sprang directly from the heart of the nation, and, the conditions favourable to it being widely spread, it passed with extraordinary speed from one part of the country to another. Thus many princes, who would not of their own accord have deserted the church, were compelled to do so from political motives. They had been strong enough to undermine imperial authority; they were not strong enough to resist the pressure of the majority of their subjects.

His hands being full elsewhere, Charles was obliged to temporize during his second absence from Germany, and to send counsels of moderation to his brother Ferdinand, who had been elected king of the Romans. He never, however, gave up his original purpose. His plan was, when he should have leisure to devote himself to the task, to secure the meeting of a general council which should make all necessary reforms, and to insist, at whatever cost, on the Lutherans abiding by its decisions. The peace of Crespy, signed in 1544, gave him free scope; and he began by inducing Pope Paul III. to summon the council which ultimately met at Trent. At the same time he made vigorous preparations for war. He affected that he had no intention of fighting for religious objects, but merely wished to bring to subjection certain states which had set him at defiance. By these means he was able to detach from the League of Smalkald the reforming states which were without real enthusiasm, or which were too timid to enter upon a great struggle. Those which took up arms were so disunited that the troops sent to Charles from Italy and the Low Countries had no difficulty in joining him; and in 1546 he not only made himself master of the South-German Lutheran cities, but in the battle of Mühlberg completely routed the Saxons and took their elector, John Frederick, prisoner. Shortly afterwards the landgrave Philip of Hesse, who with the Saxon elector had been the main political support of Lutheranism, fell into his hands, and both were treated with great harshness. Charles took advantage of his triumph to issue what was called the "Interim," a confession which was to be obligatory on the Lutheran states until the council then sitting should conclude its labours. It was everywhere resisted, but most of the states had at least outwardly to submit. All Germany thus seemed to be at the emperor's feet. The Reformation had enabled him to deal both with the princes and the imperial cities as no sovereign had dealt with them for five centuries.

But his triumph was too great to be enduring. The Catholic princes themselves were alarmed at his predominance; King Ferdinand was alienated by his attempts to secure the crown for his son Philip; and the Lutheran princes chafed angrily under his severe rule. The general discontent found a representative in Maurice, a subtle and ambitious Saxon prince, who, caring little about doctrinal disputes but a great deal about the increase of his own importance, had sided with Charles against the Lutherans, and had been rewarded by being made John Frederick's successor. He now turned, under the influence of what motives it is hard to determine, and plotted against the emperor, forming an alliance with the chief Lutheran princes and with Henry II. of France, who eagerly caught the opportunity to profit by the dissensions in the empire. Charles heard vague rumours of what was going on; but he had been thrown off his guard by the ease with which he had hitherto attained his will, and carelessly trusted to chance. Suddenly, in 1552, Henry II. invaded Germany as protector of her liberties, and Charles learned that Maurice was marching rapidly to Innsbruck with the inten-

tion of making him prisoner. He fled, and all the advantages he had gained by the battle of Mühlberg were at once lost. Within six months he had to sign the treaty of Passau, agreeing that a diet should be summoned for the purpose of arriving at a new settlement, and that in the meantime Lutherans and Catholics should have like privileges. In 1555 the religious peace of Augsburg was concluded by the diet thus promised.

Henry II. had seized the bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul; and Charles endeavoured at the earliest possible opportunity to win them back. But his efforts failed; and thus in his last years the power he fancied he had thoroughly humbled began a series of depredations which were thenceforth to be continued at frequent intervals. Disgusted with his ill fortune, he handed over the government of Germany to his brother Ferdinand in 1555, having in the previous year entrusted Spain, the Two Sicilies, and the Low Countries to his son Philip.

The peace of Augsburg, instead of bringing tranquillity, was the cause of fresh discord. The toleration it conceded did not include the Calvinist or Reformed faith; only the Lutherans received liberty of worship. And even a Lutheran was not tolerated unless his prince chose to let him alone; for each secular state had the right to eject from its territory all who did not accept the doctrine it established. Thus Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist were exposed to irritating despotism; and each came to regard the other with hearty detestation. Another source of trouble was a clause in the treaty called the ecclesiastical reservation. It required that if a spiritual prince accepted the Augsburg Confession he should forthwith resign his lands. The Lutherans denied the validity of this clause; and notwithstanding the protests of the Catholics several prelates became Lutherans and kept their territories as secular possessions.

Ferdinand I. (1556-64), who, like all German sovereigns after him, was recognized as emperor without being crowned by the pope, had at one time been distinguished for his zeal for the church. But the experience of his brother had taught him the necessity of prudence; and he was also kept quiet by troubles in Bohemia and Hungary, both of which countries he had acquired by marriage, and to both of which the house of Hapsburg soon began to lay hereditary claim. He tried to moderate the excesses of each party, and was anxious that the council of Trent should follow a conciliatory policy. Maximilian II. (1564-76), one of the most enlightened princes of his time, adopted the same line. He would have had the state withdraw altogether from religious disputes, and so sincerely did he carry out his principles that, although he was himself a Catholic, Protestant doctrines spread during his reign throughout the Austrian hereditary lands, from which they had hitherto been excluded. Rudolf II. (1576-1612) reversed the policy of his immediate predecessors. The Jesuits, who had been hard at work, although without much success, during his father's reign, gained complete ascendancy over him; and acting on their advice he continually warred against the Protestants. But he was too weak to do much good to his friends or injury to his enemies. Trained in the gloomy court of Spain, he had come to be of a moody, variable temperament; and he was given to outbursts of violent passion, followed by abject submission to his advisers. So much confusion sprang from his incompetence that the archdukes of Austria, with the sanction of the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg, met in 1606, and placed the government of the hereditary lands in the hands of his brother Matthias. He took refuge among his Bohemian subjects, who, in 1609, wrung from him a royal charter, granting religious freedom to the nobles, knights, and cities, with the right to build churches on their own and the royal lands. Matthias, who succeeded him as emperor (1612-19), was almost as unfit

1612-32. for the duties he assumed. He put forth his whole energy against Protestantism ; but he could not in the least discourage it, and in his time it prevailed over by far the larger part of the Austrian territory.

Catholic reaction. By this time, however, there were signs of a great Catholic reaction which was to work fearful havoc in Germany. It was due mainly to the persistent zeal of the Jesuits. For a long time the Protestants absorbed the intellectual strength of the country ; but many able scholars and divines among the Jesuits could hold their own with their antagonists, who afforded them excellent vantage ground by foolish and bitter controversies. These devoted missionaries of the church gave their attention mainly to the young ; and during the reign of Rudolf they were fortunate enough to make a profound impression upon two princes, each of whom was destined to play a great part in the events of the time. These princes were Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Ferdinand, duke of Styria. The former early showed the fruit of his training by executing, in 1606, an unjust imperial mandate against the Protestant city of Donauwörth, and afterwards treating it as his own.

Protestant Union and Catholic League. The Protestant princes, rendered suspicious by this arbitrary act, formed in 1608 a confederation called the Union, which was to last for ten years ; and in response the Catholics, under the guidance of Maximilian, to whom they gave the command, united in a similar confederation called the League. As the Union was headed by the elector palatine, who was a Calvinist, many Lutherans, among them the Saxon elector, regarded it coldly. It acquired, however, immense importance by an alliance with Henry IV. of France, who, like Henry II., wished to profit by German quarrels. War was on the point of breaking out between the two confederations in regard to the Juliers-Cleves territory ; but the Union did not venture to fight after the sudden death of the French king.

Ferdinand II. Ferdinand was even more vigorous than his friend in the defence of his religion. His faith was that of a genuine fanatic, narrow, intense, austere ; and with the feelings of a monk rather than of a secular ruler, he began at once, on assuming the government of Styria, to extirpate Protestantism. Individuals and families were driven without mercy from their homes until at last a country which had been mainly Protestant became in appearance altogether Catholic. He was the heir of Matthias ; and on coming to Vienna after the death of that sovereign, he found himself in the midst of what seemed hopeless confusion. The Bohemians, embittered by the violation of the royal charter granted by Rudolf, refused to acknowledge him as king, and elected Frederick V. of the palatinate, son-in-law of James I. of England ; and the people of Hungary and of the Austrian lands, terrified by the prospect of a stern rule in opposition to their religious beliefs, were almost in open revolt. He succeeded in obtaining the imperial crown ; and from that time Ferdinand II. (1619-37) was dominated by a fixed resolve to secure the triumph of his church throughout the empire,—a resolve which cost Germany the Thirty Years' War.

Thirty Years' War. Bohemia. He began with Bohemia. Although supported by Spain, he could not obtain from her sufficient troops for his purpose ; and as he was for some time nearly powerless in Vienna he was obliged to come to terms with Duke Maximilian, who, after securing his own interests, put the army of the League commanded by Tilly at his disposal. The Union helped Frederick V. ; but being a man of feeble character he wasted precious months, needlessly irritated his subjects, and vaguely hoped that his wife's father would see him out of his embarrassments. In 1620 his army was utterly routed at the battle of Weissenburg ; and he and his family had just time to escape from the kingdom he had rashly undertaken to govern. Ferdinand drove to the

uttermost the advantages of his victory. The Union was broken up ; and Bohemia was placed under such a system of government that in becoming Catholic it lost more than two-thirds of its population, sank from high prosperity to a state of indigence, and ceased to be a seat of art and learning. The Spanish troops and the army of the League next invaded the palatinate, which after severe struggles, was finally subdued ; and there also the process of conversion ^{rate} was carried on with a thoroughness which ended in the death or exile of multitudes of the inhabitants. Frederick was banished from his inheritance ; and the electorate he was declared to have forfeited was conferred on Duke Maximilian.

Thus ended the first stage of the Thirty Years' War. The Danish second began (1625) by the formation, after much fruitless war, of the Protestant League, which comprised England, Holland, and Denmark. The burden of the struggle fell on the last-named power, whose king, Christian IV., was also duke of Holstein, and therefore a prince of the empire. It was in the war with him that Europe first became familiar with the great name of Wallenstein, a Bohemian noble who, by marriage and by loyal service to the emperor, had risen ^{stepped} to immense wealth and power. Ferdinand became restive at his dependence on the League, and gladly accepted Wallenstein's offer to raise an army over which it should have no control. This scheming, mysterious general, co-operating with Tilly and soon casting him into the shade, chased Christian, after the battle of Lutter, into Denmark, and overran Mecklenburg, of which he was created duke. He apparently intended to make himself master of the Hanse towns with the view of securing predominance at sea as well as on land ; but this purpose was thwarted by the bravery of the city of Stralsund, which he in vain tried to conquer. Denmark, however, was compelled to conclude peace in 1629.

Intoxicated by success, Ferdinand now issued the edict ^{Edit} of restitution, demanding the restoration of all ecclesiastical ^{restitu} lands of which the Protestants had become possessed since the treaty of Passau. As two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics had become Protestant, this was to strike a tremendous blow at his enemies ; and it stirred among them intense and universal opposition. At the same time, yielding to Duke Maximilian and other members of the League, he recalled Wallenstein, whose movements had given rise to suspicion. A more inauspicious moment could not have been chosen for these two important steps, for in 1630 Gustavus Adolphus left Sweden at the head of a well-disciplined army for the purpose of raising up the Protestant cause which had fallen so low. At first this great king was received coldly, even by his co-religionists. They were ignorant of his designs, and did not want a stranger to profit by the internal disputes of their country. A mistake at the outset would probably have proved fatal to him ; but he saw the dangers of his position, and moved so warily that in less than a year he had obtained, partly by intimidation, partly by argument, the alliance of the duke of Pomerania and the elector of Saxony. Tilly, at the head of nearly the whole force of the League, met him at Breitenfeld, and was completely defeated. This victory put Germany at his feet ; and had he realized how utterly he had broken the imperial strength, he might have advanced on Vienna itself. He preferred, however, to make the country around and behind him absolutely secure ; and everywhere the cities opened their gates to him as the deliverer of the Protestants. After again defeating Tilly, who was wounded and died, he took possession of the palace at Munich, while Duke Maximilian fled. Whatever may have been the motives of Gustavus in undertaking this memorable expedition,—and they were probably not altogether unselfish,—he had the power of

kindling confidence and enthusiasm among those who depended upon him; and the result of his presence in South Germany was that the faith of the Protestants in their cause and in themselves revived, and that they no longer doubted of ultimate victory. The emperor felt how great had been his mistake in dismissing Wallenstein, and after many fruitless entreaties, at last persuaded him to come forth from his retirement and form a second army. He did so on condition that he should have absolute command; and so urgent was the need of his services that Ferdinand allowed him to make himself in this way a great and dangerous power within the state. In 1632 he was defeated at the battle of Lützen; but the defeat was better than an ordinary victory, for the Swedish hero was among the slain. Wallenstein now aimed at becoming a great sovereign; perhaps he even aspired to the imperial crown itself. In any case his dilatory movements, his endless intrigues, and his haughty tone caused such profound uneasiness at Vienna that in 1634 he was got rid of by murder.

Richelieu. For fourteen years longer, although the original objects of the war were almost forgotten, the tempest continued to sweep over Germany. It received a fresh impetus from the intervention of Cardinal Richelieu, who, although the enemy of Protestants in France, thought fit to weaken Austria by aiding them in Germany. While Gustavus Adolphus lived, Richelieu was kept comparatively in the background; after the king's death he was one of the mainsprings of the war. At last, in 1648, after five years of negotiation at Osnabrück and Münster, the peace of Westphalia was concluded.

*Effects
of the
hirty
years'
war.
and eligious
feedom.* The Thirty Years' War settled once for all the principle that men should not be persecuted for their religious faith. It is true that the peace of Westphalia formally recognized only the three creeds, Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, but so much suffering had been caused by the interference of the state with individual conviction, that toleration in the largest sense, so far as law was concerned, was virtually conceded. This was the sole advantage gained from the war by the Protestants. The Catholics insisted at first on keeping all the ecclesiastical lands which had been taken from them before the edict of restitution in 1630. The Protestants responded by demanding that they should lose nothing which they had held before 1618, when the war began. A compromise was at last effected by both parties agreeing to the date 1624,—an arrangement which secured to the Catholics their immense gains in Bohemia and the other territories of the house of Hapsburg. The restoration of the elector palatine to part of his lands, and his reinstatement in the electoral office, were important concessions; but on the other hand, the duke of Bavaria kept the Rhenish palatinate, and, as he remained an elector, the votes of the Protestants in the electoral college were fewer by one than they had been in 1618.

*Ons of
territory.* The country suffered enormous territorial losses by the war. Up to this time the possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun by France had never been officially recognized; now these bishoprics were formally conceded to her. She also received as much of Alsace as belonged to Austria. To the Swedes were granted Western Pomerania, with Stettin, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. These acquisitions, which surpassed the advantages Gustavus Adolphus had hoped to win, gave Sweden the command both of the Baltic and of the North Sea. In virtue of her German possessions Sweden became a member of the empire; but France obtained absolute control of her new territories. There was a further diminution of Germany by the recognition of the independence of Switzerland and the United Provinces. Both had long been virtually free; they now for the first time took the position of distinct nations.

In the political constitution of Germany the peace of Westphalia did not so much make changes as sanction those

already effected. The whole tendency of the Reformation 1682–48. had been to relax the bonds which united the various elements of the state to each other and to their head. It had divided the nation into two bitterly hostile parties, and the emperor was not able to assume towards them a perfectly impartial position. His imperial crown imposed upon him the necessity of associating himself with the Catholics; so that the Protestants had a new and powerful reason for looking upon him with jealousy, and trying to diminish his authority. The Catholics, while maintaining their religion, were willing enough to co-operate with them for this object; and Germany often saw the strange spectacle of princes rallying round the emperor for the defence of the church, and at the same time striking deadly blows at his political influence. The diet was a scene of perpetual quarrelling between the two factions, and their differences made it impossible for the imperial chamber to move beyond the region of official routine. Thus before the Thirty Years' War the empire had virtually ceased to exist, Germany having become a loose confederation of principalities and free cities. For a moment the emperor Ferdinand appeared to have touched the ideal of Charles V., in so far, at least, as it related to Germany, but only for a moment. The stars in their courses fought against him, and at the time of his death he saw how far beyond his power were the forces with which even Charles had been unable to contend. The state of things which actually existed the peace of Westphalia made legal. So nearly complete was the independence of the states that each received the right to form alliances with any of the others or with foreign powers, nominally on condition that their alliances should not be injurious to the emperor or to the empire. Any authority which still lawfully belonged to the emperor was transferred to the diet. It alone had now the power of making laws, of concluding treaties in the name of Germany, and of declaring war and re-establishing peace. No one, however, expected that it would be of any real service. After 1654 it became a permanent body, and was attended only by the representatives of the princes and the cities; and from that time it occupied itself mainly with trifles, leaving the affairs of each state to be looked after by its own authorities, and those of the country generally to such fortunes as chance should determine.

It would not have been strange if so shadowy an empire had been brought altogether to an end. Some slight bond of connexion was, however, necessary for defence against the common dangers; and the empire had existed so long, and so many great associations were connected with it, that it seemed to all parties preferable to any other form of union. Moreover, Sweden, and other states which were now members of the empire, warmly supported it; and the house of Hapsburg, on which it reflected a certain splendour, would not willingly have let it die. An Austrian ruler, even when he spoke only in the name of Austria, derived authority from the fact that as emperor he represented many of the greatest memories of European history.

The effect of the Thirty Years' War on the national life was disastrous. It had not been carried on by disciplined armies, but by hordes of adventurers whose sole object was plunder. The cruelties they inflicted on their victims are almost beyond conception. Before the war the population was about twenty millions; after it the number was probably five or seven millions, and cannot have been more than ten. Whole towns and villages were laid in ashes, and vast districts turned into deserts. Churches and schools were closed by hundreds, and to such straits were the people often reduced that cannibalism is said to have been not uncommon. Industry and trade were so completely paralysed that in 1635 the Hanseatic League was virtually broken up, because the members, once so wealthy, could

1648-
1724.

not meet the expenditure it involved. The population was not only impoverished and reduced in numbers but broken in spirit. It lost confidence in itself, and for a time effected in politics, literature, art, and science little that is worthy of serious study.

The
princes.

The princes knew well how to profit by the national prostration. The local diets, which, as we have seen, formed a real check on petty tyranny, and kept up an intimate relation between the princes and their subjects, were nearly all destroyed. Those which remained were injurious rather than beneficial, since they often gave an appearance of lawfulness to the caprices of arbitrary sovereigns. After the Thirty Years' War it became fashionable for the heirs of principalities to travel, and especially to spend some time at the court of France. Here they readily imbibed the ideas of Louis XIV., and in a short time every petty court in Germany was a feeble imitation of Versailles. Before the Reformation, and even for some time after it, the princes were thorough Germans in sympathies and habits; they now began to be separated by a wide gulf from their people. Instead of studying the general welfare, they cruelly wrung from exhausted states the largest possible revenue to support a lavish and ridiculous expenditure. The pettiest prince had his army, his palaces, his multitudes of household officers; and most of them pampered every vulgar appetite without respect either to morality or decency. Many nobles, whose lands had been wasted during the war, flocked to the little capitals to make their way by contemptible court services. Beneath an outward gloss of refinement these nobles were, as a class, coarse and selfish, and they made it their chief object to promote their own interests by fostering absolutist tendencies. Among the people there was no public opinion to discourage despotism; the majority accepted their lot as inevitable, and tried rather to reproduce than to restrain the vices of their rulers. Even the churches offered little opposition to the excesses of persons in authority, and in many instances the clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, acquired an unenviable notoriety for their readiness to overlook or condone actions which outraged the higher sentiments of humanity. In the free imperial cities there was more manliness of tone than elsewhere, but there was little of the generous rivalry among the different classes which had once raised them to a high level of prosperity. Most of them resigned their liberties into the hands of oligarchies, and others allowed themselves to be annexed by ambitious princes.

The
cities.

Modern Times.

Ferdinand III. (1637-57) succeeded to the throne when the fortunes of his house were at a low ebb, and he continued the Thirty Years' War, not in the hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion or of restoring the imperial authority, but to undo as much as he could the havoc caused by his father's recklessness. After the conclusion of peace nothing happened to make his reign memorable. His son, Leopold I. (1658-1705), was a man of narrow intellect and feeble will; yet Germany seldom so keenly felt the need of a strong emperor, for she had during two generations to contend with a watchful and grasping rival. For more than a century it had been the policy of France to strengthen herself by fostering the internal dissensions of Germany. This was now easy, and Louis XIV. made unscrupulous use of the advantages his predecessors had helped to gain for him. Germany as a whole could not for a long time be induced to resist him. His schemes directly threatened the independence of the princes; but they were too indolent to unite against his ambition. They grudged even the contributions necessary for the maintenance of the frontier fortresses, and many of them stooped to accept the bribes he offered them on condition that they

Louis
XIV. of
France.

should remain quiet. In his war with the United Provinces and Spain, begun in 1672, he was opposed by the emperor as ruler of Austria, and by Frederick William, the elector of Brandenburg; and in 1675 the latter gained a splendid victory at Fehrbellin over his allies, the Swedes. At the end of the war, in 1678, by the peace of Nimeguen, Louis took care that Frederick William was deprived of the fruits of his victory, and Austria had to resign Freiburg in Breisgau to the French. Under the pretence that when France gained the Austrian lands in Alsace she also acquired a right to all places that had ever been united to them, Louis began a series of systematic robberies of German towns and territories. "Chambers of Reunion" were appointed to give an appearance of legality to these proceedings, which culminated, in 1681, in the seizure of Strasburg. Germans of all states and ranks were indignant at so gross a humiliation, but even the loss of Strasburg did not suffice to move the diet. The emperor himself might probably have interfered, but Louis had provided him with ample employment by stirring up against him the Hungarians and the Turks. So complete was his hold over the majority of the princes that when the Turks, in 1683, surrounded Vienna, and appeared not unlikely to advance into the heart of Germany, they looked on indifferently, and allowed the emperor to be saved by the promptitude and courage of Sobieski, king of Poland. At last, when, in 1689, on the most frivolous pretext, Louis poured into south Germany armies which were guilty of shameful outrages, a number of princes came forward and aided the emperor. This time France was sternly opposed by the league of which William III. of England was the moving spirit; and although at the end of the war he kept Strasburg, he had to give up Freiburg, Philipsburg, Breisach, and the places he had seized because of their former connexion with Alsace. In the war of the Spanish succession ^{War of} two powerful princes, the elector of Bavaria and the elector of Cologne, joined Louis; but as the states of the empire <sup>Spanish
succession</sup> declared war against him in 1702, the other princes, more or less loyally, supported the emperor and his allies. Leopold died during the progress of this war, but it was vigorously continued by his son Joseph I. (1705-11). Charles VI. (1711-40) also went on with it; and such were the blows inflicted on France by the victories of Blenheim, VI. Ramillies, and Malplaquet that the war was generally expected to end in her utter discomfiture. But the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht by England, in 1713, so limited the military power of Charles VI. that he was obliged to resign the claims of Austria to the Spanish throne, and to content himself with the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. He cared so little for Germany, as distinguished from Austria, that he allowed Louis to compel the diet to cede the imperial fortress of Landau. At a later stage in his reign he was guilty of an act of even grosser selfishness; for after the war of the Polish succession, in which he supported the claims of Augustus III., elector of Saxony, he yielded Lorraine to Leszczynski, whose claims had been defended by France, and through whom France ultimately secured this beautiful German province. Having no son, Charles drew up in 1713 the pragmatic sanction, which ordained that, in the event of an Austrian ruler being without male heirs, his hereditary <sup>Pragmatic
sanction.</sup> lands and titles should pass to his nearest female relative. The aim of his whole policy was to secure for this measure, which was proclaimed as a fundamental law in 1724, the approval of Europe; and by promises and threats he did at last obtain the guarantee of the states of the empire and the leading European powers.

Germany was now about to be aroused from the torpor into which she had been cast by the Thirty Years' War; but her awakening was due, not to the action of the empire,

which was more and more seen to be practically dead, but to the rivalry of two great German states, Austria and Prussia. The latter had long been laying the foundations of her power. Brandenburg, the centre of the Prussian kingdom, was, as we have seen, granted in the 15th century by the emperor Sigismund to Frederick, count of Hohenzollern. In his hands, and in those of his prudent successors, it became one of the most flourishing of the North-German principalities. At the time of the Reformation Albert, a member of a subordinate branch of the house of Hohenzollern, happened to be grand master of the Teutonic Order. He became a Protestant, dissolved the order, and received in fief of the king of Poland the duchy of Prussia. In 1611 this duchy fell by inheritance to the elector of Brandenburg, and by the treaty of Wehlau, in 1657, in the time of Frederick William, the Great Elector, it was declared independent of Poland. By skill, foresight, and courage Frederick William managed to add largely to his territories; and in an age of degenerate sovereigns he was looked upon as an almost model ruler. His son, Frederick, aspired to royal dignity, and in 1701, having obtained the emperor's assent, was crowned king of Prussia. The extravagance of Frederick drained the resources of his state, but this was amply atoned for by the rigid economy of Frederick William I., who not only paid off the debts accumulated by his father, but amassed an enormous treasure. He so organized all branches of the public service that they were brought to a point of high efficiency, and his army was one of the largest, best appointed, and best trained in Europe. He died in 1740, and within six months, when Frederick II.

Maria Theresa. was on the Prussian throne, Maria Theresa claimed, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction, the lands and hereditary titles of her father, Charles VI.

Frederick the Great. Frederick II., a young, ambitious, and energetic sovereign, longed not only to add to his dominions but to play a great part in European politics. His father had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, but as the conditions on which the guarantee had been granted had not been fulfilled by Charles VI., Frederick did not feel bound by it, and revived

First Silesian war. some old claims of his family on certain Silesian duchies. Maria Theresa would not abate her rights, but before she could assert them Frederick had entered Silesia and made himself master of it. Meanwhile, the elector of Bavaria had come forward and disputed Maria Theresa's right to the succession, and the elector of Saxony had also put in a claim to the Austrian lands. Taking advantage of these disputes, France formed an alliance with the two electors and with the king of Prussia against Austria; and in the war which followed the allies were at first so successful that the elector of Bavaria, through the influence of France, was crowned emperor as Charles VII. (1742-45). Maria

Charles VII. Theresa, a lady of a noble and undaunted spirit, appealed, with her infant son, afterwards Joseph II., in her arms, to the Hungarian diet, and the enthusiastic Magyars responded chivalrously to her call. To be more at freedom she concluded peace with Frederick, and ceded Silesia to him, although greatly against her will. Saxony also was pacified and retired from the struggle. After this Maria Theresa, supported by England, made way so rapidly and so triumphantly that Frederick became alarmed for his new possession; and in 1742 he once more proclaimed war against her, nominally in aid of the emperor, Charles VII. Ultimately, in 1748, she was able to conclude an honourable peace at Aix-la-Chapelle; but she had been forced, as before, to rid herself of Frederick by confirming him in the sovereignty of the territory he had seized.

Second Silesian war. After the death of Charles VII., Francis, grand duke of Tuscany, Maria Theresa's husband, was elected emperor. Francis I. (1745-65), an amiable nonentity, with the instincts of a shopkeeper, made no pretence of discharging

important imperial duties, and the task of ruling the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg fell wholly to the empress-queen. She executed it with discretion and vigour, so that Austria in her hands was known to be one of the most formidable powers in the world. Her rival, Frederick II., was, if possible, still more active. The bitter experiences of his youth, although they had soured his temper, had not quenched the generous aspirations which had been fed by study of the best writers of his time. It did not occur to him, any more than to the other German sovereigns of the 18th century, to associate his people with him in the government of the country; he was in every respect a thoroughly absolute sovereign. Even his ministers performed but the duties of superior clerks. But he shared the highest ideas of the age respecting the responsibilities of a king, and throughout his long reign acted in the main faithfully as "the first servant of the state." The army he always kept in readiness for war; but he also encouraged peaceful arts, and diffused throughout his kingdom so much of his own alert and aggressive spirit that the Prussians became more intelligent and more wealthy than they had ever before been. He excited the admiration of the youth of Germany, and it was soon the fashion among the petty princes to imitate his methods of government. As a rule, they succeeded only in raising far larger armies than the taxpayers could afford to maintain.

Maria Theresa never gave up the hope of winning back Silesia, and, in order to secure this object, she laid aside preparations for the jealousies of her house, and offered to conclude an alliance with France. Frederick had excited the envy of surrounding sovereigns, and had embittered them against him by stinging sarcasms. Not only France, therefore, but Russia, Saxony, and ultimately Sweden, willingly came to terms with Austria, and the aim of their union was nothing short of the partition of Prussia. Frederick, gaining knowledge of the plot, turned to England, which had in the previous war helped Austria. At the close of 1755 his offer of an alliance was acceded to; and in the following year, hoping by vigorously taking the initiative to prevent his enemies from united action, he invaded Saxony, and began the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

The result of this war was to confirm Prussia for ever in the possession of Silesia, but it was followed by still greater indirect consequences. Prussia now took rank as one of the leading European powers, and by her rise a new element was introduced into the political life of Germany. Austria, although associated with the empire, could no longer feel sure of her predominance, and it was inevitable that the jealousies of the two states should lead to a final conflict for supremacy. Even before the Seven Years' War there were signs that the German people were tired of incessant imitation of France, for in literature they welcomed the early efforts of Klopstock, Wieland, and Lessing; but the movement received a powerful impulse from the great deeds of Frederick. The nation, as a whole, was proud of his heroic courage, his splendid military qualities, and his beneficent rule, and began, for the first time since the Thirty Years' War, to feel that it might once more assume a commanding place in the world. This stir of life ultimately revealed itself in the outburst of philosophic and literary activity represented by the names of Kant, Goethe, and Schiller. By that time Germany had not only asserted intellectual independence, but had become thoroughly tired of the national disunion and of the petty despots it imposed upon them.

In 1772 the necessities of Frederick's position compelled him to join Russia and Austria in the deplorable partition of Poland. whereby he gained West Prussia, exclusive of Dantzic and Thorn, and Austria acquired West Silesia. After this he had to watch closely the movements of the

1777-
1815.
Joseph
II.

emperor Joseph II. (1765-90), who, although an ardent admirer of Frederick, was anxious to restore to Austria the greatness she had partially lost. The younger branch of the Wittelsbach line, which had hitherto possessed Bavaria, having died out in 1777, Joseph asserted claims to part of its territory. Frederick intervened, and although no battle was fought in the nominal war which followed, the emperor was obliged to content himself with a very unimportant concession. He made a second attempt in 1785, but Frederick again came forward. This time he formed a league for the defence of the imperial constitution, and it was joined by the majority of the small states. The memory of this league was almost blotted out by the tremendous events which soon absorbed the attention of Germany and the world, but it truly indicated the direction of the political forces which were then at work beneath the surface, and which long afterwards triumphed. The formation of the league was a distinct attempt on the part of Prussia to make herself the centre for the national aspirations both of northern and of southern Germany.

The French Revolution was hailed by many of the best minds of Germany as the opening of a new era. Among the princes it excited horror and alarm, and in 1792 the emperor Leopold II. (1790-92), and Frederick William II., the unworthy successor of Frederick the Great, met at Pillnitz, and agreed to support by arms the cause of the French king. A more important resolution was never taken. It plunged Europe into a conflict which cost millions of lives, and which overthrew the entire state system of the Continent. Germany herself was the principal sufferer. The structure which the princes had so laboriously built up crumbled into ruins, and the mistakes of centuries were expiated in an agony of disaster and humiliation.

The states of the empire joined Austria and Prussia, and, had there been hearty co-operation between the allies, they could scarcely have failed of success. While the war was in progress, in 1793, Prussia joined Russia in the second partition of Poland. Austria considered herself overreached, and began negotiations with Russia for the third and final partition, which was effected by the three powers in 1795. Prussia, irritated by the proceedings of her rival, did as little as possible in the war with France; and in 1795 she retired from the struggle, ceding to France her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. The war was continued by Austria, but her power was so effectually shattered by blow after blow that in 1797 she was forced to conclude the peace of Campo Formio. Napoleon Bonaparte, to whose genius the triumph of France was mainly due, began separate negotiations with the states of the empire at Rastadt; but, before terms could be agreed upon, war again began in 1799, Austria acting on this occasion as the ally of England and Russia. She was beaten, and the peace of Lunéville added fresh humiliations to those imposed upon her by the previous war. France now obtained the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, the dispossessed princes being compensated by grants of secularized church lands and of mediatised imperial cities. The contempt of Napoleon for the empire was illustrated by his occupation of Hanover in 1803, and by his seizure of the duke of Enghien on imperial territory in 1804. In 1805 Austria once more appealed to arms in association with her former allies, but in vain. By the peace of Presburg she accepted more disastrous terms than ever, and for the moment it seemed as if she could not again hope to rise to her former splendour. In this war she was opposed not only by France, but by Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, all of which were liberally rewarded for their services, the rulers of the two former countries being proclaimed kings. The degradation of Germany was completed by the formation, in 1806, of the Confederation of the Rhine, which was composed of the

chief central and southern states. The welfare of the Rhenish empire was asserted to be its object, but a body of which confederate Napoleon was the protector existed, of course, for no other purpose than to be a menace to Austria and Prussia. Francis II., who had succeeded Leopold II. in 1792, now resigned the imperial crown, and thus the empire and the German kingdom came to an end. The various states, which had for centuries been virtually independent, were during the next few years not connected even by a nominal bond.

Frederick William III. (1797-1840) of Prussia, the successor of Frederick William II., had held selfishly aloof from the struggle of Austria with France. Alarmed by the Confederation of the Rhine, he suddenly resolved on war. Napoleon gladly accepted the challenge, and Prussia was so ill-prepared for the contest she had invited that the first serious battle—the battle of Jena—prostrated her at his feet. Aided by Russia, the king held out some time longer; but when, after the battle of Friedland, in 1807, the czar was detached from the alliance, Frederick William had to sign the treaty of Tilsit, by which he was deprived of the best part of his kingdom and of more than half his subjects.

In 1809 Austria made one more attempt to retrieve her fortunes, and at first not without success. After the battle of Wagram, however, Napoleon dictated peace from Vienna.

Germany was now thoroughly in the grip of France, and Revival the French emperor proved how absolute was his power by of annexing, in 1810, the whole northern coast as far as the Elbe. The completeness of the humiliation of Germany was the means of her deliverance. She had been taught self-respect by Frederick II., and by her great writers in literature and philosophy; it was felt to be intolerable that in politics she should do the bidding of a foreign master. Among a large section of the community patriotism became for the first time a consuming passion, and it was stimulated by the counsels of several manly teachers, among whom the first place belongs to Fichte. The Governments responded prudently to the national movement. Even in Austria timely concessions were made to her various populations. Prussia, under the guidance of her great minister Stein, reorganized her entire administration. She abolished serfdom, granted municipal rights to the cities, established an admirable system of elementary and secondary education, and invited all classes to compete for civil offices; and ample means were provided for the approaching struggle by drastic military reform. Napoleon had exacted an engagement that the Prussian army should be limited to 42,000 men. This was fulfilled in the letter, but in spirit set aside, for one body of men was trained after another until the larger part of the male population were in a position, when a fitting opportunity should occur, to take up arms for their country.

The disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow in 1812 gave Germany the occasion she desired. In 1813 Prussia formed an alliance with Russia, which was ultimately joined by Austria, and in the great battle of Leipzig the issue was virtually settled. The first peace of Paris was soon followed by the escape of Napoleon from Elba; but in the battle of Waterloo he was decisively overcome, and Europe had no more to fear from his ambition. The Germans believed that by the second peace of Paris they ought to have received back all the lands which had ever been taken from them by France, but they had to content themselves with the recovery of their boundary as it had existed in 1792.

Between the conclusion of the first and the second peace of Paris the congress of Vienna had met and finished its labours. It was hard to reconcile the conflicting claims of so many states, and no party was fully satisfied with the compromise arrived at. The kingdom of Westphalia, and several other states set up by Napoleon, were brought to an

end. Prussia was compensated for her losses by receiving a part of Saxony, the Rhineland, and Swedish Pomerania; and to Austria were restored Salzburg, Vorarlberg, and Tyrol. Most of the members of the Rhenish Confederation were either left alone or deprived of small portions of territory; Hanover was made a kingdom; Weimar, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg became grand duchies; and Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and Frankfort were declared free cities.

German confederation.

In regard to the political constitution of Germany, the people were prepared for great and far-reaching changes. The need of union had been impressed upon them by the bitter experiences of nearly a generation, and they would have welcomed the establishment of a vigorous empire. But the jealousies of Austria and Prussia, and the hostility of the petty princes, prevented the popular policy from being adopted. Instead of an empire the congress formed the German bund or confederation. It was composed of 39 states, each of which was to be independent in regard to its internal affairs, the confederation taking cognizance only of matters of common interest. A permanent diet, in which each state should have its representative, was formed; it was to sit in Frankfort, and to be presided over by the Austrian plenipotentiary. This body was to settle all disputed questions between the various states, each of which engaged never to make war on any of the others, nor to form alliances which should be injurious to a member of the bund.

Popular desire for freedom.

The events which arose from the French Revolution had awakened in the German mind not only a passionate desire for unity but an equally intense wish for freedom. Growing intelligence had revealed to the people that personal rule is ill-adapted to the wants of a civilized community, especially the personal rule of such men as the majority of their princes, who clung obstinately to every kind of abuse, and regarded their functions as a means rather of glorifying themselves than of promoting the general welfare. Humiliating as had been their submission to France, it had done something to deepen this conviction, for in the districts ruled by French officials a higher idea of human rights was introduced than had before prevailed, and what was great and attractive in the principles of the Revolution stirred general sympathy. So urgent were the demands for free government that, while the struggle with Napoleon remained undecided, the princes made lavish promises of concession after peace should be restored. The act of confederation contained a positive decree that in each state should be established a constitutional system.

Disloyalty of German sovereigns.

The history of the next period is little more than a history of the elaborate and pitiful devices by which the German sovereigns evaded their engagements. Within a few years, indeed, the rulers of Nassau, Weimar, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg granted constitutions, but even in these countries absolutism was only in a slight degree modified. In Austria, where Prince Metternich was the controlling spirit, the most diverse nationalities were governed as if they had been a single people, and the methods of rule were as despotic and harsh as could be tolerated in a modern community. Although Frederick William III. of Prussia could not act upon quite so antiquated a system as Francis I., he resisted popular aspirations. The utmost concession he made was to appoint a number of provincial diets, which tended rather to foster than to allay the general discontent. Every opportunity was seized by the various Governments to repress the free movement of ideas. A number of students were guilty of some follies at a festival in the Wartburg, and some time afterwards a fanatical youth stabbed Kotzebue, the playwright, who had sided with the reactionary party. These incidents were held to be symptoms of a grave peril; and

in 1819 a conference of ministers at Carlsbad issued 1815-40. what were called the Carlsbad decrees, placing the universities under police supervision, reviving a rigid censorship, and opposing the cession of state constitutions. A central commission of inquiry was also appointed for the purpose of hunting out secret societies, the very existence of which was merely subject of conjecture. In the diet, whose authority was slighted by these decrees, there were several members favourable to a conciliatory policy; and in the small states liberal politicians continued to demand parliamentary representation. The reactionists, however, were united and determined, and succeeded in thwarting political progress until 1830. Even in that year the Revolutions of 1830. Prussian and Austrian Governments were able to hold on in their old path, but the French Revolution caused so loud an outcry in countries in which the police were less powerful, that Hanover, Brunswick, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel received constitutions, and in the lands where parliaments already existed the Governments granted freedom of the press, and promised more liberal legislation for the future. The two leading powers looked upon these changes with extreme disapproval, and they soon made use of the diet as a means of virtually annulling every measure that conflicted with their own aims. When the diet was instituted, it had been hoped that it would ultimately lead to closer national unity, and to the establishment of modern political institutions. It was now seen to be a mere instrument in the hands of the enemies both of unity and of liberty. So soon did the princes pluck up courage that in 1837 Ernest Augustus, who succeeded William IV. of England as king of Hanover, abolished the constitution which his predecessor had sanctioned, and set up another of an earlier period and of a far less liberal character. This unlawful act met with resistance which had to be put down by force. An appeal on behalf of the constitution was made to the diet, but with the result that was to be expected from its previous action; it declined to consider the question.

During this dismal period almost the sole political event Zollverein. on which Germans can look back with pleasure is the formation of the Zollverein or customs union. As in all other respects, the bund had failed to realize the expectations it had excited respecting the abolition of injurious restrictions on commerce. Several attempts had been made by groups of states to regulate their customs, but none of them had been attended with much success. At last Prussia arrived at an understanding with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and several other states, and between 1833 and 1835 the union thus formed was joined by all German countries with the exception of Austria. It happened that about this time railways began to be introduced. The customs union enabled the nation to derive from them the utmost possible benefit, so that the prevalent political confusion did not hinder the population from attaining to considerable material prosperity. The obvious advantages of commercial union deepened the desire for unity in every great department of the national life, and at the same time raised the position of Prussia, which had been wise enough to associate itself with a most important movement.

It was not only by its relation to the customs union that Prussia attracted the attention and awakened the hopes of German liberals. In 1840 Frederick William IV. (1840-61) succeeded his father, and, as he was known to be a thoughtful and cultivated prince, there was a general expectation that he would abandon the arbitrary ideas of Frederick William III. He began his reign well. For some years the Government had been in conflict with the Catholic Church; the struggle was at once ended by graceful concessions. The king pardoned political prisoners, restored to their offices certain professors who had been degraded during the pre-

1840-48. vious reign for supposed revolutionary tendencies, and welcomed to the Berlin University the brothers Grimm, who, with five other professors, had been driven from Göttingen for protesting against the violence of Ernest Augustus. But it soon became manifest that Frederick William's favourite conception of "the Christian state" did not include any genuine exercise of political power by the nation; he wished to rule in a more enlightened spirit than his father, but not less absolutely. It was arranged that the provincial diets established by Frederick William III. should meet periodically, but this was a poor substitute for the great positive measures which had been anticipated. And within a very few years "the Christian state" was found to be compatible with a strict censorship, with the arbitrary punishment of schoolmasters, clergymen, and judges who did not meet the approval of the Government, and generally with incessant and irritating interference with the private life of the individual. The king lost all the popularity he had acquired in the early days of his reign by vaguely enthusiastic promises, and impartial observers saw that he and his people must sooner or later enter upon a serious struggle. A like state of things existed all over Germany. The German, Hungarian, Slavonic, and Italian subjects of the emperor Ferdinand (1835-48), who succeeded Francis I., were all agitating for reform; and in Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, and Baden reactionary ministers were confronted by opponents who daily acquired increased influence among the masses of the population.

Prussian united diet.

In so many threatening forms did the rising spirit of the Prussian people reveal itself that in 1847 the king summoned to Berlin a united diet composed of the representatives of the provincial diets. This assembly truly expressed the popular feeling, but with so much moderation, and accompanying its demands by so many sincere assurances of loyalty, that it could not alarm the most timid. Frederick William, however, was offended by its tone, and haughtily proclaimed that he would never abate the rights which, as a lawful prince, he held by a higher than human authority.

Revolution of 1848.

Such was the condition of Germany at the breaking out of the French revolution of 1848. Its effect upon the public mind was immediate and profound. It had been made clear that no dependence was to be placed upon the engagements of the sovereigns, and that if anything was to be done it must be done by the people themselves. At a convention in Mannheim four demands were formulated—freedom of the press, trial by jury, national armies, and national representation. These demands were universally adopted as the liberal programme; and within a few days there was a liberal ministry in every one of the small states. In Bavaria, King Louis, whose well-meant efforts to make Munich a centre of art had not induced the nation to forget its political rights, resigned the crown to his son Maximilian. The popular excitement in Austria became so intense that Prince Metternich was dismissed, constitutional government was promised, and the Hungarians received a new cabinet. Still more vehement was the revolutionary movement in Prussia. Scenes of great violence occurred in the streets of Berlin, and on the 18th of March the king, who had previously tried to allay the storm by announcing that the united diet should meet periodically,—a concession he had refused to make at the proper moment,—declared that the national desire for a constitution should be satisfied. There was, however, a general feeling of distrust, and a conflict, which continued till the following morning, broke out between the troops and the population. Frederick William, who, although an ardent upholder of the divine right of kings, was too kind-hearted a man and too timid to approve of a struggle of this kind, laid aside his high pretensions, changed his ministers, and asserted that he would place him-

self at the head of the national movement. By these means a more pacific temper was restored, and, after the united diet had passed an electoral law, the country was called upon to choose a national assembly.

It was not only reform in the individual states that was demanded in 1848; the majority of the people felt that the time had come for sweeping away the effete bund which had done service only to the enemies of freedom, and for replacing it by a system of national representation which should maintain the dignity of Germany abroad and foster enlightened institutions at home. There was, indeed, a general conviction that only by means of a great central movement could the special agitations lead to enduring results. A number of deputies, belonging to different legislative assemblies, taking it upon themselves to give voice to the national demands, met at Heidelberg, and a committee appointed by them invited all Germans who then were, or who had formerly been, members of diets, as well as some other public men, to meet at Frankfort for the purpose of considering the question of national reform.

About 500 representatives accepted the invitation. They Preliminary constituted themselves a preliminary parliament, and at once began to provide for the election of a national assembly.

It was decided that there should be a representative for every group of 50,000 inhabitants, and that the election

should be by universal suffrage. A considerable party wished that the preliminary parliament should continue to act until the assembly should be formed, but this was overruled, the majority contenting themselves with the appointment of a committee of 50, whose duty it should be in the interval to guard the national interests. Some of those who were discontented with this decision retired from the preliminary parliament, and a few of them, of republican sympathies, called the population of Upper Baden to arms. The rising was put down by the troops of Baden, but it did considerable injury by awakening the fears of the more moderate portion of the community. Great hindrances were put in the way of the elections, but, as the Prussian and Austrian Governments were

too much occupied with their immediate difficulties to resist to the uttermost, the assembly was at last chosen, and met at Frankfort on the 18th May. The old diet broke up, and the national representatives had before them a clear field.

There is no reason to doubt that if they had acted with promptitude and discretion they would have succeeded in the task they had undertaken. Neither Austria nor Prussia was for some time in a position to thwart them, and the sovereigns of the smaller states were too much afraid of the revolutionary elements manifested on all sides to give way to reactionary impulses. But the Germans had had no experience of free political life. Nearly every deputy had his own theory of the course which ought to be pursued, and felt sure that the country would go to ruin if it were not adopted. Learned professors and talkative journalists insisted on delivering interminable speeches, and on examining in the light of ultimate philosophical principles every proposal laid before the assembly. Thus precious time was lost, violent antagonisms were called forth, the patience of the nation was exhausted, and the reactionary forces were able to gather strength for once more asserting themselves. The very first important question brought out the weaknesses of the deputies. This related to the nature of the central provisional executive. A committee appointed to discuss the matter suggested that there should be a directory of three members, appointed by the German Governments, subject to the approval of the assembly, and ruling by means of ministers responsible to the latter body. This elaborate scheme found favour with a large number of members, but others insisted that there should be a president or a central committee, appointed by the assembly,

while another party pleaded that the assembly itself should exercise executive as well as legislative functions. At last, after a vast amount of tedious and useless discussion, it was agreed that the assembly should appoint an imperial vicar who should carry on the government by means of a ministry selected by himself; and, by the decision of a large majority, the archduke John of Austria was chosen for the office. With as little delay as possible he formed an imperial cabinet, and there were hopes that, as his appointment was generally approved both by the sovereigns and the people, more rapid progress would be made with the great and complicated work in hand. Unfortunately, however, it was necessary to enter upon the discussion of the fundamental laws, a subject presenting many opportunities for the display of rhetoric and intellectual subtlety. It was soon obvious that beneath all varieties of individual opinion there were two bitterly hostile tendencies—those of the republicans, and those of the constitutionalists. These two parties attacked each other with constantly growing animosity, and in a few weeks sensible men outside the assembly gave up all hope of their dealing satisfactorily with the problem they had been appointed to solve.

In the midst of these disputes the attention of the nation was occupied by a question which had arisen before the outbreak of the revolutionary movements,—the so-called "Schleswig-Holstein question." In 1846 Christian VIII. of Denmark had officially proclaimed that Schleswig and the greater part of Holstein were indissolubly connected with the Danish monarchy. This excited vehement opposition among the Germans, on the ground that Holstein, although subject to the king of Denmark, was a member of the German confederation, and that in virtue of ancient treaties it could not be severed from Schleswig. In 1848 the German party in the duchies, headed by Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, rose against the Danish Government. Frederick VII., who had just succeeded Christian VIII., put down the rebellion, but Prussia, acting in the name of the confederation, despatched an army against the Danes, and drove them from Schleswig. The Danes, who were supported by Russia, responded by blockading the Baltic ports, which Germany, having no navy, was unable effectually to defend. By the mediation of England an armistice was concluded, and the Prussian troops evacuated the northern districts of Schleswig. As the Danes soon afterwards took possession of Schleswig again, the Prussians once more drove them back, but on the 26th of August an armistice of seven months was agreed upon at Malmö.

The new Frankfort Government disapproved the conditions of this armistice; but, as it had empowered Prussia to act for it, it was obliged to accept what had been done. The majority of the assembly, furious at an arrangement which was denounced as a national humiliation, decided that the armistice should not be sanctioned. The ministry resigned; but, a new combination being impossible, it was replaced, and the assembly unwillingly agreed to accept the armistice, on the understanding that the Government should lose no time in negotiating for peace on fair terms. A large minority, however, was intensely dissatisfied. It was composed of the republicans and other radical sections; and when defeated, they appealed from the assembly to the people. The Government kept its place, but was unable to prevent a rising which led to the murder of two unpopular representatives. There were also temporary republican agitations in Baden and Württemberg.

While these events were in progress, it seemed not impossible that the Austrian empire would fall to pieces. Bohemia and the Italian states were in revolt, and the Hungarians strove with passionate earnestness for independ-

ence. Towards the end of 1848 Vienna was completely in 1848. the hands of the revolutionary party, and it was retaken only after desperate fighting. A reactionary ministry, headed by Prince Schwarzenberg, was then raised to power, and in order that a strong policy might be the more vigorously pushed forward, the emperor Ferdinand resigned, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis Joseph.

The prospects of reform were not much more favourable Reform in in Prussia. The assembly summoned amid the revolution. Prussia. ary excitement of March met on the 22d May. Demands for a constitutional system were urged with great force, and they would probably have been granted but for the opposition due to the violence of politicians out of doors. The aristocratic class saw ruin before it if the smallest concession were made to popular wishes, and it soon recovered from the terror into which it had been plunged at the outbreak of the revolution. Extreme antagonism was excited by such proposals as that the king should no longer be said to wear his crown "by grace of God," and the animosity between the liberal and the conservative sections was driven to the highest pitch when, in the midst of the struggle between the populace and the Government in Vienna, it was proposed that Prussia should support the cause of freedom. The motion, although at first rejected, was passed in a modified form. Before this, ministry after ministry had been appointed, but none had been so decidedly reactionary as to preclude the hope of a settlement. Now the king resolved to break finally with the liberals, and, notwithstanding a solemn warning addressed to him by a deputation from the assembly, he called to office a cabinet about whose intentions there could be no misunderstanding. On the pretext that fair deliberation was impossible in the capital, the assembly was ordered to meet in Brandenburg, troops were concentrated near Berlin, and a state of siege was proclaimed. In vain the assembly protested and continued its sittings, going even so far as to forbid the payment of taxes while it was subjected to illegal treatment. It was forced in the end to submit, but the discussions in Brandenburg were no more successful than those in Berlin. At last, on the 5th December, the king dissolved the assembly, granted a constitution about which it had not been consulted, and gave orders for the election of a representative chamber.

About the time that the Prussian parliament was thus Frank-created, and that the emperor Ferdinand resigned, the fort as Frankfort assembly succeeded in formulating the fundamental laws, which were duly proclaimed to be the fundamental laws of Germany as it was now to be constituted. The principal clauses of the constitution then began to be discussed. By far the most difficult question was the relation in which Austria should stand to the Germany of the future. There was a universal wish that the Austrian Germans should be included in the German state; on the other hand, it was felt that if all the various nationalities of Austria formed a united monarchy, and if this monarchy as a whole were included in the confederation, it would necessarily overshadow Germany, and expose her to unnecessary external dangers. It was therefore resolved that, although a German country might be under the same ruler as non-German lands, it could not be so joined to them as to form with them a single nation. Had the assembly adopted this resolution at once, instead of exhausting itself by pedantic disquisitions on the abstract principles of jurisprudence, it might have hoped to triumph; but Austria was not likely to submit to so severe a blow at the very time when she was strong enough to appoint a reactionary Government, and had nearly re-established her authority, not only in Vienna, but in Bohemia and in Italy. Prince Schwarzenberg took the earliest opportunity to declare that the empire could not assent to any weakening of its influ-

1849-50. ence. Bitter strife now broke out in the assembly. Two of the ministers resigned, and one of those who took their place, Herr von Gagern, proposed that, since Austria was to be a united state, she should not enter the confederation, but that her relations to Germany should be regulated by a special act of union. This of course meant that Prussia should be at the head of Germany, and recommended itself to the majority of the constitutional party. It was resisted by the Austrian members, who were supported by the ultramontanes and the democrats, both of whom disliked Prussia, the former because of her Protestantism, the latter because of her bureaucratic system. Herr von Gagern's proposal was, however, adopted. Immediately afterwards the question as to the character of the executive was raised. Some voted that a directory of princes should be appointed, others that there should be a president, eligible from the whole German nation; but the final decision was that the headship of the state should be offered by the assembly to some particular German prince, and that he should bear the title of emperor of the Germans.

Proposed empire. The whole subject was as eagerly discussed throughout the country as in Frankfort. Austria firmly opposed the idea of a united German state, insisting that the Austrian emperor could not consent to be subordinate to any other prince. She was supported by Bavaria, but on the other side were Prussia, Brunswick, Baden, Nassau, Mecklenberg, and various other countries, besides the Hanseatic towns. For some time Austria offered no counter scheme, but she ultimately proposed that there should be a directory of seven princes, the chief place being held alternately by a Prussian and an Austrian imperial vicar. Nothing came of this suggestion, and in due time the assembly proceeded to the second reading of the constitution. It was revised in a democratic sense, but the imperial title was maintained, and a narrow majority decided that it should be hereditary.

Frederick William IV. of Prussia was then chosen emperor.

Frederick William IV. declines the imperial crown. All Germany awaited with anxiety the reply of Frederick William. It was thought not improbable that he would accept the honour offered him, for in the early part of his reign he had spoken of German unity as enthusiastically as of liberty, and, besides, the opportunity was surprisingly favourable. The larger number of the North-German states were at least not unwilling to submit to the arrangement; and Austria, whose opposition in ordinary circumstances would have been fatal, was paralysed by her struggle with Hungary. Frederick William had not, however, the courage of his opinions; the deputation which waited upon him was dismissed with the answer that he could not assume the imperial title without the full sanction of the princes and the free cities.

End of Frankfort assy. This answer was in reality a deathblow to the hopes of German patriots, but the assembly affected to believe that its cause was not yet lost, and appointed a committee to see that the provisions of the constitution were carried out.

A vigorous agitation began in the country for the acceptance of the constitution by the Governments. The king of Württemberg was forced to accede to it; and in Saxony, Baden, and Rhenish Bavaria armed multitudes kept the sovereigns in terror. Prussia, which, following the example of Austria, had recalled her representatives from Frankfort, sent her troops to put down these risings, and on the 21st May 1849 the larger number of the deputies to the assembly voluntarily resigned their seats. A few republican members held on by it, and transferred the sittings to Stuttgart. Here they even elected an imperial Government, but they had no longer any real influence, and on the 18th June they were forcibly dispersed by the Württemberg ministry.

The Union. Although Frederick William had refused to become emperor, he was unwilling to miss altogether the opportunity

afforded by the difficulties of Austria. He invited the states to send representatives to Berlin to discuss the condition of Germany; and he concluded a treaty with the kings of Saxony and Hanover. Two days afterwards the three allies agreed upon a constitution which was in many respects identical with that drawn up by the Frankfort assembly. The functions of the executive were, however, extended, the electoral law was made less democratic, and it was decided that, instead of an emperor, there should be merely a supreme chief aided by a college of princes. This constitution was accepted by a number of states, which assumed the name of the "The Union," and on the 20th March 1850 a parliament consisting of two houses met in Erfurt. Both houses accepted the constitution; and, immediately after they broke up, the members of the Union assembled in Berlin, and a provisional college of princes was elected. By that time, however, the whole situation of Germany had changed. In the autumn of 1849 Austria had succeeded, by the help of Russia, in quelling the Hungarian insurrection, and she was then in no mood to let herself be thrust aside by Prussia. Encouraged by her, Hanover and Saxony had severed themselves from the Union, and Saxony, Württemberg, and Bavaria arrived at an understanding as to a wholly new constitution. Afterwards all four states, with several others, accepted the invitation of Austria to consider the propriety of re-establishing the Confederation. The representatives of the states favourable to this proposal came together in Frankfort on the 4th September 1850, and acted as the restored diet.

Thus the issue to which the events of about a century had Austria been pointing was apparently raised; Germany was divided and Prussia into two hostile parties, one set of states grouping themselves around Austria, another around Prussia. A difficulty Disturbance which arose in Hesse-Cassel almost compelled the powers ince in to bring their differences to the test of war. In this small Hesse-Cassel state the liberal movement of 1848 had been followed by reaction, and the elector ventured to replace Hassenpflug, the unpopular minister who had been driven from power. Hassenpflug, being detested by the chamber, dissolved it in June 1850; but the new one was not less hostile, and refused to sanction the collection of the taxes until it had considered the budget. For this offence it also was dissolved, and orders were issued for the raising of the taxes without its consent. Many officials refused to obey; the judges remained loyal to the constitution; and when attempts were made to solve the difficulty by the army, the officers instructed to act resigned in a body. Meanwhile, Hassenpflug had appealed to the representatives in Frankfort who claimed to be the restored diet, and under the influence of Austria they resolved to support him. Prussia, on the other hand, announced its determination to carry out the principles of the Union, and to maintain the Hessian constitution. Austrian and Bavarian troops having entered Hesse, a Prussian army immediately occupied Cassel, and war appeared to be imminent. Prussia, however, shrank from the conflict. Radowitz, the foreign minister, who had so far pursued a vigorous policy, retired, and was replaced by Manteuffel, who, although the whole Prussian army was mobilized, began by making concessions. The Union was dissolved; and after Austria had despatched an ultimatum formulating her demands, the new minister met Prince Schwarzenberg at Olmütz, and virtually yielded everything Concessions he insisted upon. The difficulty in Hesse was to be left to the decision of the German Governments; and as soon as possible ministerial conferences were to be held in Dresden, with a view to the settlement of the German constitution.

These conferences began in the last days of 1850. The Diet of Austrian Government strove to secure the appointment of a stronger executive than had hitherto existed; but its proposals met with steady opposition from Prussia. Every

Prussian scheme was in like manner resisted by Austria. Thus, from the sheer inability of the assembled ministers to devise a plan on which all could agree, Prussia and the states that had joined her in the Union were compelled to recognize the Frankfort diet. From the 12th June 1851 its sittings went on as if nothing had occurred since it was dispersed.

This wretched fiasco was hardly less satisfactory to the majority of Germans than the manner in which the national claims in Schleswig-Holstein were maintained. The armistice of Malmö having expired in March 1849, the war with Denmark was resumed. A considerable army was despatched against the Danes by the Frankfort Government, but on the 10th July an armistice was signed at Berlin for six months, and a year afterwards Prussia concluded peace. The inhabitants of the duchies, however, continued the war. During the interview at Olmütz between Count Manteuffel and Prince Schwarzenberg it was agreed that, like the affairs of Hesse-Cassel, those of Schleswig-Holstein should be submitted to the decision of all German states, but that, in the meantime, Prussia and Austria should act together. By the intervention of Austrian troops peace was restored; and when, early in 1852, the Government of Denmark, in providing a constitution for the whole monarchy, promised to appoint separate ministers for Schleswig and Holstein, and to do equal justice to the German and the Danish populations, the two powers declared themselves satisfied, and the Austrian forces were withdrawn. The diet also, after some delay, professed to be content with this arrangement. While it was discussing the subject, a conference of the European powers met in London, and settled that Frederick VII. of Denmark should be succeeded by Christian, duke of Glücksburg, and that the duchies should be indissolubly united to the Danish monarchy. Austria and Prussia accepted the protocol setting forth these results, but it was not signed by the diet.

In all these later events the first place had been taken by Austria. The temporary dissolution of the customs union in 1851 gave her an opportunity of trying to extend her influence; she demanded that a union should be formed of which she should be the leading member. A congress of all German states, with the exception of Prussia and one or two states which sympathized with her, was held in Vienna; and it was followed by several other congresses favourable to Austrian pretensions. Prussia, however, being here on strong ground, refused to give way; and not only was the customs union restored in accordance with her wishes, but Austria concluded with her in 1853 a treaty of commerce which embodied some important concessions.

Germany had now fairly entered a period which, although it did not last very long, was, in some respects, as humiliating as any in her history. The popular movement, from which great things had been hoped, had on some occasions almost touched its goal; and, as might have been expected, a reaction set in, which the princes knew how to turn to the fullest advantage. The Austrian Government, after the subjection of Hungary, withdrew every concession it had made under pressure, and established a thorough despotism, trampling upon the rights of the individual nationalities, and forcing all its subjects into a common political mould. In Prussia the parliament, summoned by the king on the 5th December 1848, met early in the following year. Although the democrats had declined to vote, it was not conservative enough for the court, and not till the 31st January 1850 was an understanding arrived at respecting the constitution. The system thus established was repeatedly revised, and always with the same object—to reduce to a minimum the power of the national representatives, and to exalt and extend that of the Government.

Schles-
wig-Hol-
stein.Austria
and the
customs
union.Political
reaction.

At the same time the ministry persecuted the press, and allowed hardly a whisper of discontent to pass unpunished. The smaller states followed with alacrity in the steps of the two leading powers. The liberal ministries of 1848 were dismissed, the constitutions were changed or abolished, and new chambers were elected under a severely restricted suffrage. Had the battle been fairly fought out between the Governments and the people, the latter would still have triumphed; but the former had now, in the Frankfort diet, a mightier instrument than ever against freedom. What it could do was seen too clearly from the case of Hesse-Cassel. After the settlement of Olmütz, federal troops occupied that country, and federal execution was carried out with shameful harshness. Martial law was everywhere proclaimed; officers, and all classes of officials who had incurred the displeasure of the Government, were subjected to arbitrary penalties; and such was the misery of the people that multitudes of them were compelled to emigrate. The constitution having been destroyed by the bund, the elector proclaimed one of his own making; but even the chamber elected under the provisions of this despotic scheme could not tolerate his hateful tyranny, and there were incessant disputes between it and the Government. The bund interfered in a like spirit in Hanover, although with less disastrous results, after the accession of George V. in 1851. For the whole of Germany this was emphatically the period of petty despotism; and not only from Hesse but from all parts of the country there was a vast stream of emigration, mainly to the New World.

The outbreak of the Crimean war profoundly moved the Crimean German nation. The sympathies of Austria were necessarily war with the Western powers, and in Prussia the majority of the people took the same side; but the Prussian Government, which was at this time completely under the control of Russia, gave its moral support to the czar. It did, indeed, assent to a treaty—afterwards signed on behalf of the bund—by which Prussia and Austria guaranteed each other, but it resolutely opposed the mobilization of the confederate army. The Prussian people were keenly irritated by the cordial relations between their court and the most despotic power in Europe. They felt that they were thus most unjustly separated from the main stream of Western progress.

During the Crimean war the political reaction continued with unabated force. In Prussia the Government appeared resolved to make up for its temporary submission to the popular will by the utmost violence on which it could venture. A general election took place in the autumn of 1855, and so harshly was the expression of opinion restrained that a chamber was returned with scarcely a single liberal element of serious importance. The feudalists called for a still further revision of the constitution, and urged that even the reforms effected by Stein should be undone. In Bavaria a chamber elected about the same time as that of Prussia was rather less docile; but the Government shared to the full the absolutist tendencies of the day, and energetically combated the party which stood up for law and the constitution. The Hanoverian government, backed by the Frankfort diet, was still more successful in its warfare with the moderate reformers whom it was pleased to treat as revolutionists; and in Austria the feudalists so completely gained the upper hand that on the 18th August 1855 the Government signed a concordat, by which the state virtually submitted itself to the control of the church.

The German people seemed to have lost both the power and the will to assert their rights; but in reality they were deeply dissatisfied. And it was clear to impartial observers that, in the event of any great strain upon the power of the Governments, the absolutist system would break down. The first symptom that the reaction had attained its

1856-63. utmost development displayed itself in Prussia, whose attention was for a time distracted from home politics by a quarrel with Switzerland. The Swiss authorities had imprisoned some foolish royalists of Neuchâtel, in which the house of Hohenzollern had never resigned its rights. War was threatened by Prussia, but when the prisoners were set free, the two states entered upon negotiations, and in the summer of 1857 King Frederick William withdrew all claims to the principality. Soon after this, the mental condition of the king made it necessary that his duties should be undertaken by a substitute, and his brother, the Prince of Prussia, took his place for three months. In October 1858 the prince became regent; and as he was unfavourable to the policy which had hitherto been pursued, he appointed a new ministry of a moderately liberal character. A general election was ordered; and, the free action of the constituencies being in no way interfered with, they returned a parliament in which the feudalists held the place that had belonged to the liberals in the previous chamber. No more thorough proof could have been given of the liberal sentiments of the population, and the effect was soon seen in the growing hopefulness of the liberal party in every German state.

Franco-Austrian war in Italy. The Italian war of 1859, in which Austria found herself opposed by France and Sardinia, excited vehement interest in Germany. A section of the liberal party would have been pleased had Prussia taken the occasion to reconstitute the confederation by excluding Austria; but Prussia was so far from attempting this that she put herself in a state of readiness for war with France. After the battle of Magenta she mobilized part of her army, and gave her assent to the placing of confederate troops on the upper Rhine. These measures induced the emperor Napoleon to conclude a hasty peace; but Austria was bitterly offended because she had not received the open support both of the bund and of Prussia.

The misfortunes of Austria in this war brought to light the instability of the absolutist system which had been maintained since the crushing of the revolution of 1848. The army had fought without enthusiasm, and after the restoration of peace voices were everywhere raised for reform. Petty concessions were at first attempted, but in December 1860 the emperor changed his ministers, promising that the constitutions of the various provinces should be revised, and that a Reichsrath, with the right of initiating legislation, should be freely elected by the provincial diets. Although this arrangement was far from pacifying the populations, it was a great advance on any previous proposal, and stirred the hope of still larger concessions.

Revival of national movement. Another result of the Italian war, of far greater importance for the general progress of Germany, was the revival of the old desire for national unity. The Germans could not persuade themselves that that which the Italians had attained was unattainable by them; and they believed that, if they acquired the same measure of unity, there would soon be an end of despotism. After the war, a number of leading politicians, having held repeated conferences, founded what they called the National Union, an organization intended to promote the national cause; and it had a profound effect in maintaining and stimulating public interest in its object. The Governments, seeing the strength of the movement, sought to give it a direction suitable to their own interests. Prussia and Austria entered into negotiations, but failed to arrive at an understanding. The Saxon minister, Baron Beust, then came forward with a proposal, whose aim was to play off the two great states against one another, and to enable the smaller states to hold the balance. Austria was not unwilling to be persuaded: but Prussia would have nothing to say to a

scheme which would have effected a change without improving her position. In 1863 the emperor Francis Joseph invited the German princes to a congress in Frankfurt, for the purpose of settling the question. A settlement proposed by him was unlikely to be acceptable to Prussia; and she held aloof. When the Austrian emperor's plan was unfolded, its aim, as every one expected, was seen to be the confirming of his own authority. It was, therefore, with equal decision, rejected by the Prussian Government and by the German liberals.

Meanwhile, changes had taken place in Prussia which were destined to lead to a solution of the long-discussed problem, as complete as it was unexpected. On the death of Frederick William IV. on the 2d January 1861, the prince regent assumed the crown of Prussia as William I. Within ten years Germany was united, and this amiable king was proclaimed emperor.

This result was the issue of a vast series of historical causes; but it is indissolubly associated with the name of King William's great minister, Bismarck, who was made Prussian premier in 1862. No more remarkable figure has arisen in the history of Germany. Before he became prime minister he had acted as Prussian plenipotentiary at the confederate diet, and as Prussian ambassador in Paris and St Petersburg; he was, therefore, familiar with the conflicting political currents of the time. When raised to the highest post in the state under the crown, he soon formed the fixed resolution of adding to the power of Prussia, and placing her at the head of united Germany. Having something of Cromwell's superstition as well as Cromwell's strength, he apparently regarded this as a sort of religious mission; and in many respects he could hardly have been better adapted to the task. A rough, despotic, vehement nature, he was undeterred by scruples which might harass ordinary statesmen; having set up a goal, he marched to it by the straightest path. The solemn traditions of diplomacy, to the astonishment of Europe, he laughed out of court. He respected treaties exactly in so far as they were capable of being defended, and produced by boisterous frankness the effects which other men achieve by mystery and deceit. With little faith in the action of moral causes, he took care to have behind him those big battalions which destiny is said unduly to favour. Prussia at once recognized that she had in him a statesman of commanding type,—a bold and resolute spirit, with narrow but intense vision, and a will created to go crashing through difficulties, and to fashion a world to its liking.

When Bismarck was made premier the Government was engaged in a hot dispute with the representative chamber. The latter refused to sanction a great scheme of military reform, and the ministry was compelled, in direct opposition to the constitution, to trust to the upper house for supplies. Bismarck carried on the contest with cynical audacity; and he was in no way shaken when the country, over and over again, proved that its sympathies were with his opponents. The military reforms were executed, and the nation was tolerably plainly told that its approval was of secondary importance.

An opportunity for stirring up the chaotic elements from which the Prussian premier proposed to evolve a cosmos of ^{Schleswig-Holstein.} ^{wield} ^{step.} his own was soon afforded by the revival of that most complicated of "questions," the question of Schleswig-Holstein. Ever since the settlement of 1852 it had from time to time engaged attention. The tendency of Danish policy, according to the Germans, was to subject Holstein and Schleswig to wholly different treatment, and, in the application of the general constitution of the kingdom, to pay insufficient respect to the rights of Holstein as a member of the German confederation. Soon after the duke of Glücksburg, in accordance with the London protocol, mounted the Danish

throne (1863), federal troops were despatched to the duchies, nominally to secure that the new king should fulfil his predecessor's engagements. In reality, however, their presence gave rise to demonstrations among the German population in favour of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, who, although his father had renounced his rights, claimed to be the true duke of Holstein. Prussia and Austria, having signed the London protocol, professed to disapprove his pretensions, and towards the end of 1863 proposed in the diet that they should be empowered to occupy Schleswig, so that justice might be done both to the Danish king and to the duchies. The proposal was rejected, and had Austria been acting alone, there is no reason to believe that she would have pushed her demands farther, if indeed she would ever have advanced so far. But Prussian policy was determined by a statesman who had vast ulterior ends to serve; and by his influence Austria was induced to join Prussia in declaring that, since the bund would not follow their counsel, they were forced to act independently. In the war which followed the Danes distinguished themselves by their courage and military skill; but they could not very long contend single-handed with two such enemies, and on the 1st August 1864 a treaty was signed in Vienna, by which Denmark ceded to the conquerors Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. All Europe disapproved these harsh conditions; but the Prussian minister did not trouble himself about disapproval which found utterance only in words.

Before the outbreak of war, Prussia had been engaged in a serious dispute with Austria. In 1862, in the name of the customs union, the former power had concluded with France a treaty of commerce, based mainly on the principles of free trade. Most of the small states, strongly objecting to the treaty, refused to sign it; and they were supported by Austria, which had never given up the hope of taking precedence of Prussia in the commercial as well as the political relations of Germany. She protested against the treaty, and demanded admission into the customs union. Prussia maintained her original position, insisting that if the treaty with France were rejected she would regard the union as no longer existing. After the war Bismarck not only succeeded in obtaining the signatures of the small states, but induced Austria to conclude a commercial treaty, essentially the same as that of 1853; and about the same time treaties were signed, owing to his exertions, between the union and England and Belgium. These triumphs unmistakably indicated the rising influence of Prussia.

It was not long before grave difficulties sprang from the results of the Schleswig-Holstein war. Prussia was of opinion that there was no longer any need for the troops of the bund in Holstein; and although this view was hotly contested, the diet was compelled in the end to act upon it. Still more important was the question, what should now be done with the duchies. Austria favoured the claims of the prince of Augustenburg; and the bund by a small majority decided to request the two powers to invest him with the sovereignty of Holstein. Prussia protested that the matter was beyond the competence of the diet. What she herself intended was plainly shown by the fact that the Prussian war minister explained in the Prussian parliament, in connexion with a special demand for money, that it was to be devoted to the erection of a harbour at Kiel. Austria, which had the same right as Prussia to Kiel, refused her assent to this proposal; and an interchange of angry despatches took place, which made it highly probable that the spoilers of Denmark would soon be at each other's throats. War was for a time prevented by the Gastein convention, by which Austria handed over Lauenburg to Prussia, and it was agreed that the former

state should in the meantime administer Holstein, the latter 1863-66. Schleswig.

Count Bismarck did not intend that the Gastein convention should seriously interrupt the development of his policy. He had made up his mind to force a quarrel on Austria, and to settle once for all the question, first raised by Frederick the Great, whether she or Prussia should prevail in Germany. The opportunity was so favourable that the like might never again offer itself. Although the Government and the parliament of Prussia were still engaged in a struggle which called forth much indignation on both sides, the mass of the population was thoroughly loyal; and, as events proved, the army had been reorganized with splendid skill. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world, were there better fighters than the Prussian soldiers of that day; and they were led by officers full of patriotic ardour, with almost unlimited influence over their men, and trained in the best schools of military science. In the Austrian empire, notwithstanding the reforms recently instituted, discontent was still almost universal. The Hungarians sullenly demanded independence, and among the Slavonic populations there were also dangerous agitations for local self-government. Although the army was composed of magnificent material, it was far behind that of Prussia in the mode of its administration, and grave doubts were entertained whether confidence could be placed in its loyalty. In these circumstances, no one familiar with the facts could hesitate as to the side on which victory would declare itself in the event of war, and to Count Bismarck the facts were intimately known. With well-considered boldness he advanced rapidly to his aim. The Austrian governor of Holstein encouraged, as he had a perfect right to do, the pretensions of the prince of Augustenburg. In January 1866 Count Bismarck made this the subject of a bitter despatch to the Vienna Government; and Count Mensdorff, the Austrian foreign minister, replied in the same tone. Both powers now began to make active preparations for the worst. The majority of the small states sided with Austria; but Prussia found means of more than counterbalancing this advantage. Now that Italy was partially united, the Italians felt humiliated at Alliance Venetia remaining in the hands of Austria. Count Bismarck of Prussia and Italy offered, if she would conclude an alliance with Prussia against their common enemy, to obtain for her this magnificent prize. The Italian Government saw that it could never have a better chance, and signed the proposed treaty.

The occasion for which Count Bismarck waited presented Seven itself when the Austrian governor of Holstein summoned weeks' the assembly of the states. Holstein was at once occupied by Prussian troops, and those of Austria were driven from the duchy. The Austrian Government indignantly protested against this outrage; and on the 14th June 1866 its proposal that the forces of the bund should be mobilized against Prussia was adopted by a majority of the diet. The Prussian plenipotentiary withdrew after submitting a scheme for the reconstitution of Germany; and the war immediately began. Its events followed each other with startling rapidity. Within a fortnight Prussia had in her grasp Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxony; and on the 3d July was fought the great battle of Königgrätz, which laid her chief enemy at her feet. The power of Austria was shattered by the swift and mighty blows directed against it; and on the 26th July she was glad to accept the preliminaries of Nicolsburg, which were soon afterwards followed by the peace of Prague.

The result of this war was the final exclusion of Austria from Germany. Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Prague, Nassau, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein. By the fifth clause of the treaty of Prague, indeed, the inhabitants of the northern districts of Schleswig were to be reunited to Denmark, if, when freely consulted, they expressed a wish

1867-70. for this result ; but the engagement, which was never Northern seriously intended, was abrogated by secret treaty between confederate Austria and Germany on the 11th October 1878. All states to the north of the Main, including the northern half of Hesse-Darmstadt, were compelled to form a North-German confederation under the leadership of Prussia. The four South-German states, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Württemberg, and Bavaria, were left independent, but with the right, if they chose, to form a South-German confederation and to unite with that of North Germany. By secret treaties, as Count Bismarck announced at a critical moment soon afterwards, they undertook to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia in time of war.

King William, who had accompanied his troops, returned in triumph to Berlin, and the nation was so elated by his victories that the newly-elected house of representatives willingly consented to forget past disputes. On the 24th February 1867 the constituent diet of the confederation, elected by universal suffrage and the ballot, met in Berlin, and soon accepted in its essential features the constitution submitted to it. It was arranged that the headship of the confederation should be hereditary, that it should belong to the king of Prussia, and that legislative functions should be exercised by a federal council, representative of the various Governments, and by a diet elected by the whole people.

The confederate parliament began at once the task of consolidating the new institutions. In the sessions of 1869 and 1870 it established a supreme tribunal of commerce, sitting in Leipsic, and passed a new penal code. Great as were these results, they did not satisfy the aspirations of patriotic Germans, who, having so suddenly and so unexpectedly approached unity, longed that the work should be completed. A party called the "national liberals" was formed, whose main object was to secure the incorporation of south with north Germany, and it at once entered into peculiar relations with the great minister at the head of the country. The members of this party, believing, as sincere liberals, that the German people were ripe for free institutions, desired from the outset to give larger power to the popular element of the constitution both in Prussia and in Germany. With these ideas Prince Bismarck had no sympathy. Throughout his career he has consistently manifested contempt for parliamentary forms of government. He cannot tolerate that a minister should be thwarted or hindered by political critics, and fancies that the community would be much better off if it allowed itself to be directly governed by the statesmen who are good enough to devote themselves to its service. But his achievements in the cause of German unity have more than counterbalanced, in the esteem of the liberals, his dislike of national freedom.

An important step towards complete unity was supposed to be taken in 1867, by the conclusion of a treaty with the southern states, by which it was agreed that all questions of customs should be decided by the federal council and the federal diet, and that, for the consideration of such questions, the southern states should send representatives to Berlin. In reality, however, the customs parliament was of no service beyond the strict limits of its special activity. The mass of the South Germans were bitterly opposed to the idea of union with the north. The democrats detested Prussia more than any other country, and looked upon Count Bismarck as the incarnation of all that was most objectionable in its aristocratic and military system of government. Among the ultramontanes there was a not less vehement dislike of a nation which continually boasted that it was the headquarters of Protestantism and free thought. Hence, in the election to the customs parliament in 1868, Württemberg did not return a single deputy who was favourable to the national cause; in Bavaria the anti-

nationalists had a large majority ; and even in Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, where the opposition to Prussia was less severe, a powerful minority of the deputies had no liking for the Prussian premier. Thus the customs parliament was kept rigidly to the objects for which it was founded, greatly to the disappointment of patriots who had not doubted that it would become an effective instrument for the attainment of far larger purposes. Even in regard to the army, notwithstanding the secret treaties giving Prussia the command of the southern forces in the event of war, a spirit of bitter opposition to the northern confederation was manifested. Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt reorganized their armies in accordance with the Prussian system, but Bavaria and Württemberg were more obstinate, and in both countries there was an agitation for military arrangements by which the secret treaties should be virtually annulled.

Had the completion of unity depended wholly on internal irritation causes, it certainly would not have been soon achieved; but of France other forces, not altogether unexpectedly, came to Count Bismarck's aid. France had been irritated by the enormous increase of Prussian power, and even before the treaty of Prague was signed the emperor Napoleon III. indicated a wish to be "compensated" with the left bank of the Rhine. Not being in a position to make war, he was compelled to suppress this desire. Soon afterwards he proposed a secret arrangement by which Belgium was to fall to France, while Prussia was to have free scope elsewhere. Finding that if not decisively rejected his plan was at least not accepted, Napoleon next sought to restore the balance by concluding a treaty with the king of Holland, in 1867, for the purchase of Luxembourg. Prussia protested; and it was on this occasion that Count Bismarck first made public the secret treaties with the South-German states. War appeared almost inevitable, but the emperor, being still uncertain as to the state of his forces, allowed the question to be settled by a conference, which declared Luxembourg a neutral state, its neutrality being guaranteed by the great powers.

The idea of a war with Prussia was not given up by Franco-Napoleon. Whether he felt the necessity of strengthening the claims of his dynasty by military glory, or whether, as many Germans believe, he was urged forward by a powerful ultramontane intrigue, he seems to have resolved in 1870 to undertake the long-delayed struggle. A pretext was found in a proposal of the Spaniards to raise to their throne Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. There is no evidence that the French people were in the least disturbed by this scheme; certainly, if they had been left to their own free judgment, they would never have thought of going to war about it. But the imperial ministry, managing to get up a little artificial excitement among a noisy section of the Parisians, angrily protested; and Prince Leopold announced that he would not accept the Spanish crown. Stimulated by this diplomatic triumph, the emperor next required that Prussia should give a general engagement that no Hohenzollern prince should in future become king of Spain. Prussia declined to humble herself so far, whereupon, on the 19th July 1870, France declared war against her. A telegram from Enns, falsely stating that the French ambassador had been publicly insulted by King William, caused considerable sensation in France; and enemies of Bismarck often assert that he caused it to be despatched for the purpose of making war unavoidable. Although this is a mere assertion, he was not unwilling to accept the challenge, coming as it did in a manner that would have rendered any shrinking from it disgraceful. He believed that, whatever policy she adopted, Prussia would one day have to defend her conquests; and he could not but foresee the enormous advantages which would spring from a triumphant war with France.

Napoleon, as we now know, had reason to suppose that

Customs
parlia-
ment.

South-
German
hostility
to union.

he might trust to the aid of Austria and Italy, and his diplomatic agents in South Germany had left no doubt in his mind that the South Germans would hail his approach as that of a deliverer. He was cruelly undeceived. After his first reverses, Italy and Austria resolved to hold aloof; and the South Germans did not for an instant hesitate; they loyally kept their engagements with Prussia. The French emperor did not realize how bitter, in South as well as in North Germany, were the memories of the sufferings caused by his uncle. However energetically the various states might fight among themselves, in the presence of "the hereditary enemy" their disputes were forgotten; they remembered only their common origin and their common speech. There is no parallel in German history to the enthusiasm called forth by the French declaration of war. Its absolute universality was a new phenomenon, and its intensity probably could not be surpassed.

The course of the war went far beyond the expectations of the most sanguine patriots. In battle after battle the armies of France were smitten to the ground; her strong places, one after another, delivered themselves to the enemy; and her brave sons were sent by hundreds of thousands as prisoners to Germany. At last, on the 1st September, after the disastrous battle of Sedan, the emperor yielded his sword to the Prussian king.

It was the opinion of many impartial observers that the war ought now to have stopped, and there were Germans who had the courage to express this conviction. But the nation as a whole wished to see France thoroughly humbled, and applauded the advance on Paris. In vain M. Gambetta sought to infuse into his countrymen his own impulsive and vigorous spirit; they did what they could, but the German armies were irresistible. On the 28th January 1871 Paris surrendered, and on the 10th May the peace of Frankfort was signed. By this treaty France engaged to pay the enormous indemnity of five milliards of francs, and to restore to Germany Alsace and the German portion of Lorraine.

Amid the glowing pride of the Germans in the unsurpassed achievements of their armies the difficulties which had hitherto prevented complete unity seemed altogether to vanish. In the autumn of 1870 negotiations were opened between the southern Governments and the northern confederation; and in the course of November treaties were signed by which the North-German confederation became the German confederation. Bavaria insisted upon some highly important reservations, such as the maintenance of her own diplomacy, of her postal, telegraph, and railway systems, of her military administration, and of certain valuable taxes. Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Württemberg also maintained special rights. But all this was thought of comparatively little moment; and the treaties were readily sanctioned both by the confederate parliament and by the southern parliaments. Thus Germany became a united state. The king of Bavaria then proposed to the other German sovereigns and to the free cities that the head of the confederation should be declared emperor. The suggestion was approved; and on the 18th January 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles, the king of Prussia was proclaimed, in presence of a brilliant assembly of German princes and officers, emperor in Germany.

On the 21st of March 1871 the first diet of the empire met in Berlin. The constitution of the northern confederation was extended so as to be applicable to the changed circumstances of Germany, but no alteration was made in its essential character.

Since the conclusion of the treaty of Frankfort Germany has been at peace, but as she believes that the French may one day seek to regain their lost provinces and to avenge their recent humiliations, she has maintained the vast

military system to which her victories have been due. The 1870-78. main object of Prince Bismarck's foreign policy appears Foreign to have been to isolate France. While not unfriendly to policy. England, he has assiduously cultivated the friendship of Austria and of Russia. In 1872 the czar and the Austrian emperor visited Berlin, and during their stay the three emperors concluded an alliance, the exact limits and conditions of which are not known. Soon afterwards Victor Emmanuel, the Italian king, also visited the German capital, and the emperor William went for a short time to Italy, where he was received with manifestations of hearty friendship. It is understood that after the reopening of the Eastern question in 1875 Prince Bismarck made repeated attempts to enter into close relations with England; but in his public acts, both before and after the signing of the treaty of Berlin in 1878, he mainly supported Russia. He also encouraged Austria to extend her influence in the east by occupying Bosnia.

In her home politics the attention of Germany was for Church some years mainly occupied with a great struggle between and the state and the church in Prussia. After the close of the state. Franco-German war—in the course of which the dogma of papal infallibility was proclaimed—Prince Bismarck persuaded himself that the empire was imperilled by ultramontane intrigues; and with his usual promptitude he took vigorous precautions against his supposed enemies. He began in 1872 with the expulsion of the Jesuits. This was followed in 1873 by the famous May Laws, introduced by Dr Falk, the energetic minister of public worship. By these laws it was required that candidates for the clerical office should undergo a certain amount of secular training at the universities, and that every ecclesiastical appointment should receive the sanction of the secular authorities. A royal tribunal for ecclesiastical matters was also set up. This legislation, which the pope denounced as invalid, was disregarded by the Catholic bishops; and Prince Bismarck, supported by Dr Falk, imposed penalty after penalty in order to establish the supremacy of the state. Refractory bishops were imprisoned, deposed, and banished; the contributions of the Government were withdrawn from the clergy who incurred its displeasure; religious orders were dissolved; the administration of church property was taken from the clergy and invested in bodies of laymen. It may be that these stern measures were rendered necessary by facts of which the world is insufficiently informed; but they have alienated from Prince Bismarck, and from the empire founded by him, the sympathies of the vast majority of the German Catholics.

The period which has followed the war with France has Socialism. been remarkable, not only for the ecclesiastical struggle in Prussia, but for the rapid growth of socialism throughout the empire. Socialism first became a power in Germany through the labours of the ardent scholar and publicist, Ferdinand Lassalle. He began his brief and noisy public career by addressing large audiences of workmen in Berlin and Leipsic in 1862, and in less than two years he had formed a party which regarded him with boundless reverence and admiration. He himself was a man of fortune, with luxurious habits; but he had in an unusually intense degree the desire, shared by all truly modern men, for the elevation of the depressed and suffering masses. The theory of which he had convinced himself was that, with existing social relations, workmen as a class can never improve their position; that their sole chance is to form productive associations which shall enable them to secure the whole benefit of their labour; and that it is the duty of the state to provide such associations with capital, to see that justice is done to their members, and to regulate the markets of the world. After the death of Lassalle, this theory became a sort of evangel among his followers; but

Sedan.

Peace of Frankfort.

German empire.

Imperial diet.

1870-78. many of them stated it in violent terms, and openly aimed at the equal division of property, if possible by peaceful agitation, if necessary by revolution. At the time of the formation of the party Herr von Bismarck was engaged in his struggle with the liberals in the Prussian parliament, and he did not scruple to damage his opponents by encouraging Lassalle, who detested them more vehemently than did the premier himself. Soon after the war with France the condition of the country was in the highest degree favourable to the progress of the movement. Intoxicated by the national triumphs, and having a vague impression that the French indemnity must be an inexhaustible source of wealth, many of the German middle class indulged in wild speculation, and contracted habits of reckless expenditure. At the same time the resources of the nation were drained by the most costly military system the world has ever seen. The inevitable result was that in a short time trade was depressed beyond all recent experience; wages fell, and large numbers of workmen were deprived of employment. Socialism found its opportunity; multitudes of the sufferers eagerly listened to instructors who depicted for them a brilliant future that might be easily attained. In England no considerable body of men has ever been deeply impressed by socialist schemes; but in Germany the conditions of political life are altogether different. There the Government is the greatest of all powers. At every stage of a man's life it makes itself felt; it creates around the community a sort of political atmosphere from which there is no escape, in which every one moves and breathes. Thus to an uninstructed German there seems to be hardly any limit to the feats of which the state is capable. It professes to be so nearly omnipotent that he appears to himself to be within his right in asking it to make all poor men suddenly rich.

At each successive general election the numbers of socialist deputies to the imperial parliament increased; and in 1877 it was calculated that, although only twelve members of the party were returned, about a tenth of the entire body of voters were socialists. Some alarm was excited by these facts, but no one thought of putting down the movement by force until one day in May 1878 a shot was fired on the aged emperor in Berlin, as he drove along the Unter den Linden with his daughter, the grand-duchess of Baden, by his side. The criminal, a youth named Hödel, boasted of his socialist opinions and aims. A wave of anger swept over the nation; and the reactionary party, fancying it had an opportunity of laying a rough hand on far more than socialism, succeeded in inducing the imperial Government to draw up without delay a severe measure, directed nominally against the socialists, but in reality against all politicians obnoxious to the conservatives. The bill was hurried through the federal council and submitted to the diet. By that time the majority of the liberals had recovered their self-control; and with the aid of the centre party they threw out the proposed scheme by an immense majority. Parliament was prorogued, and it was uncertain whether there would be any further attempt at repression.

Suddenly the announcement came that the emperor had

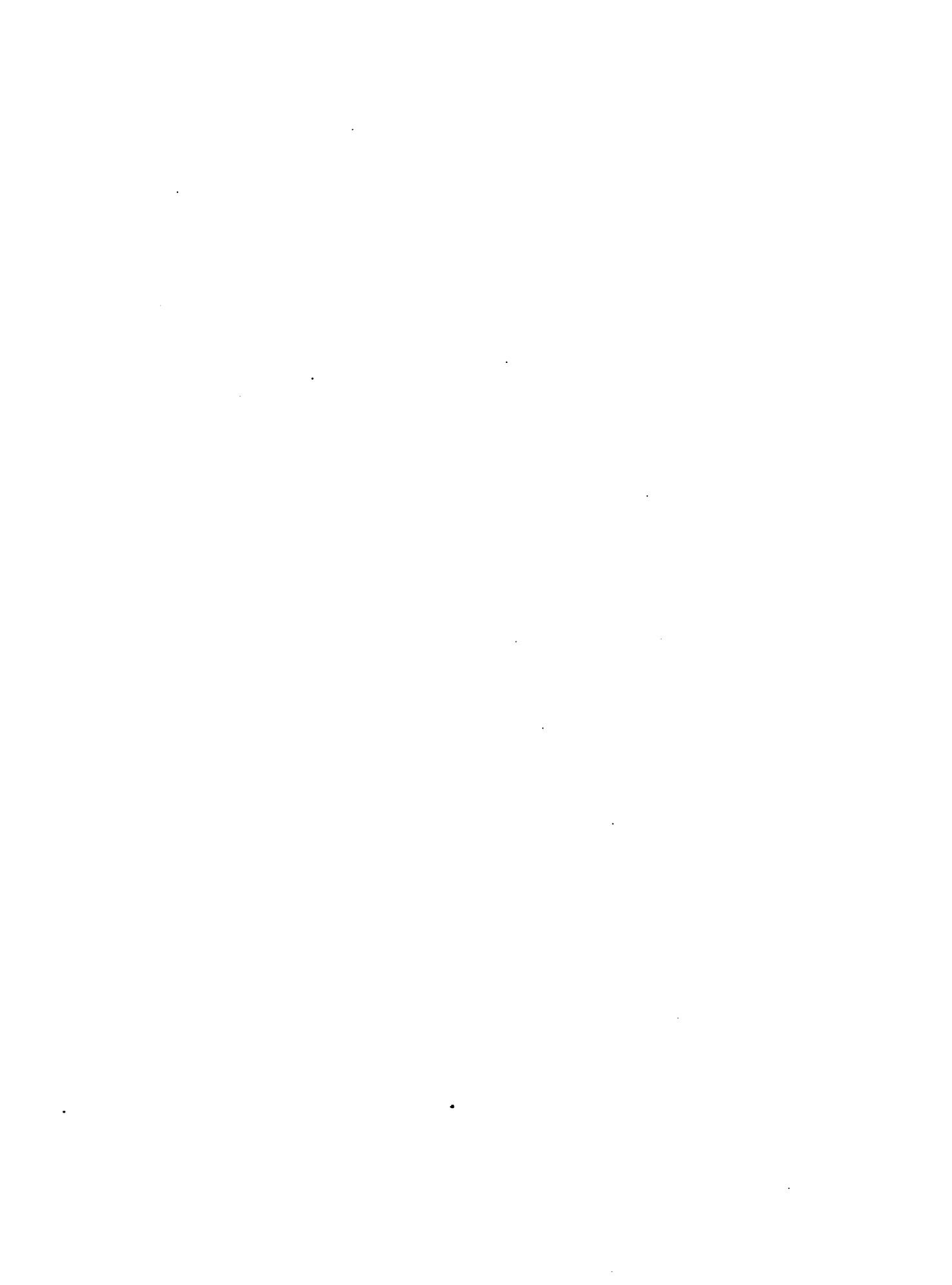
again been shot at, and that this time he had been wounded. For some days Germany was convulsed with rage and horror, and on all sides the cry was raised that now at last socialism must be sternly dealt with. Taking courage, the Government dissolved parliament, and pressure of every kind was put upon the electors to secure a thoroughly reactionary diet. The country, however, reflected that, although it was necessary to protect society, it might not be necessary to sacrifice the liberties which it had with so much difficulty conquered. Accordingly, when the new parliament assembled in August 1878, it was found that the liberals had not sustained very serious losses. The Reprogressists bitterly opposed the measure introduced by the Government; but by some means Prince Bismarck managed, as he had often done before, to overcome the objections of the national liberals. By their support a law was passed which gave the police of the empire, for two years and a half, enormous special powers. These powers were at once rigidly enforced; and socialism appeared to vanish from the land. Whether, however, it may not spring up in some great national crisis, all the stronger for the sufferings of its adherents, is a point that can be determined only when some great national crisis occurs.

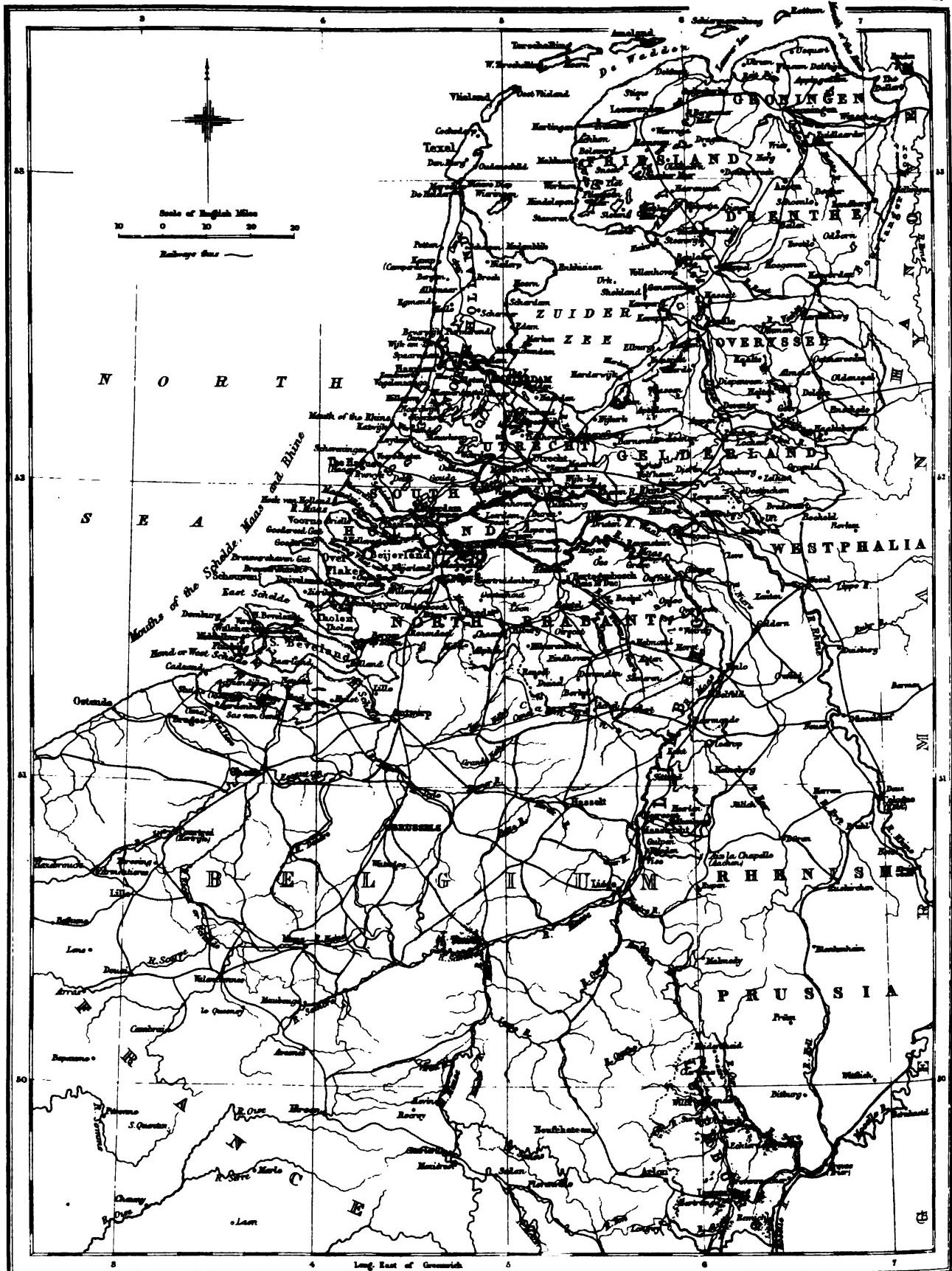
The socialists and the ultramontanes, without having anything else in common, have joined in opposition to unity. measures for promoting the national unity. They have been aided by the Polish deputies, by the members for Alsace and Lorraine, and by the so-called particularists, conservative politicians ardently attached to the ancient customs and rights of the individual states. Notwithstanding this formidable band of allies, considerable progress has been made in the task of transforming a loose confederation of countries into a true nation. Between 1872 and 1875 utter anarchy in important departments of life was brought to an end by laws relating to imperial coinage, imperial paper money, and the system of banking. And in 1877 thorough investigation resulted in the appointment of a supreme imperial tribunal (Reichsgericht). It was proposed that this tribunal should sit in Berlin; but many liberals having no desire that that city should assume in Germany the place which belongs in France to Paris, a large majority decided for Leipsic. This was taken as a hint that, while Germany wishes to be united, she will not voluntarily see herself transformed into a magnified Prussia.

In spite of their military strength, their victories, and the establishment of their empire, the Germans are not, politically, a contented people; and the reason is that they have outgrown their institutions. While a statesman of extraordinary genius and authority stands in the way, a progressive system may be impossible; but the more intelligent classes have never lost the desire to add to the hardily-earned national unity the crowning triumph of unfettered representative government.

Bibliography.—Lüden, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Volks*; Leo, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Volks und Reichs*; Giesebricht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*; Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*; Mayer, *Deutsche Geschichte*; Souchay, *Geschichte der deutschen Monarchie*; Sugenheim, *Geschichte des deutschen Volks und seiner Cultur*. (J. SI.)

Attempts
on the
emperor's
life.





Q

H O L L A N D

PART II.—HISTORY.

by George William Kitton

Early
inhabit-
ants.

The oldest inhabitants of Holland of whom anything is known were of Celtic origin; so much may be gathered from scanty remains found in cairns, from a few proper names, such as Nimeguen (Nimwegen) and Walcheren, and from the Druid altars found in that island. In Cæsar's day the whole district between the Rhine and the Scheldt was occupied by Belgæ, the bravest of Celts, while the Betaw, the "good meadow," the Insula Batavorum, was peopled by a portion of the Germanic tribe of the Chatti, and provided first the stoutest foes and then the most serviceable allies of the Roman empire. But if the Batavi were the most distinguished of the Germanic tribes in the country, the "free Frisians" (see FRISIANS), who filled the whole northern portion of it, were by far the most important; in addition to them, and mostly on the borderland, were others, Usipetes, Bructeri, Sicambri, Chamavi, Eburones, and the like, of whom we know little but the names.

From 28 to 47 A.D. a struggle went on between the Romans and the Frisians, which ended in the latter year in the complete reduction of the tribe by the vigour of Domitius Corbulo; the Batavi and Frisians were probably, in the earlier days of their connexion with Rome, admitted, if not to the more honourable position of "socii," at least to the lower grade of "auxilia," their relation to the empire doubtless varying from time to time. This friendly state of things did not last long; for in 70 A.D. Rome had dismissed her Batavian cohorts, and had turned Claudius Civilis, the "Mithridates of the West," into a bitter foe. This remarkable patriot had served for many years in the armies of Rome, and had learnt the secrets of the imperial strength and weakness. Taking advantage of the wrongs of Germans and Gauls, and skilfully using the divisions within the empire, he displayed high statesmanlike ability, while his energy and success in war placed him in the

rank of great captains. He declared for Vespasian against Vitellius, and grouped together Celt and Teuton in an effort to sweep the tyrant Roman out of Gaul. At first all went well with them, and the Romans were driven out of all modern Holland, Belgium, and from the left bank of the Rhine as far as Alsace. Then the Roman power began to assert itself once more. An able general, Cerialis, was sent into the north-west, and after a chequered and exhausting struggle, in which both suffered greatly, the Batavian hero gave way. Peace was made on easy terms; Civilis laid down arms, and the Batavians submitted and resumed their old position towards Rome. The Batavian island was lined with forts, and became for the Romans the frontier between Gaul and German; much as in far later days the Spanish Netherlands were the barrier between the Dutch and the French.

The Franks.

For a time all was quiet on this north-western frontier, till late in the 3d century the Franks appeared (see FRANKS). In the course of the 5th century the Salian Franks had occupied a great part of the Netherlands, and when Hlodowig (Clovis) was lifted (481) on his warriors' shields, they were possessors of South Holland, the Veluwe, Utrecht, Brabant, Antwerp, Limburg, Liége, Hainault, Namur, and Luxembourg. After his death (511) these districts for the most part belonged to the Austrasian kingdom. Behind the Salians came the Saxons, who had made themselves felt in the Batavian island by the middle of the 4th century; in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries they had settled firmly in Overijssel and Drenthe, lying between the Frisians to the north and the Franks to the south. There they shared, in alliance with the Frisians, the varying fortunes of that struggle against the Frankish power which lasted 400 years, and was ended only by the genius and persistency of Charles the Great.

Spread of Christianity. The first Christian church in the Netherlands was founded in the time of Dagobert I., who had reduced the Frisians and Saxons at the town of Wiltenberg, afterwards Utrecht, between 622 and 632. But the true apostle of the Netherlands was Willibrord the Northumbrian, first bishop of that see (695). He made Utrecht the centre from which Christian light spread across a wide circle of heathendom; and under the protection of Pippin of Heristal, the new faith was so firmly planted in those parts, that when Willibrord died Limburg, North Brabant, Utrecht, and other districts had accepted the faith of the Franks. After Willibrord, Christianity had in that part of Europe another stout champion, Wolfram of Sens, who had nearly persuaded the Frisian king, Radbod, to be a Christian; and lastly in 755, St Boniface, "the apostle of the Germans," was martyred at Dokkum in Friesland while preaching among the heathen. Towards the end of the century the stern methods of Charles the Great completed the conversion of the Netherlands.

**Govern-
ment and
divisions
of the
country.** As an integral part of the Frankish empire, the land under Charles and his immediate successors was divided into "landschafts" and "gaus," ruled over by dukes and counts, by the side of whom the church also asserted her territorial rights. Hence sprang the dukedom of Brabant, the countships of Flanders, Holland, Guelderland, and the bishopric of Utrecht; and these, under the later Carolings, were independent in all but the name. Ecclesiastically the northern portion of the Netherlands, with South Holland and part of Zealand, was under the bishop of Utrecht; while the eastern districts were under the Saxon bishops of Münster and Osnabrick, and the southern parts under the Frankish bishops of Cologne, Liége, and Doornick. The original dukedoms were subdivided politically into countships, and geographically into gaus; each gau had a chief town, girt with a wall, wherein count and judges administered justice; such towns were also market-places.

These districts were again subdivided into marks or villages, each with its headman, who acted as judge in lesser and local cases. These gaus were Frisian in the north, Saxon in the middle (about Drenthe, &c.), and Frankish in the south.

In the great partition of Verdun (843), Lothar, eldest son of Louis the Pious, became lord of North Brabant (as it is now called), Guelderland, Limburg, and all modern Belgium; Charles the Bald got Flanders and part of Zealand, while Louis the German had whatever lay on the right bank of the Rhine: this district (called Lotharingia in the days of his son Lothar II.) thus became a borderland between Gaul and Germany. When Lothar II. died without heirs in 869, his uncle Charles the Bald got all the northern Netherlands, with Friesland; but the Mersen agreement (870) redistributed these lands,—to Louis the German the districts south of the present Zuyder Zee, including Utrecht and the Veluwe; to Charles the Bald, Holland, Zealand, and modern Belgium. Eventually in 879 Louis, son of Louis the German, got these districts also. In 912 they accepted Charles the Simple of France as overlord; in 924 Henry I. brought them again under German lordship; afterwards Otto the Great granted them as a fief to his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who, dividing the land into Upper and Lower Lotharingia, set Gottfried, count of Verdun, over the latter as duke, and himself took the title of archduke. Thus, during this period, the Netherlands from 843 to 869 were a part of Lotharingia (as it came to be called); from 869 to 870 they were under French lordship, from 870 to 879 partly French partly German, from 879 to 912 altogether German, from 912 to 924 French again, and finally after 924 German.

Throughout this time the country was swamp below and woodland above; and though much forest was cleared from time to time, it was still a difficult tangle, with little communication except down the rivers and by the old Roman roads. Yet, backward as they were, the Netherlands were rich enough to attract the Northmen, who ravaged the shores and river sides, and carried with them southward many a willing Saxon and Frisian warrior. Under Louis the Pious they got firm footing on the coast, and received the district from Walcheren up to the Weser as a group of fiefs under the emperors; they even took and sacked Utrecht. In 873 Rolf, founder of Normandy, seized Walcheren; in 880 the Northmen took Nimeguen, and spread up the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne; in the chapel of the Great Charles at Aix they stabled horses and held heathen revel, till bribed to withdraw by Charles the Fat. Their great leader Siegfried had the emperor's daughter to wife, with lands in Friesland; he was willing to become a Christian, though this put no stop to his demands; "as the lands granted him hitherto produced no wine," he demanded also Rhine towns and districts for the sake of their vintages. His father-in-law, however, sent instead men to murder him, and, this being done, the lordship of the Northmen in the Netherlands came to an end.

The effect of these viking incursions on Frankish feudalism was great. "Eighty years of plunder and murder," says Gerlache (*Essai sur les grandes Époques*, p. 94), "had turned the fields into a wilderness; the towns rose like oases in the desert; the wealth of the monasteries perished; the people were either slain with the sword or had taken to the sword as robbers; all the elements of political life, kingship, nobility, clergy, were confounded together, and every tie of civil society relaxed." The impoverished natives took refuge under the nobles, whose power made great advance. Now arose, too, a new title of nobility, that of margrave,—each margrave being bound to defend a piece of frontier, receiving in return an almost

complete independence : such was the marquis of Antwerp, who guarded the mouth of the Scheldt. The towns also became as sanctuaries against the ravager ; the serf who took refuge there presently became free ; the burghers began to trade, and found encouragement in their traffic even from the Northmen themselves.

Counts of Holland. Thus the whole district came to be covered with prosperous towns ; it was also divided into independent lordships, among which the countship of Holland, as it soon afterwards was called, was the most prominent and important. The title "count of Holland" does not appear in history till the 11th century. In the latter part of the 9th century there was a certain Count Dirk, to whom, early in the 10th, Charles the Simple granted the abbey of Egmond near Alkmaar. Of his history almost nothing is known ; he was dead before 942, as there exists still a document

Dirk II. of that year signed by Dirk II. Dirk II. was a man of weight ; he got for his younger son the archbishopric of Treves, and Arnulf his elder son married a kinswoman of the emperor Otto II. He himself received in 983 a broad district, that now covered by the Zuyder Zee, from Texel to the north, and the mainland southward down to Nimeguen. He died in 988 ; and Arnulf was count till 993. His son,

Dirk III. Dirk III., a boy, on his accession found things in great confusion ; the fiefs held under France were gone, and much besides. But the young count was full of vigour, and grew at last so strong that in 1018 the emperor ordered the duke of Nether Lotharingia to crush him. Dirk, however, completely defeated his assailant, and not only retained the disputed lands and powers, but added thereto Bodegrave, the Merwede, and Swammerdam, as fiefs of the church at Utrecht. It is here that the true history of Holland begins ; for Dirk III. now firmly settled himself in this district, and became lord of the rich woodland ("Holt-land," i.e., Holland) on the Rhine and Meuse. Having also subdued the Frisians and set his brother over them, he next went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and after his return in 1034 ruled in peace till his death in 1039.

Dirk IV. His son, Dirk IV., was also a man of vigour ; he began the long strife with the counts of Flanders as to the lordship over Walcheren and the other islands of Zealand ; the quarrel was important, as dealing with the borderland between French and German overlordship. This strife, which lasted 400 years, did not at first break out into actual warfare, because both Dirk and Baldwin V. of Flanders had a common danger in the emperor Henry III., who in 1046 occupied the lands in dispute ; but while other opponents gave in, Dirk, after the manner of his house, stood out, and in the winter of 1047 with his light boats took the imperial fleet, ruined the imperial army, and dictated his own terms. In 1049, in a fresh contest with the bishop of Utrecht and his allies, Dirk

Floris I. met with his death at Dort. His brother, Floris I., succeeded, and carried on the quarrel ; in 1061 he was slain on the battlefield, after having won a decisive victory over the bishop. His son, Dirk V., was a child, and the neighbouring princes thought the end of the house of Holland at hand ; and though the boy had stout friends, especially Robert "the Frisian," who had married his widowed mother, his prospects were at first very gloomy. The battle of Cassel, however, in 1072, in which Robert the Frisian defeated Philip of France and Richilda of Flanders, secured his possessions for Dirk, who henceforth saw better days, and ruled in peace till his death in 1091.

Floris II. His son, Floris II., the Fat, had also peace, and at his death in 1122 left Holland in great prosperity. His widow, Petronilla of Saxony, governed for her young son Dirk VI., and continued the joint resistance of Holland and Saxony to the Franconian emperors. But when, on the death of Henry V., Lothair of Saxony became emperor, this quarrel

came to an end, and the fortunes of the house of Holland rose greatly ; the Frisian Ostergow and Westergow were transferred from the bishop of Utrecht to Count Dirk in 1125. The Hohenstaufen, on the contrary, favoured the bishop, and gave back the two "gows" ; and thus, with gain and loss, Dirk VI. ruled till he died in 1157. It was in his time that Holland sent out her first colonists ; invited by Adolf of Holstein and Albert the Bear of Brandenburg, Hollanders settled on the Elbe and the Havel, and by their skill in reclaiming marshlands, and their thrift and vigour, created a flourishing district out of a waste of wood and water.

Floris III., the next count, allied himself with Frederick Floris Barbarossa, thus reversing the traditional policy of his III. house. He was less fortunate than his fathers ; the count of Flanders carried off a slice of his territory ; he scarcely held his own against West Friesland and Groningen ; his reign was marked by the great flood of 1170, which swept over Holland, Friesland, and Utrecht, and helped to form the Zuyder Zee. Later in life Floris followed the emperor on crusade, and soon after the death of the latter, perished in 1190 of pestilence at Antioch. His son, Dirk VII., ^{Dirk} VII. had a stormy time, losing rather than gaining in the long-run. He died in 1203, leaving an only daughter, Ada, with whom came up the question as to female succession to a male fief. Zealand mainly declared for William, the late count's brother, while Holland went with Ada ; by 1206, however, William had beaten down all opposition, and was undisputed count. He sided with the emperor William Otto IV., and was present at Bouvines (1214), where I. Philip Augustus crushed the allied forces of Otto, John of England, Flanders, Holland, and Brabant. Soon after this William changed sides, and, attaching himself to Philip Augustus, accompanied Louis to England. After King John's death he joined the fourth crusade, in which his men distinguished themselves greatly at the siege of Damietta in 1219. Returning thence he reigned in peace till his death in 1224. His reign is notable by reason of the civic charters he granted, —one to Geertruidenberg in 1213, another celebrated one to Middelburg in Zealand in 1217. These charters were the models on which later ones were framed ; they secured the existing liberties of towns, gave the burghers the right of being ruled by law, and established equal justice within the walls.

William was succeeded by Floris IV., murdered at Corbie Floris in 1235 ; his son, William II., was a man of mark. Pope IV. Innocent IV. having deposed Frederick II., and wanting a William II. prince to set up against the Hohenstaufen, thought that the young count of Holland might serve, and accordingly had him elected king of the Romans by an assembly composed chiefly of German ecclesiastics. He took Aix-la-Chapelle, and was there crowned king in 1248 ; and after Frederick's death in 1250 he had a considerable party in Germany. His foreign ambitions were, however, crossed by troubles at home, and before he received the imperial crown he perished in West Friesland, going down, horse and armour, through the ice. It was he who fixed the seat of government at the Hague. His successor was Floris V., a babe. Floris V. The father had been a young man of unusual promise, ruined by German politics ; the son was destined to play a considerable part in Netherland history. Hitherto Holland had dealt only with smaller neighbours, Flanders, Friesland, Utrecht, or Guelderland ; henceforward she takes part in European questions, interfering in the great strife between Edward I. of England and France. For when he came of age Floris allied himself closely with the English king, and secured great trading advantages for his people ; the staple of wool was placed at Dort, and the Hollanders and Zealanders got fishing rights on the English coast. To balance the power of the nobles, which more and more

took the form of oppression, he also granted charters to towns (notably to Amsterdam), and forwarded their growth. In 1296, finding that Edward of England was dealing with his rival of Flanders, Floris joined Philip the Fair of France; but this act and his severities towards the nobles led to a conspiracy, to which he fell a victim; the burghers and people, who knew him to be their best friend, took such vengeance on his slayers as permanently reduced the power of the nobles.

John I. John I., his son, was in England when his father was murdered; he was a feeble boy in body and mind, married to the daughter of Edward I. His reign was a struggle between Zealand, led by Wolfart van Borselen, and Holland, guided by John of Avennes, the young count's guardian and next heir. In 1299 Van Borselen was killed by the Hollanders, and soon after Count John died. John of Avennes was at once recognized as count by the Hollanders, and with John I ended the first line of counts, after a rule of nearly 400 years. Europe has perhaps never seen an abler series of princes; excepting the last, there is not one weak man among them; they were ready fighters, brave crusaders, handsome well-built persons, with high chivalrous gifts tainted with corresponding chivalrous vices; they were all ready to advance the commerce of the country; they were the friends of the people, the supporters of the growing towns. They made their marsh lands fertile, and raised Holland to be a companion of kings.

The independence of Holland. During this time Holland became independent of the imperial authority. The fragments of Nether Lorraine, Holland, Guelderland, Utrecht, Brabant, and Flanders paid little heed to their nominal lord; Holland especially, so far from the centre of the empire, so nearly forgotten in the greater troubles of Italy or Switzerland, was left to herself. She made her own laws, imposed river-dues (a recognized imperial right), named her own officers, held high court of justice, coined money, made peace or war at will. Even the *de jure* authority of the empire over Holland is a matter of doubt, much debated by publicists and historians. The independent development of the country took, as we have said, a municipal form; and as the constitutions of her cities have throughout affected her history, they demand some consideration. Before the 14th century there were in Holland no estates, nor any general political life; the count was all powerful. Over the country districts he set his "baljews" or bailiffs, and in towns and villages his "schouts" or local judges. In the 13th century, when any greater matter had to be discussed in a city, all citizens were summoned by ring of the great bell to the public square, and there decided the question by democratic vote. Justice was administered "by a man's peers," according to the Saxon code in the east, the Frisian in the north, and the Frankish or Salian in the south,—each district having also its several uses or customs. Taxation for the count's benefit was styled his "beden" or prayer for supplies, and fell chiefly on the towns. And as the towns paid most, and were generally built on the count's lands, they claimed his protection, receiving charters and liberties from him in return for their dues and levies of men. In time the vague civic democracy gave place to an oligarchical government. While the Flemish towns were opposed to their feudal lord, in the north it was the other way; the counts of Holland were with the cities against the other classes of society. Consequently, though the Dutch towns began later, they in the end enjoyed far more steady prosperity than their southern neighbours. Thus under William II. and Floris V., Dordrecht and Delft, Haarlem, Alkmaar, Middelburg, Leyden, Schiedam, and others began their prosperous career. Each of these cities was at first ruled by the count's "schepenen" or judges, supported by councillors, one from each quarter of the town, from whom

sprang the title of burgomaster, by which they became known in later days. The "schepeuen" administered justice, while the councillors or burgomasters attended to civil affairs, and by degrees threw the judges into the background. Peace and defence were entrusted to a local militia, armed with the cross-bow. Dordrecht was the earliest of these prosperous towns; it enjoyed a very strict staple-right; the commerce of the northern districts was compelled to pass through its market. Two centuries later came the prosperity of Amsterdam, and with it the European fame of Dutch butter and cheese; then the wealth arising from the herring-fishery, of which the centre was Enkhuyzen. In the 14th century the chief towns had joined the Hansa, and though that exclusive body in the 15th century ejected them, they far more than recovered the loss of their trade through the newly opened worlds of India and America.

John II. When John of Avennes succeeded in 1299 as first count of the house of Hainault, the Hollanders were willing to receive him, the Zealanders not; and a long struggle between the provinces ensued. In 1301 he coerced Utrecht into alliance, and got the bishopric for his brother Guy. In 1304 the Flemings were driven out of Holland, and John II. was for a few months real lord of the county. He died that year, and was succeeded by his son William III., "the Good" (1304–1337), who made peace with Flanders in 1323, settled the outstanding quarrel between Holland and Zealand, united the Amstelland and its city Amsterdam to his territories, encouraged civic life, and developed the resources of his country. He also entered into close relations with the states of Europe, having married Johanna of Valois, niece of the French king; in 1323 the emperor Louis the Bavarian wedded his daughter Margaret, and in 1328 his third daughter, Philippa of Hainault, was given to Edward III. of England. William III. was in all respects a great prince, and an acute statesman. In 1337 he died, and was succeeded by his son William IV., who was killed fighting against the Frisians in 1345. He left no children, and the question as to the succession now brought on Holland a time of violent civil commotions. The county was claimed by Margaret, William's eldest sister, as well as by Philippa of Hainault, or, in other words, by Edward III. of England. Margaret eventually succeeded, siding with the older nobles, and being, therefore, not well received by the towns. These are the days in which came up the famous parties of "Kabbeljaus" and "Hoeks," the "Cods" and the "Hooks," the fat burgher fish and the sharp steel-pointed nobles who wanted to catch and devour them. After much buffeting and many changes of fortune, Margaret resigned her lordship in 1349 in favour of her second son William, but again resumed it in 1350. Then the struggle between nobles and cities broke into open war. Edward III. came to Margaret's aid, winning a sea fight off Veere in 1351; a few weeks later the Hooks and the English were defeated by William and the Cods at Vlaardingen—an overthrow which ruined Margaret's cause. She made peace with her son in 1354, and died two years later. He, however, shortly after fell mad; so that in 1358 the Hooks had to call in his younger brother, Albert of Bavaria, to be stadholder or "ruwaard" in his stead; he ruled well, and restored some order to the land. In the latter part of his life he went over to the Cods, a step which led to another outbreak of civil war which lasted until 1395. In 1404 he died, and was succeeded by his son William VI. who upheld the Hooks with all his power, and secured their ascendency. He died in 1417, leaving only a daughter, Jacoba (or Jacqueline), wife of John of France, who died in 1420, that same year. Again was Holland rent with civil strife; the Hooks, as before, readily accepting a female sovereign,

while the Cods declared for John of Liége. Jacoba was granddaughter of Philip of Burgundy, who behaved very ill towards her; her romantic and sad life has rendered her the most picturesque figure in all the history of Holland; she struggled long against her powerful kinsfolk, nor did she know happiness till near the end of her life, when she abandoned the unequal strife, and found repose with Francis of Borselen, ruwaard of Holland, her fourth husband. Him Philip the Good of Burgundy craftily seized, and thereby in 1433 Jacoba was compelled to cede her rights over the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. Consequently, at her death

Philip of in 1436, as she left no children, Philip seized on Bur- all her lands. He already held much of the Nether-

gundy. lands; he had inherited Flanders and Artois, had bought Namur, had seized Brabant, with Limburg, Antwerp, and Mechlin; he now got Holland, Zealand, and Hainault, with a titular lordship over Friesland; a few years later he became lord also of Luxembourg. By this incorporation with the possessions of the house of Burgundy, the commercial and artistic life of Holland was quickened, but political liberties suffered; for the rule of the "good duke" was far from being good. It was a time of luxury and show, of pageants and display, of the new and brilliant Order of the Golden Fleece (1430), and of the later days of feudalism, with all its brilliancy, corruption, and decline in the presence of the new monarchical spirit of Europe. Duke Philip on his accession declared that the privileges and constitutions of Holland, to which he had taken oath as ruwaard for Jacoba, should be null, unless he chose to confirm them as count. From that moment till the latter part of the next century the liberties of the Netherlands were treated with contempt. Holland, however, at first contented herself with growing material prosperity: her herring fishery, rendered more valuable than ever by the curing process discovered or introduced by Beukelzoon, brought her fresh wealth; and her fishermen were unconsciously laying the foundations of her maritime greatness. It was in the days of Duke Philip that Lorenz Koster of Haarlem contributed his share to the discovery of printing; the arts and learning of the Renaissance began to flourish greatly. The Burgundian dukes rivalled their contemporaries the Medici; under them grew up the Flemish school of painters, headed by the Van Eycks and Memling; architecture advanced as stately churches and town-houses were built; the dukes collected priceless manuscripts, founded libraries, and encouraged authors. But this speedy growth in art and letters belonged more to Flanders and Brabant than to Holland or Zealand.

In short, throughout the Burgundian time Holland plays but an insignificant part; and it may merely be remarked that the friendship of the dukes for the nobility did that class more harm than their hostility to civic liberties hurt the towns; for the lavish waste of Philip's court impoverished the nobles, and the wars of Charles destroyed them. After their days the Netherlands nobility were never again powerful. The church also suffered: it was enriched and corrupted by Philip, and was consequently very loyal to him; but his favour instead of strengthening it made the Reformation necessary. The cities, though oppressed and heavily taxed, grew stronger; and, when Duke Charles perished at Nancy, they at once stood out for their rights, and obliged his sole heir the duchess Mary, not unwillingly, to grant them the "Great Privilege" of March 1477, which affirmed the power of the cities and provinces to hold diets, and reserved to the estates a voice in the declaration of war, and authority to approve of the choice she might make of a husband. It was declared that natives alone might hold high office; no new taxes should be laid without the approval of the estates; one high court of justice was

established for Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; the Dutch language was made official. Thus came to an end the centralizing despotism of the Burgundian dukes. This period is also remarkable for a reconstruction of the civic government, and for the appearance of the States General, first summoned by Philip the Good. In the States General, states of Holland many nobles sat in person, though they had but one collective vote. At first all towns, larger and smaller, also sent representatives, but after a time the smaller ceased to appear, and only such larger cities as Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda, were represented, each having one vote. The president was the "advocatus," or "vogt," of the country, afterwards styled "the pensionary," an officer regarded as the champion of the estates against the counts. In Zealand and elsewhere, clergy, nobles, and cities sat separately, each order having a single vote. The estates, under the Burgundians, had little power; they could not even control the taxation. Duke Philip in 1464 summoned them to meet him at Bruges, and, though some of the more distant held aloof, the majority obeyed. These States General, however, expressed no national feeling or union of the provinces: that was a far later state of things.

After Mary of Burgundy had granted the Great Privilege, the provinces warmly supported her against Louis XI; they approved her union with Maximilian of Austria in August 1477, though it brought them no rest; for the old parties still survived, and Hooks and Cods fought savagely in almost every town. Maximilian had allied himself with the Cods, and the Hooks were defeated at Leyden and Dort, and finally in their last stronghold, Utrecht, of which city the archduke was made temporal protector in 1483. Before that time (March 1482) Mary of Burgundy had died, and Maximilian, acting for his son Philip, became governor of the Netherlands. After fresh Hook and Cod troubles at Haarlem, he finally made peace with France in December 1482, and after the death of Louis XI brought the Flemings to complete obedience by the peace of Frankfurt in 1489. The provinces were still very uneasy, partly through the turbulence of the Hooks, partly because of the autocratic character of his rule, and partly through the so-called "Bread and Cheese" war, caused by famine in the northern provinces. War with France also complicated matters, and the government over the Netherlands was entrusted to Albert of Saxony. In 1494 Maximilian, having been elected emperor, laid down his office as guardian, and had Philip the Handsome declared of age. He was at once accepted by Brabant, and the estates of Holland even let him sweep away the Great Privilege. He ruled over them quietly, and got back their English trade. In 1496 he married Joanna of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards heiress to the new monarchy of Spain. On Philip's death in 1506, leaving two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, and four daughters, Maximilian again became guardian for his grandson Charles, then but six years old; he named Margaret of Savoy, his daughter, governess of the Netherlands in 1507.

In 1515 Charles was declared of age, and received the Count homage of Holland and Zealand, Brabant and Flanders, Charles as Count Charles II. In consequence of his friendly relations with Francis I of France, Henry of Nassau, his Charles comrade and trusted follower, was wedded to Claude, sister V.). of Philibert, prince of Orange, and from this union springs the great house of Orange-Nassau. On his accession to the Spanish and imperial thrones successively, Charles continued his aunt Margaret of Savoy as governess of the Netherlands, with a privy council to assist her.

He brought all the provinces under one hand, having in 1524 become lord of Friesland by purchase, and in 1528 acquired the temporalities of Utrecht. He now ruled

Mary of
Bur-
gundy.

over seventeen provinces: that is, over four duchies—Brabant, Guelderland, Limburg, and Luxembourg; seven counties—Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur, and Zutphen; the margraviate of Antwerp; and five lordships—Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, with the Ommeland.

After the death in 1530 of Margaret, who had continued to act for him with her accustomed wisdom and prudence, Charles V. at first treated the provinces with studied moderation: he redressed some of their griefs, reformed the administration and the coinage, issued sumptuary edicts, regulated their commerce, while he also re-enacted the severe laws against heresy, and gave full powers to the supreme court of Holland—a body completely under his control. He then appointed his sister Mary, queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands. She had at first no easy task; for the provinces had on hand a war with Denmark, and Anabaptist troubles at home; before long also she had to ask for increased supplies; and while the Hollanders granted a large annual subsidy, they refused her a hearth-tax which she demanded. Similar monetary questions in 1539 produced that famous struggle between the court and Ghent which was only ended by the personal intervention of the emperor; after punishing severely the rebellious burghers, he passed on into Holland, and in 1540, in defiance of the acknowledged rights of the provinces, established a foreigner, René of Châlons, prince

House of Orange, as stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. He thus forced on them that great family which has both shed lustre on the history of Holland, and defended there and elsewhere the liberties of Europe. René himself ruled but a short time; he perished in France in 1544, leaving his territories to a little cousin, William of Nassau.

In 1545–46 the estates gave the emperor men and money for his war against the Protestant princes of Germany; after Mühlberg, the Netherlanders hoped that they might now be freed from the foreign troops Charles had quartered among them. He, however, had other plans on hand, and determined to place permanently in the provinces 4000 horse, entirely at his own orders; he also laid before the estates in 1548 a scheme of incorporation, which aimed at making the Netherlands an integral portion of the empire, under the name of the circle of Burgundy, and which he abandoned only after the refusal of the seven electors to make Philip king of the Romans. In 1549 he revisited the provinces and called Philip thither also, that they might see their future master; the young prince swore to maintain their rights and customs; and so began between the Netherlands and him the formal relation which under circumstances elsewhere related (vol. v. 416, 417) became so real on October 25, 1555.

After appointing Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V., to be regent in the Netherlands, in 1559 Philip set sail for Spain, leaving, in spite of the remonstrances of the estates, 4000 foreign troops, nominally to protect the frontiers, really to check the independence of the people, and to support the policy of religious persecution which had been resolved on. The real direction of all affairs was in the hands of the Burgundian churchman Antony Perrenot, bishop of Arras (afterwards so well known as Cardinal Granvella), who was chief of the "consulta" or secret council of three. A sharp attack on the Reformers now began. The first step, the proposal (which had originated with Charles) to reorganize the bishoprics of the Netherlands, was announced at once. Hitherto ecclesiastical affairs had been in the charge of four bishops,—Arras, Cambray, Tournay, Utrecht,—the last under the archbishop of Cologne, the others under Rheims. It was proposed now to establish a new and national hierarchy, independent of Germany and France,

with three archbishops and fifteen bishops:—Mechlin, The new chief archbishopric, having under it Antwerp, Herzogenbusch, Roermond, Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; Cambrai, with Tournay, Arras, St Omer, and Namur; Utrecht, with Haarlem, Middelburg, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and Deventer. Each bishop was to appoint nine new prebendaries to help him in his diocese; of the nine two should be inquisitors, specially told off to sniff out and hunt down heresy. Nor was this all; it was believed that not merely would these new bishoprics strengthen the old episcopal inquisition, but that a more stringent form of inquisition was to be introduced, organized after the Spanish system, which had been long known for its efficient severity. The Netherlanders regarded the change, in fact, as part of a general plan for the subjection of the provinces from abroad, by means of foreign troops and ecclesiastics, with contempt of their feelings, rights, and liberties. All classes—nobles, clergy, burghers, peasants—disliked the new ecclesiastical system, and regarded Granvella, who became first archbishop of Mechlin, with detestation. Though the Spanish troops were withdrawn in 1560, the ferment was not quieted; the nobles were uneasy, and, finding their position uncertain between the court and the populace, began to form confederacies and to head the resistance. Even such leading men as William of Orange, who tried to mediate between Government and the provinces, were driven into opposition; in 1561 Granvella's overbearing acts alienated them still more, and Orange and Horn withdrew from the council. Even Margaret felt she could no longer rule with Granvella at her side; and he at last, seeing that a crisis was coming on, withdrew into Burgundy in 1563. Now things were easier; party badges were dropped, and men felt cooler.

But at this moment the long labours of the Council of Trent were ending; and, when in 1565 it finally promulgated its decrees, Philip determined to enforce their acceptance throughout his dominions. Accordingly, he now made a more vehement attack on the Reformers; and then it was that, in 1566, the Netherland nobles, led by Count Brederode, signed the famous "Compromise," with which the open rebellion of the provinces begins. "Compromise." Orange, Egmont, and Horn stood aloof. When, in their first interview with the regent, the nobles appeared on foot, in sedulously plain guise and without arms, Berlaymont standing by her side begged her not to be alarmed, "for they were but a pack of beggars;" and the phrase being overheard, at Brederode's banquet that night it was gaily adopted by the young nobles as a party name, "les gueux," and it became the fashion for patriots to wear beggar's garb, and a medal round the neck, bearing Philip's image on one side and a wallet on the other, with two hands crossed, and the legend "Fidèles au roy jusqu'à la besace." Orange, Egmont, and Horn, who dropped in on the revelry at Brederode's house, joined the merry scene and drank the beggars' health.

To deprecate Philip's anger at the "Compromise," the Deputies of state sent the marquis of Bergen and Horn's brother, the lord of Montigny, Knights of the Golden Fleece Philip. and men of high repute, to Spain, where Philip received them kindly, but took good care that they should never again see their homes. Meanwhile he gathered forces with which to suppress the disturbances, which had become very serious. Open air preachings, guarded by armed men, were taking place throughout the provinces, and raised the excitement to such a height that it at last found vent in iconoclastic tumults, similar to those of France. This gave the court party only too good an excuse; it could now interpose with authority on behalf of public order. Matters threatened war. Margaret played with the discontented nobles, having orders from Spain to decoy

War begins.

and capture the chief men, and so to break up the confederacy. Hereon Orange withdrew into Holland ; Horn, in moody opposition, conscious of his integrity, retired to his country house ; while Egmont still hovered, a bright flutterer, round the fatal taper of the court. The confederacy was in fact broken up ; and Margaret saw with satisfaction a considerable body of German mercenaries enter the provinces to inflict punishment, in all its ghastliest and most brutal forms, on the iconoclasts. In 1567 it came to blows : the undisciplined rabble of Calvinists, who tried to raise the siege of Valenciennes, were cut to pieces by the troops of Egmont and other loyal nobles. William of Orange withdrew to Nassau, after vainly warning Egmont of the imminent peril which he ran.

The duke of Alva. In spite of Margaret, who assured Philip that the heretics were completely put down, and their worship abolished, and that consequently there was no need of an army, and that on the contrary the time for mercy had come, the plan for the utter subjugation of the provinces was adhered to, and the duke of Alva, already famous for his harshness and bigotry, was named commander of the forces, with almost unlimited powers. He set forth in May 1567, and all hopes of peace or mercy fled before him. There was a great and desperate exodus of the inhabitants ; thousands took refuge in England, Germany, and Denmark, carrying with them, it was thought, the last relics of their faith and party. The nobles' confederacy had already been broken up ; now the popular movement was dispersed, despair and helplessness alone remained to greet the cold Spaniard and his train of orthodox executioners. He entered the Netherlands with about 20,000 men, all tried troops, ready for any cruelties. Their weakness lay in the fact that they were after all mere mercenaries,—Spaniards, Italians, Germans,—and as such ever ready for a mutiny, if pay fell short, or if there were none to plunder.

Arrest of Egmont and Horn. Egmont and Horn were arrested at once ; the Council of Troubles—the “Blood-tribunal”—was established ; Margaret, thrust aside by the imperious general, resigned her weary office, and carried away with her the last hopes of the wretched people. Alva was now appointed governor-general, and the executions of his council filled the land

William of Orange outlawed. with blood. Orange was outlawed on his non-appearance ; it was about this time that he declared his conversion to Calvinism, and so fitted himself in every respect to lead the people when the time came. The hostilities of 1568 led to the execution of Egmont and Horn. Though the Gueux under Louis of Nassau won a considerable victory over the Spaniards at Heiligerlee, the arrival of Alva compelled him to raise the siege of Groningen, and to withdraw towards the Ems. At Jemmingen Louis was at last utterly defeated, and though the prince of Orange did his utmost to raise the country, and skilfully avoided a fatal battle, the campaign ended in his being obliged to withdraw out of the country. Alva was now at the highest point of his success ; his statue, cast from cannon taken at Jemmingen, was set up at Antwerp ; the exodus of the inhabitants continued incessantly, especially to England. The advice of Admiral Coligny, that the provinces should wage war from the sea, was hardly listened to at the first. In 1570, however, Orange turned his attention that way, and his little navy under William de la Marck annoyed Spanish commerce and took rich prizes. In 1572, being unable to find refuge in any ports,—for neither England, nor Denmark, nor Sweden, would allow them harbourage, and they were treated not merely as rebels but as pirates,—William de la Marck, with his “Water-Beggars,” suddenly seized

Capture of Briel. on Briel, at the mouth of the Meuse, and the face of the struggle began from that moment to change. Alva, partly from the general requirements of his position, partly from lack of funds and desire of his recently-imposed tenth

penny, had at this moment driven the Netherlands to desperation. He was engaged in a struggle with Brussels and Utrecht, in which city, to punish the inhabitants, he had collected his Spanish soldiery from all the neighbouring towns. The news of the capture of Briel woke him from his security. Flushing also fell into the hands of the “Water-Beggars,” who surprised under its walls a rich convoy from Spain. About the same time, Louis of Nassau, who had been at La Rochelle with the Huguenots, and had received help and encouragement from Charles IX. of France, suddenly seized Mons in Hainault, thus giving the French sympathizers with the revolt the means of entering safely into the Walloon provinces. Alva, now seriously alarmed, withdrew from Zealand the whole of the forces with which he had intended to check the movement of the “Water-Beggars,” in order that he might repair the great breach thus made in his southern system of defence, and so left the province free to develop its resistance. Holland followed quickly, Enkhuizen setting the example; so that, within three months of the capture of Briel, the provinces. Amsterdam was the only town in Holland in the hands of the Spaniards. In Friesland also the revolt spread far and wide. The states of Holland met, and, acting under advice of Philip of Marnix, lord of St Aldegonde, the prince's deputy, declared that William of Orange was, by Philip's nomination, stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and William Friesland ; they also declared their intention to raise money of Orange for the costs of war and the relief of Mons, and affirmed again the liberties of the provinces ; finally they named the rough and ready William de la Marck captain-general—a man whose prompt and practical daring would supply the qualities which the caution and apparent irresolution and timidity of William of Orange seemed unlikely to provide for the emergency.

Meanwhile Alva pressed the siege of Mons ; French help Alva's failed utterly to relieve Louis of Nassau, nor could William succeed. of Orange either force his way through the Spanish lines or induce Alva to fight. At this moment came tidings of the massacre of St Bartholomew, and the prince, seeing that all hope of aid from France was utterly at an end, bade his brother make the best terms he could, and withdrew beyond the Rhine and thence into Holland. Mons at once capitulated, and Alva, passing on to Mechlin, pitilessly sacked that wealthy city. Thence he pressed forward to the north ; Zutphen was taken, the towns of Guelderland and Friesland submitted, and for a while nothing seemed to stay his career of conquest and revenge. The prince of Orange was powerless ; but the despair caused by the cruel destruction of Naarden roused a spirit which even Alva could not tame, and the famous siege of Haarlem, lasting through the winter of 1572 till July 1573, cost 12,000 Spanish troops, and gave the insurgent provinces time to breathe. A great mutiny among Alva's troops still more hindered the work of subjugation. The repulse of Don Frederick of Toledo, Alva's son, from Alkmaar, the capture of Geertruidenberg by the Dutch, and Admiral Dirkson's great victory over Alva's fleet, entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and saved the towns of North Holland. Alva, who had come Alva as far as Amsterdam, returned to Brussels, and thence, recalled, obtaining his recall, bade farewell to his government. During the six years it had lasted, his executioners had put to death 18,000 persons, to say nothing of the victims in cities captured by his troops ; the Spaniards plundered where they could, and considered the whole wealth of the Netherlands their lawful prey, forfeited by rebellion. But his pitiless severity only served to raise up a stubbornness of civic resistance, against which the tried discipline of the Spanish soldiery, and the consummate skill of their commander, reckoned to be the first general in Europe, were powerless.

William
pro-
claimed
governor.

Don Louis of Requesens, grand-commander of Castile, was appointed Alva's successor, and after a brief and deceptive lull the war went on. In January 1574, by the fall of Middelburg, the Spaniards lost their last hold on Walcheren and on Zealand, while by the splendid defence of Leyden, unparalleled in the history of heroic endurance, their efforts in another direction were effectually frustrated.

After fruitless negotiations with Philip, the estates of Holland, in November 1574, formally offered to William "the Silent," prince of Orange, full authority by land and sea, with the title of governor or regent. Conferences were also held, with a view to peace, at Breda; and on their failure, in summer 1575, Holland and Zealand drew up articles of union, and an ordinance for their joint government under the prince of Orange. By it he received supreme command in war and absolute authority in all matters of defence, the control of all money voted by the estates, the maintenance of the laws as count, in the king's name, the ultimate appointment (after nomination by the estates) of all judicial officers. He undertook to protect Calvinism, and to suppress "all religion at variance with the gospel," while he forbade all inquisition into private opinions. These terms accepted, William became, in spite of their nominal recognition of Philip, the true prince of the two provinces. Still this union, brought about by the prince's personal character and ability, and by the popular faith in him, was distasteful to the larger cities. Already we may note the beginnings of that party division which was afterwards so prominent, and divided Holland between the land-party, popular, quasi-monarchical, Calvinistic, headed by the Orange-Nassau family, and the sea-party, the town-party, headed by the burghers of Amsterdam, Arminian, civic, and aristocratic.

Meanwhile the grand-commander made a successful attempt on the Zealand coast. His troops took Duiveland, and laid siege to Zierikzee, chief town of Schouwen, and key of the whole coast. The two provinces, unable to relieve the place, were driven to consider their position. So long as they paid any allegiance to Philip of Spain, against whom they were struggling for life, they could never get much help from any other prince, nor were they strong enough to assert their own sovereignty. Three powers lay near them:—the empire, already connected with them by old relations, and by the family connexion of the house of Orange; France, with her restless Valois dukes, ready for any venture, whether in Poland, England, or Holland; and, lastly, England, whose queen knew well that Philip was her foe, and that the Low Countries might effectually hinder his efforts against her. The provinces, though William had suggested it, refused to deal with the emperor, and turned to Elizabeth; she brought them little real help, and they seemed to be on the very brink of ruin when fever carried Requesens off in March 1576.

The breathing space thus gained enabled them to strengthen their union under William; but before the question respecting the position of the duke of Anjou could be settled, the siege of Zierikzee drew to an end. Boisot perished in a too gallant attempt to break the leaguer, and the town yielded. Things looked ill for the patriots, and Zealand would have been at the mercy of the conqueror, had not another great mutiny neutralized the success of the victors; the Spanish and Walloon troops left Zealand and, headed, as usual, by their "eletto," marched into the richer plains of Brabant, seizing Alost, whence they threatened both Brussels and Antwerp. One of the results of the panic they caused in Brabant was the capture of Ghent by William. Brussels was only saved from being pillaged by them by the vigour of the inhabitants, who armed in their own defence. Suffering under a powerless administrative, and smarting from the curse of the foreign

soldiery, the southerners now began to wish for freedom and union with the other provinces. The broad liberality of Orange, moderating the Calvinism of the people, enabled the two groups to draw together. In October 1576 a Pacifico-congress of the States General of the provinces met at Ghent; the council of state at Brussels was forcibly dissolved; the frightful "Spanish Fury" at Antwerp struck such terror into all hearts that a treaty was concluded in November 1576 under the title of the "Pacification of Ghent." It was received with great enthusiasm; in it the provinces agreed first to eject the foreigner, then to meet in States General and regulate all matters of religion and defence; it was stipulated that nothing should be done against the Catholic religion; the Spanish king's name was still used; the prince of Orange was recognized only as stadholder of Holland and Zealand. All the seventeen provinces accepted the Pacification; and for a brief space the "United Provinces" really did exist.

Early in January 1577 the "Union of Brussels" was put forth. The document engaged all who joined to help Brussels, in ejecting the foreign troops, in carrying out the Pacification, in maintaining the Catholic faith, in recognizing Philip's sovereignty, in defending the liberties and constitutions of the provinces. It was eagerly adopted; and even Holland and Zealand made no demur. When the paper, crowded with signatures, was laid before Don John of Austria, who meanwhile had arrived as regent, he also accepted it; and on the 17th February 1577 was signed the "Perpetual Edict," which ratified the Pacification of Ghent. Not till the troops were gone should Don John be petal received as governor-general. Philip II. ratified the Edict a few weeks later.

Yet, after all, unity did not ensue from it. The natural divergency between north and south at once appeared; in character, in interests, above all, in religion, they had little in common; and when William of Orange refused to publish the edict in Holland and Zealand he was warmly supported by these provinces. This is perhaps the real point at which Dutch independence begins. Don John entered Brussels in triumph, and, by conciliation and winning manners, had already broken up the union; the whole of the southern provinces withdrew from it at once, and that well-marked difference in political life, which, after so many changes, still distinguishes Belgian from Dutchman, was from that moment made clear. Yet, though Don John had achieved so much, the result, after all, disappointed him; he was surrounded by difficulties, suspicions, and plots; he saw the failure of his larger schemes, and only the partial success of his effort to reduce the Netherlands; he recognized the dangers which the abilities and rivalry of William of Orange were preparing for him. This was soon shown in the seizure of Antwerp citadel by the Seizure of Antwerp. patriots, and in the destruction of the hated fortifications, so long the sign and efficient cause of their subjection. Other castles, such as that of Ghent, were razed to the ground as soon as the fall of Antwerp citadel was known. Still less was Don John pleased by the election of his rival as ruwaard of Brabant, and by his enthusiastic reception at Brussels. The States General (7th December 1577) declared strongly against Don John's authority.

It was clear war must begin again; and the patriots raised an army nearly 20,000 strong, which was utterly defeated by Don John and Alexander Farnese, at Gembloux near Namur. But their campaign was wasted on isolated movements and town-taking, while William of Orange fell back unmolested to Antwerp. A sudden illness, so sudden as to arouse the common suspicion of poison, carried off the conqueror of Lepanto (1st October 1578), and Alexander of Parma succeeded him in the government.

The struggle had now entirely passed into the southern

provinces ; Holland and Zealand were left to gather strength ; the recovery of Amsterdam (1578) removed the one hindrance to their prosperity. While the south trusted to foreign help, some John Casimir, or duke of Anjou, the north quietly consolidated itself. In January 1579 was Union of proclaimed the famous "Union of Utrecht." The document professed to make no changes ; it would but carry out the pacification of Ghent by a closer junction of Holland and Zealand with Friesland, Guelderland with Zutphen, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen ; united as one, these provinces should still retain their local uses and privileges. So long as the archduke Matthias, who had been appointed governor-general in 1577, remained, his authority would be respected ; on his withdrawal in 1580 the States General named as stadholder William of Orange, who had already exercised the real authority over the provinces. A considerable number of southern cities, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and others, as well as some of the nobles, also joined this union. Thus did the United Provinces at last come definitely into being.

The United Provinces.

During the next five years Spain devoted her efforts to the southern provinces alone ; the union was unmolested. The Walloon provinces were reconciled to Spain ; the others, with exception of Holland and Zealand, had accepted the duke of Anjou as their sovereign ; Holland and Zealand had proclaimed William of Orange as their chief, though he did not finally accept sovereign power and the title of count till August 1582, by a sort of cross division, the seven northern provinces, meeting at the Hague, had (26th July 1581) made an "Act of Abjuration," and had issued their "Declaration of Independence," the five naming Anjou, the two William, as their sovereign in Philip's stead. Then Holland and Zealand framed an independent constitution, conservative of their ancient liberties, as expressed in the "Great Privilege of the Lady Mary ;" they declared themselves a free country, severed alike from Spain and from the empire.

Declaration of Independence.

Murder of William.

Maurice.

But Spain was not yet ready to take up this challenge ; and meanwhile she resorted to other weapons. A scandalous proclamation, offering rewards and honours to any ruffian who would serve church and king by murdering William of Orange, was now issued ; and, roused by the double inducement, after many unsuccessful attempts, a paltry wretch (10th July 1584) succeeded in assassinating the greatest man of his age, the worthy "Father William" of the Dutch, and the only ruler in the world's history who may fairly be compared with Washington.

Fortunately for the Provinces, and for the world's liberties, the spirit of William of Orange survived in his second son Maurice, who now, though he was only seventeen and a student at Leyden, and though he had an older brother living in Spain, was at once, chiefly through the influence of that great statesman John Olden Barneveldt, named governor of the United Provinces, with a council of state, and with Count Hobenlohe, his brother-in-law, as lieutenant-general. He was also, soon after, made stadholder of Holland and Zealand, while Utrecht was placed under the lord of Villars as stadholder, Guelderland and Overijssel under the count of Meurs, and Friesland under William of Nassau. Never was any one better fitted for his life's task than was this boy, thus early called to rule in troubled times. For Maurice of Nassau had all the coldness and calculation of his family, all its ambition, all its firmness and tenacity of grasp, while he added thereto a quality wanting in the others, a genius for war, and those gifts which go to make what is commonly called a lucky commander—gifts which may be best described by saying that the lucky captain is he who in war leaves least to luck. For over forty years Maurice was the champion of the Provinces ; and, if we except his treatment of Barneveldt, we may say that he

comes next after his father as a founder of the Dutch republic.

At the outset his antagonist was that formidable captain, Alexander Farnese, who had by this time nearly subdued all the southern provinces, and whose arms proved successful at Ghent (1584) and at Antwerp (1585). The northern provinces, thinking it necessary to call in foreign aid, appealed to Henry III. of France, but the outburst of the "War of the three Henriës," caused by the anxiety of the Guises lest Henry should draw too much towards the heretics, put a stop to all hope of help from that side. Olden Barneveldt, therefore, next crossed over to England with offers to Queen Elizabeth, who, though declining for herself the proffered sovereignty over the Provinces, undertook to appoint a governor-general, and to send over and pay 5000 foot and 1000 horse ; in return for which she was to be put in possession of certain cautionary towns. Accordingly, Sir John Norris was at once sent over with the English forces ; Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing, and the earl of Leicester was named governor-general by the queen. At first Leicester was welcomed with all the joy that his Calvinistic opinions, and his position as favourite and representative of Elizabeth, could elicit in the breasts of men who had now long been struggling for existence, and who, bereft of their great prince, were yearning for some strong hand to guide them. But it did not last : his high pretensions, and his mistress's haughty tone, joined with his foolish interference with Dutch commerce and with the religious difficulties now beginning to show themselves, soon offended the States General, and neutralized whatever good the active help of England might have promised them. In 1586 Sir Philip Sidney invaded Flanders, and the young stadholder of Holland gladly served under him. In the same autumn Leicester himself took the field, and marched to meet Parma, who was threatening the provinces from the east. Under the walls of Zutphen Sir Philip Sidney fell ; and Leicester, finding his efforts useless, soon raised the siege of that town, and withdrew to the Hague. The rest of his time was spent in bitter quarrels with the estates ; Olden Barneveldt and Maurice were united for a time by his marked ill-will towards them both ; and so strong did the feeling against him grow, that in 1587 Queen Elizabeth was fain to order his recall. For a while there was great soreness between the countries ; the general interest, however, was far stronger than any partial pique, and in the crisis of the Spanish Armada in 1588 the Dutch did very great service to England by resolutely blockading in their ports the transports and army with which Parma had meant to invade the English shores. In the same year Maurice had the satisfaction of seeing the English and Dutch repulse the famous duke from the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. In 1589, on the other hand, the English garrison of Geertruidenberg betrayed that important place, the doorway out of Brabant into Holland, into Parma's hands, and laid the United Provinces open to attack. In other places also the English forces, not yet withdrawn, were an anxiety and danger to the states. Still, from this moment the fortunes of the Dutch began to rise. No contrast could be more striking than that between the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces. In the fertile districts of Hainault and Brabant, where climate and soil are good and transit easy, utter ruin alone was seen : vines, wolves and wild dogs swarmed ; the land was overrun with weeds and briars ; and even the wealthy cities of the past were almost deserted. In the United Provinces, on the contrary, the wellbeing of the country was steadily increasing : every year its hardy seamen brought back fresh wealth ; and thousands of ingenious workers, turning in despair from the hopelessness of their condition in the

Spanish Netherlands, brought their skill and industry into the north, which soon became as famous for its manufacturing excellence as for its energy in commerce. It was at this period that, just when the southern cities were languishing and losing ground, the northern burgher life made vigorous growth, and prepared the way for that supremacy of town aristocracy which characterized the history of Holland in the following century.

War against Spain. The year 1590 opened well for the United Provinces : Utrecht joined its fortunes with those of Holland and Zealand ; Guelderland and Overijssel made William Louis of Nassau their stadholder, so strengthening the power of the family ; and Breda was recovered by a daring stratagem. The duke of Parma also, with failing health, was called away to oppose the victorious progress of Henry IV. in northern France. In 1591 Prince Maurice still further strengthened himself by taking Zutphen, Deventer, Hulst, and eventually Nimeguen, which secured for him the complete submission of Guelderland. Parma was unable to oppose him effectually, for his troops were again mutinous ; he was also once more called off into France. The reputation of Prince Maurice rose now to its highest point : the greatest captain in Europe seemed unable to cope with him, and the vigorous help of Barneveldt still secured him firm support at home. In 1593 he took Geertruidenberg ; and in 1594 Groningen, the only stronghold left to the Spaniards in all the Seven Provinces, was reduced.

Archduke Albert. The appointment of the cardinal archduke Albert as governor of the Spanish Netherlands did not much change the current of affairs ; the Dutch now tried to open up a trade with the East Indies, and made some vigorous explorations in Arctic seas. In 1596 the archduke recovered Hulst, which commanded the northernmost parts of Flanders ; the Dutch on the other hand, with the English, sacked Cadiz and destroyed the Spanish fleet ; and in the next year Maurice inflicted a defeat on the Spaniards at Turnhout, transferred his sphere of action to the Rhine country, and took town after town, making the provinces secure on the side of Zutphen, Overijssel, and Friesland. The year 1598 gave a new aspect to affairs by the conclusion of the Franco-Spanish war in the treaty of Vervins, and by the death of Philip II. The Dutch, assisted only by the English, and that chiefly by volunteers, were now to bear the whole brunt of the efforts of Spain. In the autumn of 1599 Prince Maurice endeavoured to transfer the war into Germany ; and after taking Emmerich in the Cleves country, delivered Bommel from the siege which Mendoza, the Spanish general, was laying to it. But dissatisfaction at home, and the unreadiness of his German allies, forced Maurice to turn his eyes towards Flanders, which he invaded in the summer of 1600. Surprised by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Nieuport, Maurice was attacked by the archduke Albert in a most critical position, but, after a long and well-balanced battle, inflicted on him (July 2) a disastrous defeat. Maurice could not, however, take the town, and winter put a stop to the campaign without any great change in the relative position of the belligerents. In 1601 the archduke began the famous siege of Ostend, which lasted three years and two months ; the losses on both sides, more especially among the Spanish, were immense. While it continued, the coolness between the States General and Maurice steadily increased ; for they thought his cold ambitious nature capable of anything, and saw with fear the paramount influence he had over the army. Their instincts led them to rest on the ships, to prefer peace to war, and commerce to glory. It was during the siege of Ostend that they established the Dutch East India Company in 1602, though its basis had been laid down by a group of Amsterdam traders in 1595.

Battle of Nieuport.

Siege of Ostend. In 1601 the archduke began the famous siege of Ostend, which lasted three years and two months ; the losses on both sides, more especially among the Spanish, were immense. While it continued, the coolness between the States General and Maurice steadily increased ; for they thought his cold ambitious nature capable of anything, and saw with fear the paramount influence he had over the army. Their instincts led them to rest on the ships, to prefer peace to war, and commerce to glory. It was during the siege of Ostend that they established the Dutch East India Company in 1602, though its basis had been laid down by a group of Amsterdam traders in 1595.

In 1604 Maurice took Sluis, and Ostend at last fell to Spinola. Thenceforward the main lines of the struggle by land were simple enough : the Spaniards tried to transfer the seat of war into the United Provinces, and were steadily foiled by Maurice. All the while the States General aimed at peace, though the naval war became vigorous as that on land languished. The sea fight off Gibraltar in 1607 utterly ruined the Spanish fleet, and left her commerce powerless. At last, after long negotiations, which served to emphasize the variance between the patriot party, headed by Barneveldt and Grotius, and the war party, which included the official classes, the army, navy, East India Company, the clergy, and the populace in the towns, a truce for twelve years was signed, on the *uti possidetis* ground, between Spain and Holland. In the war the Dutch had added Overijssel and Groningen to the union ; gains in the war. They held Sluis, Hulst, and other ports on the Flemish side, in what is called "Dutch Flanders" ; they had Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Herzogenbusch on the Brabant frontier, and the forts which commanded the Scheldt and strangled Antwerp for the sake of Amsterdam ; lastly, they were become lords of the sea, and the chief traders of the world.

After a brief interference in the affairs of Germany, where the intricate question of the Cleves-Juliers succession galled was already preparing the way for the Thirty Years' War, conflict Holland settled down into that hot and absorbing theological struggle, which was closely mixed up with political questions, and which stained with a deplorable triumph the last years of the career of Maurice of Nassau. In 1603 Jacob van Hermansen, or, in Latin form, Arminius (see ARMINIUS), had been appointed one of the two professors of theology at Leyden, Francis Gomar being the other. The two men took opposite sides with zeal, Arminius assailing and Gomarus defending the current popular theology. The views of Arminius spread fast among the upper classes, especially in the larger towns, and became the theology of the civic aristocracy ; the established opinions were tenaciously supported by the bulk of the clergy, the peasantry, the town populace, the army, and the navy. At their head stood Maurice, ready to use the strength of Calvinistic feeling to secure his own authority, however little he might care for the tenets of his side ; at the head of the other party, more philosophical, less in earnest perhaps, was Barneveldt, with the town traders. King James of England as yet supported the Calvinists, and with Archbishop Abbot influenced greatly the proceedings of the famous synod of Dort (1618) in favour of Prince Maurice and the anti-Remonstrants. The results of the synod enabled the prince for his own political purposes to crush the aristocratic party. Barneveldt and Grotius (another leading Remonstrant) were seized, and in spite of all his great services to his country, his venerable age, and his past support of Maurice, the pensionary was brought to an infamous trial and executed at the Hague in 1619. Grotius afterwards escaped from prison and took refuge in France. The silenced Remonstrants, finding that there was no hope of toleration for them, left the country in great numbers, and formed a prosperous settlement in Holstein in 1621, where they founded the town of Frederickstadt on the Eider.

In 1621 the truce with Spain came to an end, and the Thirty Dutch were at once involved in the vortex of the Thirty Years' War, which had now been going on for a couple of years. Spinola, after taking Juliers, attempted Bergen-op-Zoom, hoping thereby to open a passage into Zealand ; he was, however, foiled by Maurice. About this time a great coolness sprang up between Holland and England, the beginning of the deadly rivalry which lasted so long.

Rivalry of Holland and England. King James was eager to gain his objects without fighting, and to be on friendly terms with Spain; he and Laud were opposed to the Calvinism of the Dutch, and disliked their form of church government; and commercial jealousy was already beginning to arise. Successes and losses were evenly balanced in the war: the Dutch recaptured Juliers and took Cleves, while Spinola, after great losses caused by the gallant defence of the English, in 1625 took Breda. A few days before the town fell Maurice died, leaving the Spaniards in the heart of his territories, and the Dutch vexed with religious and domestic factions.

Fred-
rick
Henry. His brother, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau, succeeded him as stadholder of Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overijssel. The war by land became utterly spiritless, though by sea the Dutch still asserted their maritime supremacy. By land the chief operations were the siege and capture by Frederick Henry of Herzogenbusch, Maestricht, and Wesel in 1628; by sea the Dutch interfered, much against the popular feeling, to assist the French court against the Huguenots at La Rochelle. They blockaded Dunkirk, whence Spanish privateers had been wont to harass their commerce; under Piet Heyn of Delftshaven, boldest of their sea-captains, they vexed the Spanish coasts, captured Spanish war ships, carried off their "silver fleet," and finally in 1631 won near Tholen a brilliant victory over a great Spanish fleet commanded by Count John of Nassau, who was endeavouring to make a descent on the Zealand coast.

Heredi-
tary suc-
cession in
House of
Orange. In this year the States, feeling that the moderation of the stadholder was honest and salutary, that his influence alone seemed able to quiet the rage of religious faction, and that his military operations had secured the confidence of the provinces, took the important, and, as it turned out, the unwise step of securing to his infant son the reversion of all his great offices of stadholder, captain, and admiral-general. The Calvinists were willing to grant so much to the head of their party, and made no objection to the introduction of the principle of hereditary succession; while the Remonstrants, discerning that Frederick Henry, like his brother before him, was personally more favourable to their tenets than to those of their adversaries, accepted the measure in the hope that when permanently established as their prince he would carry out these tolerant views which he was known to hold.

Alliance with France. In 1632 he justified their confidence by his masterly siege and capture of Maestricht, in defiance of all the efforts of the Spanish and imperial generals; Namur, Luxembourg, and eastern Brabant were laid under contribution in consequence, and the States defended from danger of attack towards the east. As the war dragged on after the death of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, France and Holland drew more together, and in 1635 an alliance and partition treaty was made between them, in which it was proposed that the Spaniards should be driven out of the Netherlands, which should be made an independent state, guaranteed by the allies; that France should receive, as her share, the sea-coast up to Blankenberg, together with Thionville and Namur; and that a corresponding portion should be given to Holland; if this scheme of an independent state proved a failure, then France and Holland should divide the whole district between them. The joint operations consequent on this agreement proved a failure: Frederick Henry had always been opposed to the alliance, and probably did not wish its success; the divergence between him and the States General at this time gave Cardinal Richelieu the opportunity of restoring the Remonstrant party in Holland, and making it French in sympathy, in opposition to the House of Orange—a combination of which Louis XIV. afterwards made great use. In 1637 the stadholder recovered Breda, though the gain was balanced by the loss of Roermond and

other places; and in 1638 the war was favourable to the Spaniards. In 1639, however, a series of great naval triumphs under Tromp and De Witt turned the scale in favour of the Dutch.

In 1640, on the death of Count Henry of Nassau, stadhoulder of Friesland and Groningen, the latter province chose Frederick Henry as its stadhoulder, and he thus became chief of six out of the seven United Provinces; in the next year he was able to arrange the marriage of his son William with Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I. of England, a match devised by the queen-mother of France, while a refugee in Holland, in order to increase the ill-will between Richelieu and the stadhoulder. Thus began the dynastic relation between the Stewarts and the house of Orange, which led to such great results before the end of the century. The States General were not too well pleased with this alliance, and looked shyly at Henrietta Maria when she came over to Holland to get help for Charles I. in 1642. They were becoming alarmed at the great power and growing ambition of France under Richelieu, while they sympathized to a great extent with the English Puritans.

All parties, except the French, being now utterly weary of the war, negotiations for peace, long talked of, long prepared for, began in earnest at Münster and Osnabrück. Before their close Frederick Henry died in 1647, and was succeeded in his dignities and offices by his young son William II., and almost immediately afterwards (January 1648), in spite of the opposition of France and the young II. prince of Orange, the deputies of the Provinces (with exception of Zealand and Utrecht) signed a separate treaty Peace of peace with Spain, which was confirmed and sworn to in May at Münster. It was a complete surrender of everything for which Spain so long had fought. The United Provinces were recognized as free and independent, and Spain dropped all her claims; the *uti possidetis* basis was adopted in the matter of all conquests; the two contracting parties agreed to respect and keep clear of each other's trading-grounds; each should pay, in the ports of the other, only such tolls as natives of the other paid; the Scheldt was entirely closed by the States, so that Amsterdam might strangle Antwerp—the chief harbour of the free Provinces thus ruining the chief harbour of those still subject to Spain. And so ended the so-called Eighty Years' War.

No sooner was the peace concluded than bitter disputes arose between Holland, on the one hand, and the prince of Orange, supported by the army and navy and the smaller provinces, on the other. He was tempted into foolish acts: he arrested six of the deputies of Holland; he even tried to surprise and occupy Amsterdam; he favoured the English royalists, now plentiful in the Provinces, while Amsterdam and Holland inclined towards the Commonwealth. Things went so far that William II. had almost destroyed the liberties of the Provinces, and was intent on two schemes, —the resumption of war against Spain, with a partition with France of the Spanish Netherlands, and interference on behalf of Charles II. in England,—when his opportune death by small-pox occurred. A few days afterwards his widow, Mary of England, gave birth to a son, who was destined to be the most distinguished man of his race, William III. of Holland and England.

For a time the death of William II. restored the burgher-party to power, and made Amsterdam the head of the United Provinces. Holland triumphed over Zealand; the house of Orange, friend of the Stewarts, seemed to suffer eclipse with them; and though the royalist mob even at the Hague, set on by a princely rough of the palatine house, made it impossible for the envoys of the English Commonwealth to come to terms with the republic, still the popular monarchical party was in fact powerless in the Provinces for more

Constitution
of the
United
Provinces.

The
town-
govern-
ments.

Com-
mercial
pro-
sperity.

The
governor
and
States
General.

than twenty years. It was with a view to the security of this aristocratic government that a great assembly of the Provinces was held in 1651, and established that form of rule which Sir William Temple has so well described in his *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*.

There were four chief elements in that federation :—the terms of the Union of Utrecht (1579); the claims and position of the house of Orange; the sovereignty, within its own borders, of each province; and lastly, the liberties and power of the cities. In the last two the lead was taken by Holland: Holland was the chief province, and Amsterdam, its capital, the chief city of the union. And these two parts of the federation were at one also in their resistance to the house of Orange, of which the chief strength lay in Zealand. The union was governed, in theory at least, by the States General of the provinces, which met at the Hague, and consisted of a fluctuating number of deputies (sometimes as many as 800), and was supplemented by a permanent council of state, a kind of cabinet composed of twelve deputies from the provinces, and a chamber of accounts. Besides this body each province had its own estates, and each great city its own senate. Thus Amsterdam was ruled by a senate of thirty-six burghers, who kept order, administered justice, raised local taxes. The office of senator was for life, originally by election of the whole body of freemen, but from the 16th century by cooptation, so that the government of the city became a close oligarchy. The chief towns followed Amsterdam in this direction. The senate elected the deputies of the city to the states of Holland.

The commercial prosperity of the Provinces went on advancing throughout the 17th century; each town had its own work. Flushing received the West India trade; Middelburg was entrepôt for French wines; Terveer was the Scottish and Dort the English staple; Leyden manufactured; Haarlem made linen and mixed stuffs, and grew tulips for profit and pastime; Delft was known for beer and hardware; Zaandam built ships; Enkhuizen caught and cured herrings; Friesland had the Greenland trade; and lastly Amsterdam, recognized chief of Dutch cities, had the East India trade, with that of Spain and the Mediterranean: their whole carrying business reached from the Gulf of Bothnia to the farthest Indies. Their seafaring enterprise received an early scientific impulse from the labours of Coignet and G. Mercator. All questions as to the nature and development of wealth were still in their infancy: it was believed that all depended on balances of actual bullion; and the Spaniards were envied because their ships brought over masses of gold and silver. The "balance of trade," the establishment of banks at home and colonies abroad, especially mining colonies, a huge carrying trade, the making of goods to be sold for cash only, the discouragement of all imports, and the support of all monopolies—these things, chief elements of what is called the "isolation theory of trade," guided the politics of the 17th century, gave Holland vast temporary wealth, discouraged her power of production, and eventually have left her impotent among the nations.

At first William the Silent had been governor of the Provinces, nominally at least under the king of Spain; and in the reconstruction he secured his own rights, while the sovereign power was transferred to the States General. They took the right of making peace and war, of concluding alliances, of taxing and coining. The governor had all military commands, had power to pardon, and controlled the civil appointments; he represented the dignity of the state, with a court, and guards, and envoys from other lands. Each province had its own stadholder, an office in name at least derived from the Spanish times; each town had its own pensionary or chief minister. But after

the death of William II., the office of stadholder of Holland was for a time suspended; there was no captain-general or admiral; and the grand pensionary of Holland, first minister of the state, became virtual president of the republic, as we see in the cases of John De Witt and Heinsius.

When the English envoys returned to tell their masters, the Commonwealth, of their failure at the Hague, parliament at once replied by passing the memorable Navigation Act of 1651, which aimed at destroying the carrying-trade of the Provinces. The struggle for the lordship of the seas War which ensued, and with which the names of Tromp and with Ruyter, Blake, and Monk are so splendidly associated, was England. waged with equal bravery and nearly equal success on both sides, until 1654, when peace was made by the Amsterdam burgher-party. By the terms of the treaty with Cromwell the Orange-Nassau family was altogether to be excluded from the stadholdership of Holland, the other Provinces reserving their independence, and the Dutch populace also much disliking the peace. England preserved the honour of her flag, while Holland was seen to be a worthy and equal rival for the command of the sea.

Hostilities between the Dutch and Portuguese respecting War their rights in Brazil followed, in which, after each side with had done much damage to the other, peace was also made; and Holland in 1658 interfered to save the Danes from Charles Gustavus of Sweden. In 1659 a treaty of peace was made between France, England, and the United Provinces, with a view to the settlement of the Dano-Swedish question, which ended in securing a northern peace in 1660, and in keeping the Baltic waters open for Dutch trade. Since the abolition of the stadholdership after William's death in 1650, the centre of authority had lain in the hands of John de Witt, the sagacious leader of the anti-Orange or Amsterdam burgher-party; and he guided the foreign affairs of the provinces in such a way as to secure the fair development of their commerce on every side.

The momentous year 1660 was almost as critical for War Holland as for any state of Europe. Charles, in England, with England having re-enacted the Navigation Act, war again broke out in 1665, and the duke of York took the command of the English fleet. At the beginning of June he met the Dutch admiral Opdam, and, after a close-fought battle off Lowestoft, the English were completely victorious. But so bad was the condition of the home Government in England that in the following year the Dutch had by far the stronger fleet at sea, and for a time held their own in the Channel. The four-days' battle (June 1-4) between Prince Rupert and Monk on the one side and Ruyter on the other ended in an uncertain victory for the Dutch; but on July 25th they were decidedly defeated off the North Foreland, and driven back to their own shores with immense loss. The English were now masters of the sea; but both parties needed peace, and negotiations began at Breda. In the course of these Ruyter suddenly sailed up the Thames nearly to Gravesend, and struck terror into the very heart of London, which thus became all the more eager for a settlement. In July 1667 a treaty between England and Holland was signed at Breda; and in the following year Sir William Temple accomplished the triple alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, Triple alliance against the aggressive views of Louis XIV., a hollow affair, and pernicious in its results to those who made it. It made Louis XIV. determine to take vengeance on the United Provinces and on the De Witts; it led at once to the humiliation of England by the treaty of Dover (1670), to the overthrow of the Amsterdam party, and to the miserable end of the De Witts; and it eventually raised the prince of Orange to supreme authority in the United Provinces.

War renewed with England. From 1668 to 1672 Louis XIV. made ready to destroy the Dutch; and so well had his diplomacy served him that they were left without a friend in Europe. In 1672 the storm broke: the English, without a declaration of war, tried unsuccessfully to intercept the Dutch Mediterranean fleet; and France at once set forth to conquer the hated tradesmen of the north. The States were ill-prepared on land, though their fleet was strong and ready; party spirit was exceedingly bitter, and the ruling party, well aware that the prince of Orange was very popular with the land forces, had utterly neglected their army. On May 28, 1672, Ruyter fought a great naval battle in Southwold Bay (Solebay) against the duke of York and Marshal D'Estrees: the French held aloof, pleased to see the Dutch and English destroy each other; the English suffered most, but, as the Dutch withdrew to their own ports, the others claimed the victory. Meanwhile Louis XIV. crossed the Rhine and threatened Amsterdam (see FRANCE). The young prince of Orange alone seemed to rise to the occasion; while others were panic-stricken, sending embassies of submission to the haughty monarch, making preparations for a great flight by sea, William with his miserable army did his best, and aroused so strongly the feelings of the people that Amsterdam, passing from dejection to despair and thence to reckless enthusiasm, rose against the De Witts and foully murdered both in the streets. They had just before proclaimed William stadholder of Holland with powers unlimited. And thus Louis XIV. destroyed the proud republic, though in so doing he had raised up the most formidable enemy he was destined to encounter. His invasion did not prosper; other nations began to take up the Dutch cause; Germans and Spaniards threatened the embarrassed French army in the Provinces; so that in 1674 France was on the defensive on every side. William of Orange in that year was defeated at Seneff, and had to abandon his plan of penetrating into France, and in 1675 the death of Marshal Turenne, and the retirement of the great Condé, turned the tide of war in favour of the Dutch, except on the sea, where the French fleet defeated and destroyed in the Mediterranean (in 1676) the united navies of Holland and Spain. In 1677 negotiations for peace went on, and were hastened by the marriage, at the close of the year, of William of Orange with the Princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York. At last, in 1678, came the great peace of Nimeguen, which secured the independence of the Dutch.

League of Augsburg. The aggressive policy of Louis XIV., in the years which followed the peace of Nimeguen, enabled William to lay the basis of the famous confederacy which changed the whole front of European politics. Brandenburg, Denmark, and England sided with the French king; while the league of Augsburg (1686), following directly after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, placed William at the head of the resistance to French domination. The league was joined by the emperor, Spain, the United Provinces, Sweden, Bavaria, and other German princes. The accession of James II. to the throne of England made it easy for the stadholder to keep up close relations with the malcontents in church and state, who regarded him and the Princess Mary as the natural successors to the English throne. On the birth of the prince of Wales the anti-Catholic feeling in England at last grew so strong that William was able to interfere with success; while the diversion of the attention of Louis XIV. from Holland to the Rhine relieved the timid rulers of Amsterdam from all anxiety. The Revolution of 1688 ensued, and England became, under William's strong rule, the chief member of the great coalition against France. In the grand alliance of 1689-90 he clearly sacrificed Dutch to English interests, and carried through his policy in spite of great

irritation in Holland and Zealand. His power seemed almost autocratic, and the States impotent. Henceforward their part in history becomes quite secondary compared with that of England, and we may refer for details of the great wars to the articles ENGLAND and FRANCE.

In 1690 Waldeck, commanding the Dutch, was defeated Holland by Luxembourg at Fleurus; and the Anglo-Dutch fleet at-war was also severely handled off Beachy Head by the French, who inflicted terrible losses on Dutch commerce. In 1691 the French took Mons; in 1692 the allied ships ruined Tourville's fleet off La Hogue, and recovered the command of the sea. On land the allies fared ill: Louis took Namur, and after a hard-fought battle William was defeated at Steenkirk; in 1693 the Dutch shared in the defeat of Neerwinden, and were not fortunate even on the sea. In 1695 the tide of affairs had turned, and William retook Namur, his greatest triumph after the battle of the Boyne. Negotiations for peace, first attempted in 1694, led to the peace of Ryswick in 1697, in which Peace of Ryswick William was recognized by France as king of England, the Dutch obtaining a favourable commercial treaty, and the right to garrison the Netherland barrier-towns. Holland was still an important factor in the balancing system rendered necessary by the ambition of France. Louis XIV., however, held himself little bound by the peace. In 1701 he elbowed the Dutch troops out of the barrier-towns; he defied England by recognizing James III. on the death of his father; and it was clear to all that another war was imminent, when William III. died in 1702. He had been made hereditary stadholder in five of the Provinces in 1672; but as he left no children as heirs, the old opposition of Holland to his house again sprang up, and, led by the grand pensionary Heinsius, Amsterdam successfully asserted her independence, and ruled throughout the coming struggle against France with energy and credit.

When war was declared in 1702, Marlborough was named The tri-commander-in-chief of English and Dutch troops, and unmixed thenceforward became the chief man in the famous "triumvirate" of Marlborough, Heinsius, and Prince Eugene. In 1703 the Dutch invaded Flanders, and fought the drawn battle of Eckeren; in 1704 they and the English took Gibraltar; in the same year they took part in the great battle of Blenheim. In 1705 Marlborough led them into the Netherlands; but, hampered by the deputies of the States, he achieved little. In 1706 he won the battle of Ramillies, and swept the French out of the Netherlands; in 1708 came Oudenarde, and after it an unsuccessful attempt of Louis XIV. to detach the Dutch from the alliance; in 1709 the terrible battle of Malplaquet and the capture of Mons. After this great changes followed in England, and Marlborough's power came to an end. Negotiations for peace, often tried before, drew towards success in 1712, and in 1713 the peace of Utrecht was signed. While France received Aire, St Venant, Bethune, and Douay, the Spanish Netherlands were formally handed over to the United Provinces, which in their turn passed them on, after conclusion of a barrier treaty, to Austria; henceforth they are known as the Austrian Netherlands. A favourable commercial treaty was also made between the Dutch and France. The peace of Utrecht made the republic almost as powerful on shore as she had been by sea; at the same time it taught her that the great powers around her would use her resources for war, and abandon her when they wanted peace: she therefore determined henceforth to stand clear of all foreign complications. With 1713 the importance of Holland in European politics comes almost to an end.

The ruling party in the States took an active part in securing George I. on the throne of England; and on

War
with
France.

William
IV.

Peace of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

William
V.

the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, the old ill-will between France and the provinces died entirely out, so that they were secure in a position of tranquillity; they also brought to a fair conclusion their difficulties with Austria on the subject of the Netherlands barrier. These, however, began again when in 1723 the emperor set on foot the Ostend East India Company, which was at once regarded as an offensive rival by the Amsterdam merchants. For the sake of crushing this competition the States in 1731 consented to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. In 1743 they joined England in supporting the claims of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, and fell consequently into complications with France, which invaded the barrier country. In 1744 they granted a subsidy in money and put 20,000 men in the field, and became a member of the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, England, and Saxony. In 1745 the Provinces took their part in the rout of Fontenoy, after which Marshal Saxe overran the Austrian Netherlands, while England and Holland were alike paralysed by the Jacobite rising in Scotland. The States lost every barrier-town, and lay defenceless before the French, who in 1747 entered Dutch Flanders, and made an easy conquest. And now the Orange party, supported by English aid, began to lift its head. The Provinces had fallen so low that all men began to wish for a dictator. Accordingly Prince William Charles Henry Friso was proclaimed stadholder, captain, and admiral-general of Zealand at Terveer, under the title of William IV. The movement thus begun spread like wildfire; all Zealand accepted him with enthusiasm, and Holland was not far behind; even at Amsterdam and the Hague the popular feeling was too strong to be resisted, and the Government had to give way. William IV. became captain and admiral-general of the whole union, and stadholder of the Seven Provinces; a little later these offices were declared hereditary in both male and female lines.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, though it nominally restored things to their old estate, could not efface the mischief and humiliation which the war had caused to Holland. Nor were affairs mended by the death of the stadholder William IV. in 1751, who, though dull and quiet, did his best to develop the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the States. His widow, Anne of England, daughter of George II., carried on the government for her son William V. She showed but little aptitude for the post of regent, and the Provinces had great difficulty in standing clear of the European complications of the Seven Years' War. They did so, however, and after her death in 1759 were on better terms with England, which had urged them to take up the cause of Frederick the Great. In 1766 William V. was declared to be of age; irresolute and weak, he was entirely under the command of his old preceptor Louis of Brunswick, and his wife Frederica Wilhelmina, niece of Frederick the Great. His rule is only distinguished for the springing up of several learned societies, and for the stimulus, derived partly from England partly from France, given to scientific inquiries. In other respects the influences of England and France were not propitious to the Provinces. In the American War of Independence William sympathized with the English court against the French and the revolted colonies, while the Dutch people warmly embraced the other side. Hence arose again old maritime disputes. The Provinces quarrelled at home over the relative importance of army and navy, and strengthened neither. So things went on from 1776 to 1780, when the famous "Armed Neutrality," with which the Continental states replied to the demands of England on the seas, drew the Provinces once more into the arena of European politics. After a division of the States, in

which four were on one side and three on the other, the United Provinces decided to adopt the Neutrality, and threw in their lot with France and Russia against England. But war though war broke out at once, nothing could cure the vice of party spirit—the stadholder and the court party going with the English, and neutralizing all the warlike efforts of the "patriot" party. In 1781 Dutch commerce was utterly paralysed; the other powers set on the Provinces, and took each its part. Their West India Islands were seized, and it seemed as if they could do nothing in their own defence. At last, however, an indecisive but not inglorious action with Admiral Parker at the Dogger Bank roused the national spirit, and the Orange party lost ground everywhere. In 1782 the Provinces recognized the independence of the United States of America; with generous sympathy the aged commonwealth saluted the rising republic of the West, which was destined to take its share also in the ruin of Dutch trade. In 1783 the States made an inglorious peace with England, in which the English got right of free traffic with the Dutch East India colonies.

The patriot party was so much excited by this long series of blunders and humiliations that the fall of the house of Orange seemed imminent, and the king of Prussia had to interfere on behalf of his kinsfolk. In 1784 the States were in trouble with a new antagonist; the emperor Joseph II. sought to compel them to acquiesce in the reopening of the mouths of the Scheldt, so as to restore some of its ancient prosperity to Antwerp. But as neither party was able to fight, a peace was patched up in 1785, though its terms, as usual, were very humiliating to the States. The resistance against the princess of Orange continued to increase in violence, until in 1787 the Prussians again interfered, occupying Amsterdam, reinstating the stadholder, who had been driven out, and compelling the states to ally themselves, much against their will, with England and Prussia.

Under their sway the Dutch passively remained, and when the French Revolution came they stood neutral as long as they could between it and the kings; it was not till Dumouriez had overrun all the Austrian Netherlands in 1792, and had determined to secure justice to Antwerp by forcing open the passage of the Scheldt, that they were drawn into the strife. On the death of Louis XVI. in 1793 the national convention at once declared war against both England and the Provinces. Their first campaign against the Dutch under Dumouriez failed: the invaders were arrested before Willemstadt, and ultimately were compelled to retreat. But in the autumn of 1793 Jourdan restored the credit of the French arms in the Austrian Netherlands. In 1794 Pichegru brilliantly completed the conquest of Belgium, and before the end of the year invaded the Provinces. The very severe frost of that winter gave his army easy passage over all the rivers and low-lying lands, which still formed the chief defence of the states; he occupied Amsterdam, and with his hussars crossed the ice and took the Dutch fleet as it lay at the Texel; the stadholder fled (1795) to England; and the shattered remains of the duke of York's army having reached Bremen returned home in disgrace. The republican party in the Provinces now reorganized the government so as to bring it into close harmony with that of Paris. A new constitution was framed; the ancient system of representative government, the stadholderate, and the offices of captain and admiral-general were all swept away; a fair and open representation was established; and the Batavian republic came into being in close alliance with France. The French with one hand delivered the Provinces from a worn-out system of government, and with the other seized on a substantial return for their assistance. The new constitution, so excellent

Batavian
Republic.

in appearance, soon proved a delusion. One change of government succeeded another: after the States General came a national convention; then in 1798 a constituent assembly with an executive directory; then chambers of representatives; then a return to the earlier system under the names of the eight provincial and one central commissions (1801).

The peace of Amiens gave the country a little rest, and the Dutch got back the Cape of Good Hope and their South American colonies: it was, however, but the brief and deceptive lull between two storms; when war began again England once more swept away all she had restored. In 1805 Bonaparte, with his usual high hand, imposed on them a new constitution, and set Schimmelpennick over them with the ancient title of grand pensionary. In the next year Napoleon added Holland to the ring of great fiefs with which he surrounded his imperial system, and forced an unwilling brother, Louis, to be king of an unwilling people. Worthy of a better fate, the excellent king of Holland did all in his power to protect his new subjects from the crushing friendship of his brother; but his efforts were in vain, and he withdrew to Vienna. In 1810 Napoleon annexed all Holland to the empire, declaring that it was "in the nature of things nothing but a portion of France." In 1813 the change in the affairs of Europe encouraged the Dutch to join the general revolt, when they established a limited monarchy. The prince of Orange was recalled from England, and entered Amsterdam amidst the utmost enthusiasm. An assembly of notables met and declared him king with the title of William I., king of the Netherlands, in 1814. By the treaty of Paris Belgium was united to Holland, and the seventeen provinces were again forcibly joined together under one prince. It was settled that the house of Orange should have the hereditary sovereignty, with a fairly liberal constitution. To make up to the new king for the loss of his territories in Germany, the grand duchy of Luxembourg, with the exception of the town and fortress of Luxembourg, was handed over to him as his private possession, not as a part of the kingdom; the bishopric of Liège and the duchy of Bouillon also went with it. The episode of the "Hundred Days," though it delayed the conclusion of the very complicated arrangements involved in these transfers, gave the new kingdom an opportunity of distinguishing itself: it was the first point of attack, and met the crisis with vigour. The Dutch troops under William, eldest son of the new king, took considerable part in the short and striking campaign which was closed on June 18, 1815, by the final victory of Waterloo.

The allied powers now founded in Holland and Belgium what they hoped would be a solid and permanent kingdom as a barrier against France. It was felt that Napoleon had shown Europe the importance of this district in connexion with his scheme for European domination. The new kingdom under the house of Orange was therefore the subject of great and anxious consideration at Vienna. The king, an hereditary sovereign, received full executive powers, and the initiative in proposing laws. He had also the power of appointing his own council of state. As a legislative body there were the States-General, divided into two chambers; each province had also its own local states. Freedom of worship and political equality were secured for all.

A highly artificial arrangement like this, however, could not stand long, if Europe came to throw off the trammels of the monarchical reaction, and to give freer course to those liberal tendencies which had survived the drama of the French Revolution. In religious belief, in law, and usages, in language, in interests, the Belgic and Batavian provinces had little in common. Their inhabitants were different

races, with instincts and feelings not merely diverse but opposed. The Belgic provinces spoke French or Walloon, the Batavians, Dutch. The Belgians were strict Catholics, while the Dutch were Protestants. The Dutch were chiefly a commercial and seafaring people, with interests in distant lands and colonial possessions; the Belgians were agriculturists, except where their abundance of minerals made them manufacturers. The Dutch connected themselves with Germany and (though often only by way of rivalry) with England; the Belgians drew their chief inspirations from France, and connected themselves with the French in traditions, religion, and commercial interests. Such a diversity could not possibly stand the brunt of any great political movement; especially as the Dutch were oppressive towards their Belgian partners in the kingdom. Accordingly we find that in 1830 the revolution at Paris at once aroused the strongest sympathy at Brussels. The dull obstinacy of William I. had emphasized the divergence, and his narrow and antiquated policy rendered an outburst inevitable.

The revolt at Brussels, which began on the 25th August 1830, spread instantly throughout the whole of Belgium. After a short struggle in November, a conference of France, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, sitting in London at the request of William I., proposed an armistice, to which both parties agreed. In the following January the conference attempted to settle the terms of a separation, and proposed that Holland should have Luxembourg and part of the left bank of the Scheldt; this the Dutch accepted, while the provisional Government at Brussels protested against it. The assembly at Brussels constructed a new and liberal constitution, with a broad representative government, liberty of teaching, of the press, of public meeting; and in April 1831 the crown was offered to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who, after ascertaining that he would be recognized by England and France, did not hesitate to accept it (see BELGIUM). This appointment caused the utmost irritation at the Hague, and the Dutch suddenly invaded Belgium; the opportune appearance of a French army checked the Dutch advance, and gave diplomacy time to interfere. The citadel of Antwerp, however, was still in Dutch hands, and the allied powers used in vain all their influence to persuade William I. to give it up to the Belgians. War was then declared, and France and England blockaded the Dutch ports, while a French army attacked the citadel, and, after a sharp struggle, compelled it to capitulate. The forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek were left in the hands of the Dutch; on May 21, 1833, there was signed at London by the plenipotentiaries of Holland on one side, and those of England and France on the other, a convention in which William I. engaged not to resume hostilities against Belgium, and to leave the Scheldt navigation open, till the relation between the two countries should be definitely settled by treaty. The final settlement of outstanding questions, however, was not reached till six years later, when Limburg and the eastern part of Luxembourg were secured to Holland, and heavy tolls were imposed on the navigation of the Scheldt; then the two kingdoms finally parted company on the 19th of April 1839.

In the following year William I. resigned his crown to his son William II., who reigned in peace till his death in 1849, when he was succeeded by his eldest son William III., who still reigns. The wave of revolution which passed over Europe in 1848 had in Holland comparatively little effect: the constitution of 1814 was revised, and the tranquillity of the country secured. In 1853, after the establishment by the papacy of Catholic bishoprics in England and Holland, a considerable excitement arose, which resulted in the accession to power of

Bonaparte's
constitution
of 1805.

Louis
Bonaparte
king of
Holland.

Holland
annexed
to the
French
empire.
Restoration
of mon-
archy.

William
I king
of the
Nether-
lands.

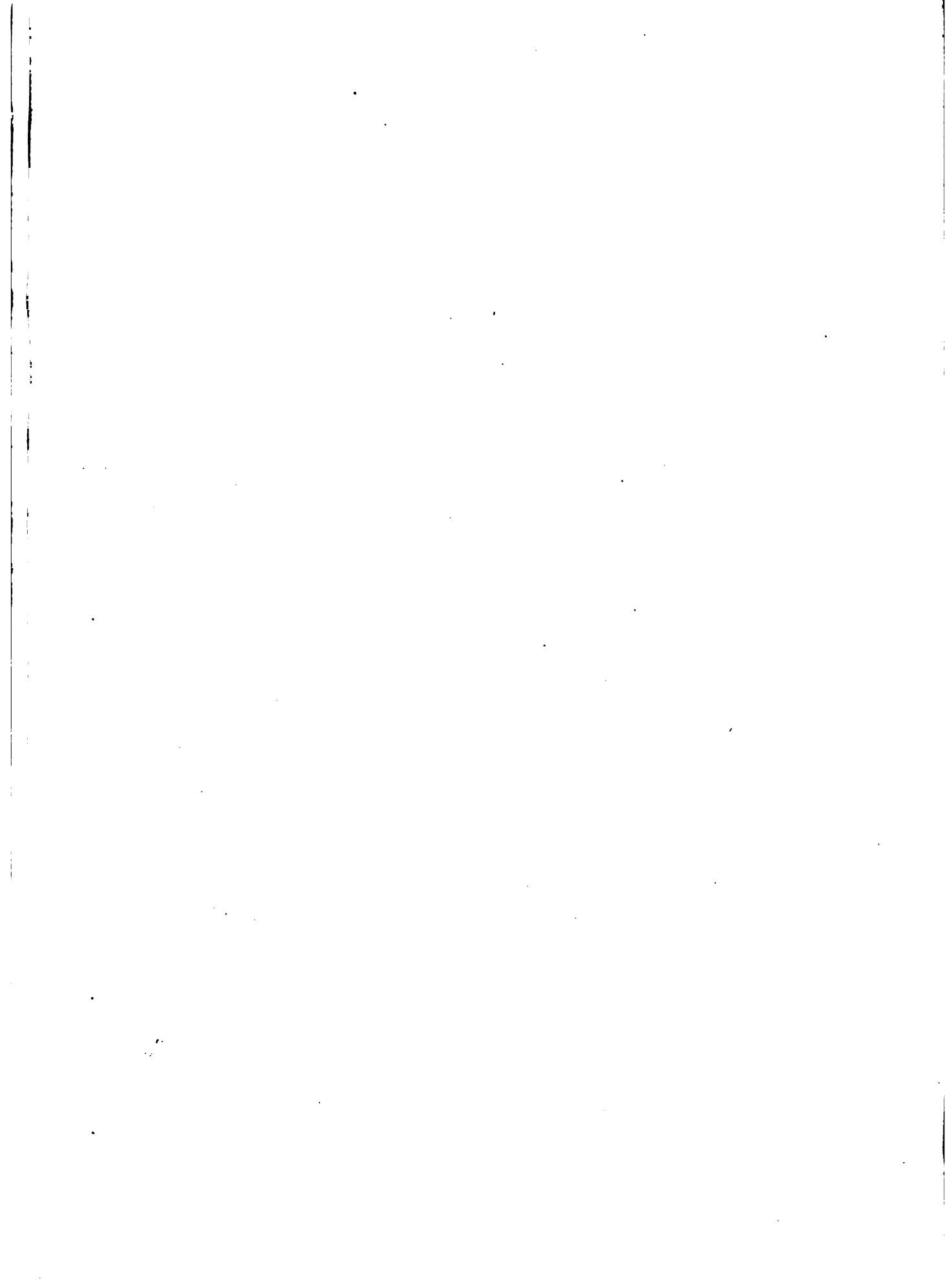
Diver-
gence
between
Holland
and
Belgium.

a moderate, liberal, and entirely Protestant cabinet, and in the main the Protestant-liberal party has guided the country for the last quarter of a century. The Dutch took but a secondary part in the disputes between France and Germany as to Dutch Luxembourg, which by the treaty of London (1867) was declared neutral, and guaranteed to Holland. Recently they have been engaged in a very vexatious and wasteful war with the sultan of Acheen, their neighbour on the island of Sumatra.

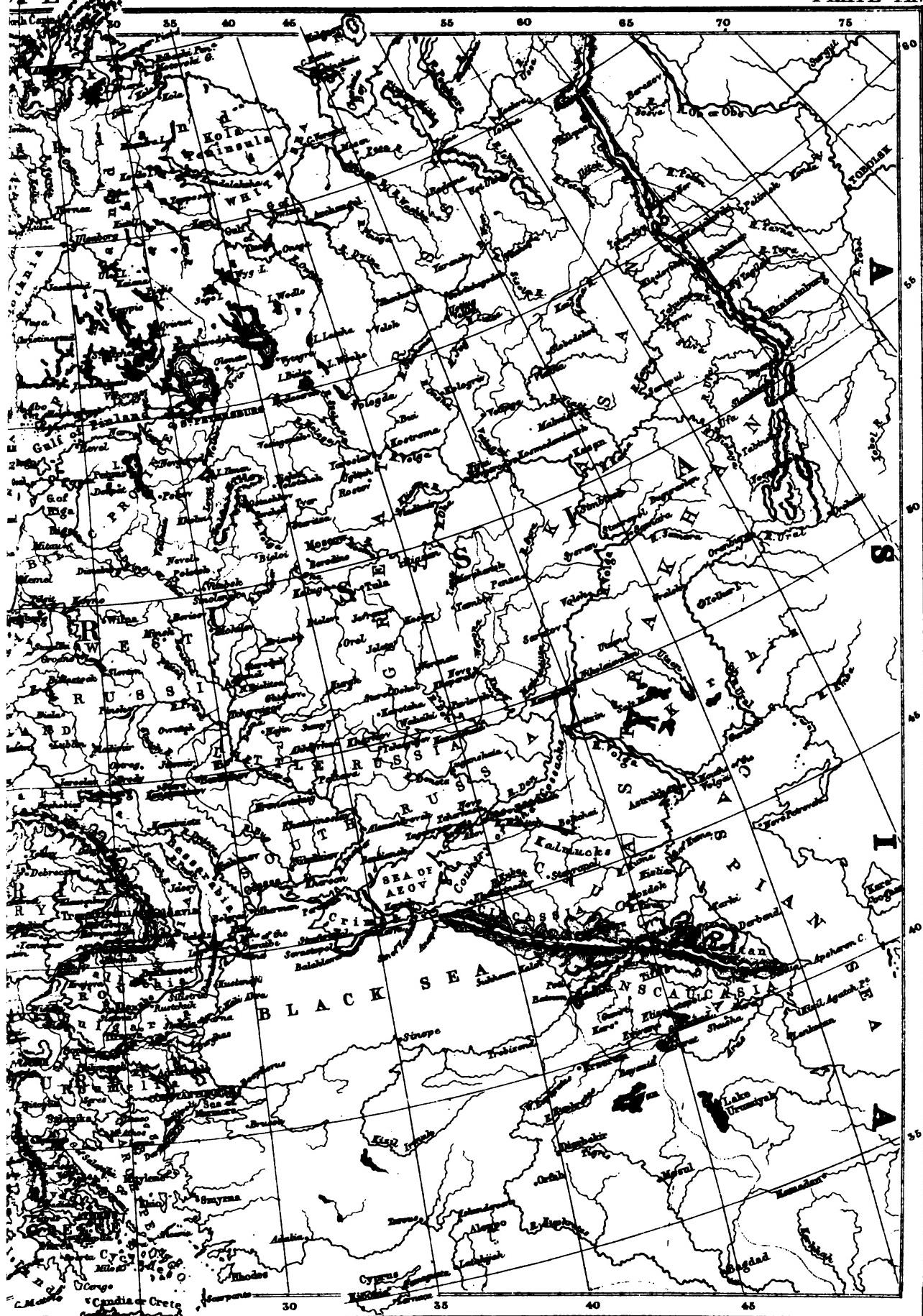
Bibliography.

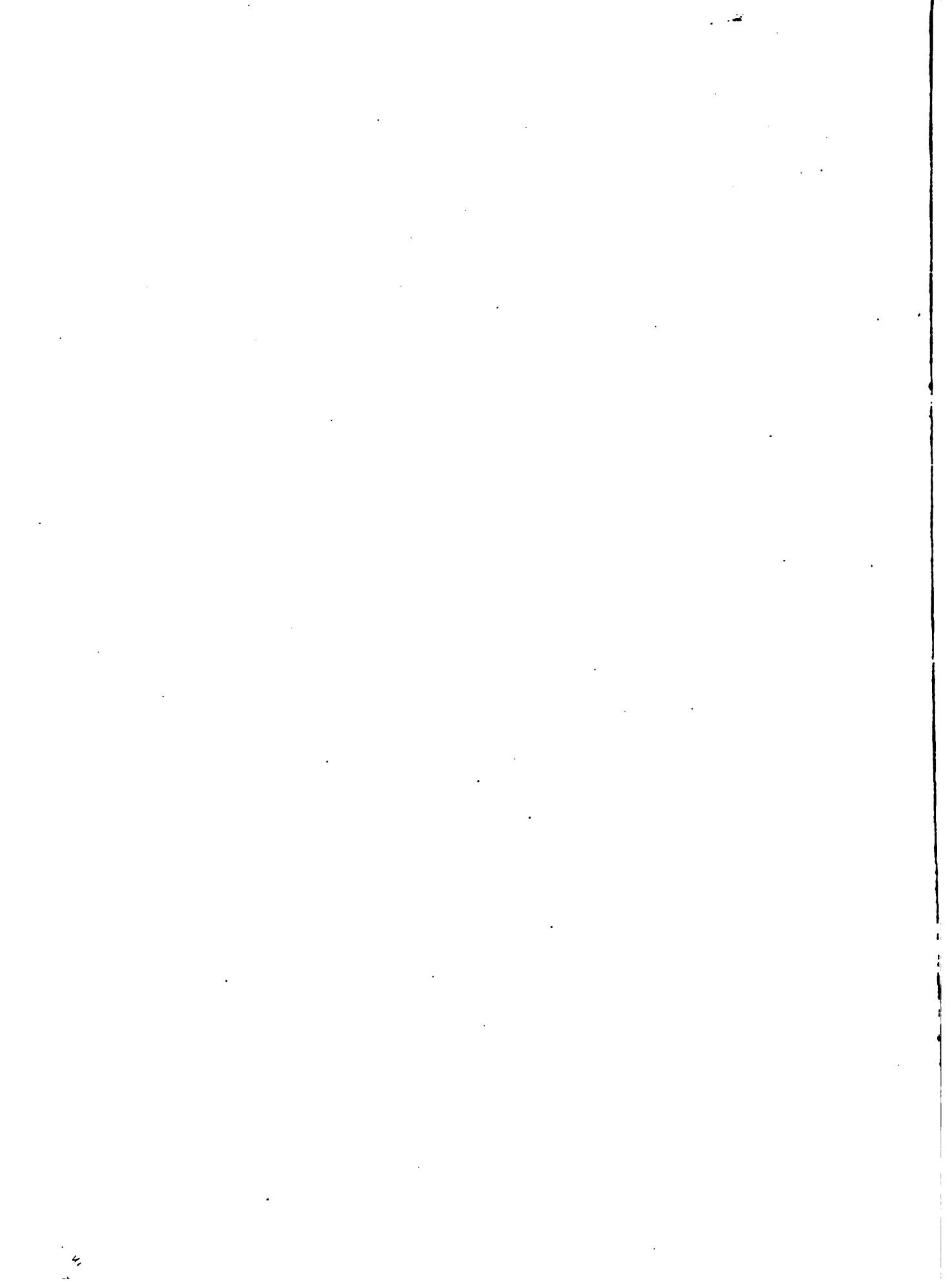
The chief of the older authorities for the history of Holland are:— Melis Stoke (c. 1305); Willelmus Procurator, 1332; Beka, *Chronicon Ultraject.,* 1350; John of Leyden; Froissart; Monstrelet; Velius, *Chronyk van Hoorn; Corte Chronyk van Holland,* 973–1466; *Groote Chronyk van Holland; Annales rerum gestarum in Hollandia,* 1481–83; Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires;* Meteren, *Historia Belgica, nostri potissimum temporis,* 1597; Thuanus, *Historia sui temporis, libri lxxx.*; Grotius, *De antiquitate recip. Batarice,* 1610; Guicciardini, *Omnis Belgii, sive inferioris Germanicæ regionis, descriptio,* 1613; *Hollandia Seländiæque descriptio,* 1630; Snoygou danus (Snoius), *De republ. Batav. libri xiii.*, 1620; Boxhoorn, *Theatrum, seu Hollandiæ comitatus et urbium nova descriptio,* 1632; *Politijk Handboeksaen van der Staat van't Nederlandt,* 1650; Strada, *Della guerra di Fiandra,* 1638; Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historie;* Bor, *Oorsprong, Begin, en Vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen;* Aitzema, *Saken van Staat en Oorlogh in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden* (1621–69), 1669–72; Brandt, *Lijf en Bedrijf van Michiel de Ruyter,* 1687; *Historie der Reformatie,* 1671–1704; De Witt, *Brieven.* Among the more modern works are Wicquefort, *L'Historie des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas* (the Hague, 1719–48, 2 vols., with a large collection of

diplomatic documents; new edition, by Chais van Buren, Amsterd., 1861–75); Wagenaar, *De Vaderlandsche Historie* (Amsterd., 1749–1760, 21 vols.; supplement to 1790, *ibid.* 1789–90, 3 vols.; and continuation from 1776 to 1802, *ibid.* 1788–1810, 48 vols.); Biderdijk, *Geschiedenis des Vaderlands* (Leyden, 1832–39, 12 vols.); Leo, *Zwölff Bücher Niederländischer Geschichte* (Halle, 1832–35, 2 vols.); J. C. de Jonge, *Geschiedenis van het Ned. Zeevieren* (the Hague, 1833–48, 10 vols.); J. P. Arend, *Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands* (Amsterd., 1840, &c., continued by Rees, Brill, and Van Vloten); Groen van Prinsterer, *Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (Leyden, 1846, 4th ed., Amsterd., 1874, 4 vols., from a Calvinistic point of view); and *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* (Leyden, 1841–62); Gerlache, *Essai sur les grandes Époques de notre histoire nationale* (1852), and *Histoire du royaume des Pays-Bas depuis 1814 jusqu'en 1830* (3 vols., 1859); Nuijens, *Algemeene Geschied. des Nederlandschen Volks* (Amsterd., 1872–78, 15 vols., from the Roman Catholic point of view); J. van Lennip, *De Gesch. van Nederland* (Leyden, 1878); W. Moll and J. ter Gouw, *Nederland, Gesch. en Volksleven* (Leyden, 1878; this and the previous work are of a popular cast); J. A. Fruin, *De Nederlandse Wetboeken tot op 1 Jan. 1876* (Utrecht, 1878); Nippold, *Die römisch-katholische Kirche im Königreich der Niederlande* (Leipsic, 1877); Wenzelberger, *Gesch. der Niederrlands* (in Heeren and Uckert's series, Gotha, 1878–79); Kemper, *Gesch. van Nederland na 1830* (Amsterd., 1873–76). For English readers the older works of Grattan, *History of the Netherlands* (Lardner's series), and Davies, *History of Holland* (3 vols., 1841), have been cast completely into the shade by Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (Lond., 1856), and *The United Netherlands* (Lond., 1861–68). A *Repertorium der verhandl. en bijdragen betr. de gesch. des vaderlands in tijdschr. verschenen* appeared at Leyden, 1863, and a *Register van acad. dissertationen*, having the same scope, in 1866. (G. W. K.)













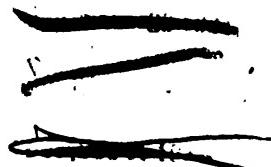
DUE JAN 4 1929

OCT 24 1912

DUE MAR 9 1929

DUE AUG 9 1918

[REDACTED]



DUE SEP 7 1920

DUE OCT - 6 1925

DUE DEC 12 1927

DUE JUN 31 1938

DUE JAN 16 1928

DUE JAN 16 1928

DUE NOV 17 1928

APR 20 '53

GANGEMED

H 68.83
Histories of England, France, Germa
Widener Library

005296491



3 2044 087 954 764

